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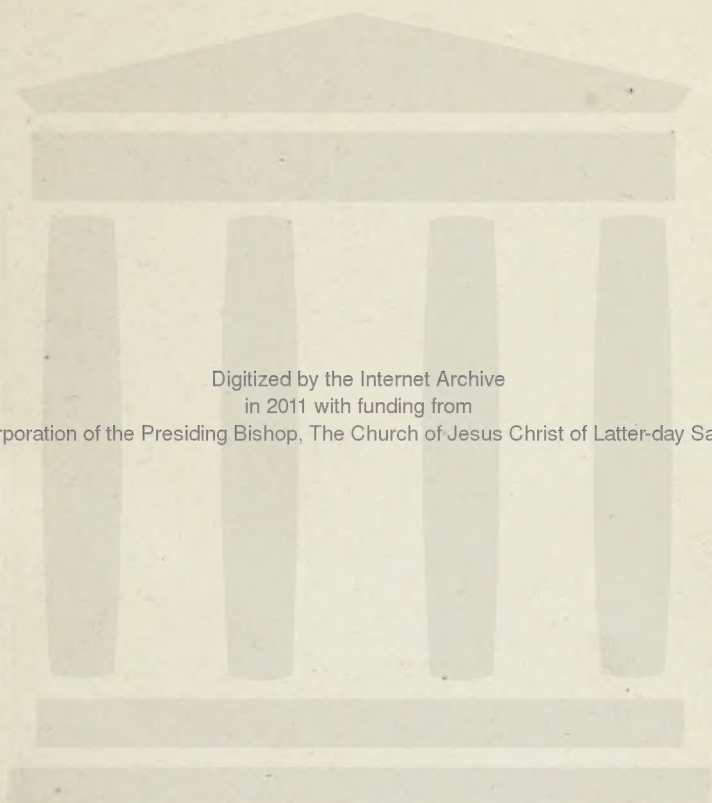
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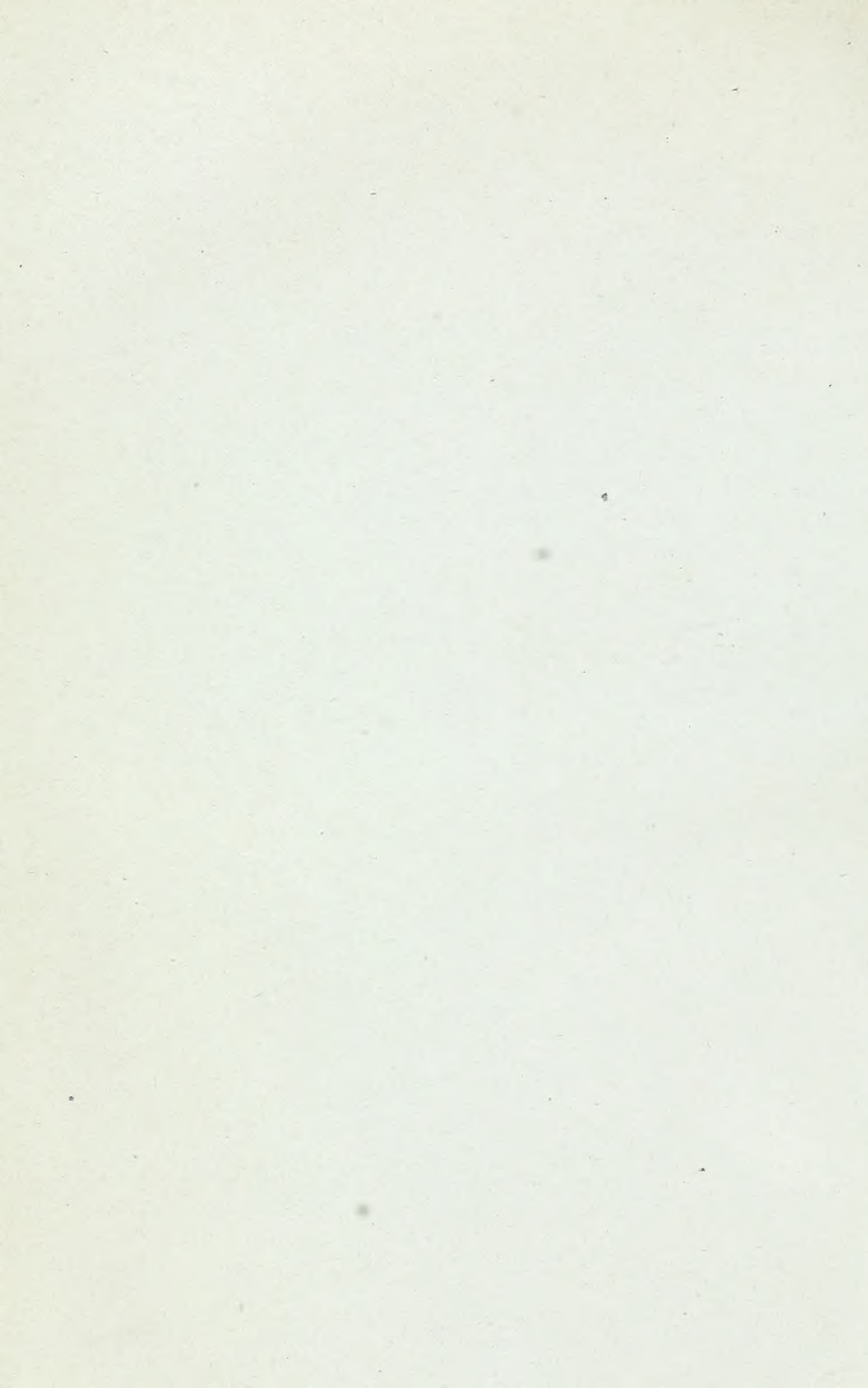




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AMERICANA

(AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE)

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VOL. VI.

January, 1911—December, 1911

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INDIAN BUST IN THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

No one can identify this Statue. Sculptor unknown
(See Historic Views and Reviews)

AMERICANA

January, 1911

THE PRESIDENT'S NEW YEAR RECEPTIONS, THEN
AND NOW

BY HELEN HARCOURT

WHAT the President of the young United States should do, and how he should do it, were pressing questions at the organization of our Government. Even the habitual calm of the peerless Washington, the first President, was troubled to know how he should conduct himself in accordance with the dignity of his office and the simplicity of a democratic republic. Says the historian, McMartin:—

“While the House was busy determining by what name the President should be called, Washington was troubled to know in what manner he should behave.” He held anxious consultations with Hamilton and Adams on the subject, and it was finally determined that the President should hold two receptions each week, and give a weekly dinner to the members of Congress.

Times have altered since those days when Washington could have entertained all of the Senators and Representatives at three State dinners of thirty covers each. It would now require fifteen dinners of the same number of covers to entertain the Congress. Therefore these special State dinners have been abandoned, as also the early weekly receptions, until now the great New Year's reception is the one fixed social event of the White House. There are many others, of course, but the time of their coming and going is optional.

But between the then and the now there is a vast difference; a difference as great as that between the weakness and poverty of the nation in those days of its infancy, and that of its present adult wealth and power.

An extract from "William Maclay's Diary," gives us an amusing glimpse of the first New Year reception given by President Washington in Philadelphia, then the seat of government. Thus runs the Diary.

"Philadelphia, Jan. first, 1791. Just as I passed the President's House, Griffin hailed me and asked whether I would not pay my respects to the President. I was in haste and had on my worst clothes; I could not prevail on myself to go with him. I had, however, passed him but a little way, when Osgood, Postmaster-general, attacked me warmly to go with him. I was pushed forward by him, bolted into his presence; made the President the compliments of the season, had a hearty shake by the hand. I was asked to partake of the punch and cake, but declined. I sat down, and we had some chat, but the diplomatic gentry and the foreigners coming in, I embraced the first vacancy to make my bow and wish him good morning."

President John Adams and his wife were the host and hostess at the first New Year reception at the White House, just one hundred and eight years ago. The "President's House," as it was named in the appropriations by the Congress for the first fifty years, was not the White House of today, for the former was burned by the British in 1814. Neither was its first New Year reception like unto the brilliant affair of the present.

Like all pretentious Virginia mansions in the colonial times, the President's House was built facing a river, in this instance, the Potomac, with the grounds sloping from the house to the water's edge. A broad drive swept around the house to the front entrance overlooking the river to the south.

When President Adams entered into possession of the official residence of the nation's Chief Executive, the mansion stood on a ridge called "F. Street Ridge," and in the midst of a space used chiefly for brick yards. The rains and melting snows ran down from the ridge, part to the south, part to the north, the result being the formation of an embryo creek that partially surrounded the grounds of the mansion, and necessitated an entrance by means of a wooden bridge which spanned the area now occupied by the north portico. A rough post and rail fence marked the northern boundary of the grounds.

Conditions within were but little more encouraging than those without. Not a single apartment was entirely finished. Writes Mrs. Adams to her daughter:

"The great unfinished audience room I make a drying room of to hang up the clothes in. The principal stairways are not up, and will not be this winter. Six chambers are made comfortable; two are occupied by the President and Mr. Shaw; two lower rooms, one for a common parlor, and one for a levee room. Upstairs is the oval room, which is designed for the drawing-room, and has crimson furniture in it. It is a very handsome room now, and when completed will be beautiful. . . . I have no looking-glasses but dwarfs for this house, nor a twentieth part lamps enough to light it.

"Surrounded with forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had because people can't be found to cut and cart it? . . . No woodcutters, no carts to be had at any rate. We are now indebted to a Pennsylvania wagon to bring us, through the first clerk of the Treasury, one cord and a half of wood, which is all we have for this house, where twelve fires are constantly required. This is the situation of almost every person. The public officers have sent to Philadelphia for woodcutters and wagons."

Such, in fact, was the chaotic condition of things within and without the President's House, that it looked for a time as though the festival that had already become the custom on the first day of the New Year would, of necessity, be lacking in the President's House on the first day of January, 1801.

But Mrs. Adams was an energetic woman, and a resourceful. She felt that it would be a stigma upon the patriotism of the President and well nigh sacrilege to disregard the custom which President and Mrs. Washington had instituted at their first official residence in the midst of worries and discomforts almost equal to her own, and so she resolved to find some way out of her difficulties.

The great East room, or audience chamber, was in such an unfinished condition as to be impossible for use, and Mrs. Adams therefore converted one of the sleeping apartments on the second floor into a temporary drawing-room. This was, in fact, the only

room in the "great castle" that was nearly enough finished to be presentable to the public.

In those comparatively primitive days much of the furniture of the Executive Mansion had to be supplied by the President himself, including the china used at the State dinners. In this instance much of Mrs. Adams' best china had been broken in transit from Philadelphia. She met this emergency by purchasing all that she could find of suitable quality, and borrowing the remainder from the wives of the Government officials. In the matter of refreshments she met with less trouble, and the supply both of solids and liquids was liberal both in variety and quantity.

That this first Presidential reception in the Capital City was very unlike those of today, needs not to be told, but simple and unostentatious as it certainly was to the New Year's reception given a few years later by President Jackson, must be awarded the palm for the serving of the oddest refreshments ever offered by the Chief Magistrate of a great nation to his guests. His views as to consistent democracy were very decided, and therefore he insisted on serving his reception guests with—crackers and cheese!

As already noted, the President's House was built with the front facing the river, and the south, but as time passed on the river receded from its banks so far as to leave behind it an unsightly marsh in full view of the entrance. Therefore it came to pass that the original front became the back, and when carriages came they drove under the north instead of the south portico, and pedestrians entered from the same side.

As the nation grew in numbers and in wealth, thousands attended the New Year receptions where once upon a time the callers had been numbered by the hundreds, or even less. So immense were the crowds that it became necessary to provide a private entrance for the foreign diplomats and the members of the Cabinet and their wives, by converting a south window into a door by placing steps against it. For the exit of the reception guests a north window was similarly utilized, with the addition of a wooden bridge reaching to the sidewalk.

So long as the crowds attending the President's New Year

were small enough to be manageable, the early custom of serving refreshments was continued, but as the years rolled on and the attendance increased, it became impossible to do so. The State dining-room, at first amply sufficient in size, gradually became so crowded that a long, narrow table had to be set in the hall.

But before many years even this device failed to supply the demand for space. Those who have witnessed the unseemly rush of a great crowd about a supper table, can readily understand how it finally became necessary to cease serving refreshments at all. On one occasion, for instance, President Jackson, with the lady he was escorting, was excluded from the supper room by the rush of his guests to that popular point.

Thus of the Presidential New Year receptions of ye olden tyme. From the then to the now of the present day is a far cry. The first social event of each year in Washington is the imposing New Year reception at the White House, which is always justly described by the society reporters as a "brilliant event," and certain it is that when the grand old historic mansion is tastefully decorated in its gala dress of flowers in lavish profusion, the accessories are worthy of any company however distinguished or high in rank or fame.

The callers,—there are thousands of them from all ranks in life,—are received by the President and his wife in the Blue Room, the gem of the restored White House, and one of the most finely proportioned rooms in this country. They are assisted in receiving their guests by the wives of the Vice President and of the members of the Cabinet. The precedence of the callers is regulated by a strict etiquette. First come the members of the Diplomatic Corps, led by the Ambassador who has seen the longest service at the Capital, and is called the "Dean of the Diplomatic Corps." The diplomats are accompanied by their wives and the officials of their respective legations.

Following the Diplomatic Corps come the Justices of the Supreme Court; the Senators and Representatives; the Commander and other officers of the District of Columbia; the officers of the Army and Navy—led respectively by a general and an admiral; officers of the Marine Corps and of the Militia of the District; the members of the Civil Service, Inter-state, and

other Commissions; after these come the Assistant Secretaries and Bureau Chiefs; then the Veteran organizations, and finally, and by far in greater numbers, the general public.

From six to eight thousand people shake hands with the President and his wife, provided the latter is able to stand the strain. This in itself is no light ordeal, but it is not such to the President alone of the participants in the great New Year receptions. The guests are often compelled to stand for hours in a line outside, exposed to the elements, whatever they may be, whether clear or stormy, warm or cold, windy or calm, the waiting line moving forward towards its goal a step at a time, with long intervals between each step.

Many reach the receiving party worn out with fatigue, and with their elaborate costumes all awry, if not actually torn to ribbons, and are shot through the door as though from a mortar by the relentless pressure behind, and in such a dazed and confused condition that they pass by the President to reach whom they have endured hours of almost danger,—without so much as seeing him.

The Superintendent of Public Grounds and Buildings, who is always an Army officer, acts as master of ceremonies, and always stands on the President's left, at the door of entrance. An usher asks the name of each guest, and repeats it to the master of ceremonies, who announces it to the President as its owner files by. Another officer, usually of the Navy, stands by the President's wife and introduces each guest to her. As must inevitably result, this hasty taking of names by the wholesale causes many mistakes to be made, and many are the disgusted and indignant glances bestowed upon the unlucky ushers and master of ceremonies. But there is no time to correct any such mistakes, which, after all, are immaterial, for it is literally "touch and go" from beginning to end of the great New Year reception at the White House, to which all are welcome without distinction of status, race or color.

To the President and his receiving party these receptions are a mere formality. A quick touching of hands, a half spoken greeting, and the living stream flows on with mind and eye and body dazed and wearied, while other hundreds of men and

women in the still waiting line are almost fainting in the heavy pressure behind them. Nobody is having a good time; everybody, indoors and out, is either good naturedly uncomfortable, or else driven to the verge of profanity, if not beyond.

Do they "pay," these Presidential New Year receptions?

A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inherent and inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light & transient causes, and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed but when a long train of abuses and usurpations begun at a distant

certain unalienable rights

rather

ORIGINAL DRAFT OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Fac-simile of a portion of first page

(The document, entire, is in the possession of the American Philosophical Association, Philadelphia)

WHO WROTE THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE?

BY WILLIAM M. VAN DER WEYDE

Secretary Thomas Paine National Historical Association

THE veil of mystery surrounding the authorship of that immortal document, the Declaration of Independence, seems to be as impenetrable today as it was when efforts were first made, many years ago, to solve the great riddle.

From the inception of the public school system in America to

the present day pupils have been taught that Thomas Jefferson wrote the great declaration of rights. The historians of the nation have, with but few exceptions, given him full credit as the author. In consequence nearly everybody has accepted it as a historical fact that Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States, wrote the Declaration of Independence.

But there are some persons who do not believe Jefferson was its author. These persons, after close and searching study, aver that it was Thomas Paine who wrote the Declaration. Several books and pamphlets have been written on the subject, as well as many newspaper and magazine articles. The writers are agreed that Jefferson is mistakenly given laurels that properly belong to Paine. Among these writers may be mentioned Van Buren Denslow, LL.D., William Henry Burr, James Edgerton and Albert Payson Terhune.

There is much evidence, both internal and external, in the Declaration, that some person other than Jefferson was the writer. There is much evidence, internal and external, that the author was Thomas Paine, Jefferson's friend and confidant, whose spirited essay entitled "A Serious Thought," published in Philadelphia, October 18, 1775, nearly nine months before the nation's Declaration of Independence was adopted, was the earliest anticipation of the Declaration.

Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography says "It has been frequently asserted that Paine was the author of the original draft of the Declaration of Independence. But the evidence offered is far from conclusive."

The evidence is, of course, not conclusive, but many learned men have been convinced nevertheless by the facts adduced. While it is highly improbable that at this late day the matter of the Declaration's authorship will ever be definitely settled, a brief résumé of the salient facts in the case will doubtless be of interest.

Thomas Paine was one of Jefferson's closest and most intimate friends. He was the most brilliant writer in the colonies, author of that remarkable pamphlet "Common Sense," urging separation and independence from Great Britain, a pamphlet so

virile and powerful that its effect has never been paralleled in literary history.

Paine's writings were marked by their lucidity, logic and sound reasoning. All his arguments were presented with such force, simplicity of statement and incontrovertible deductions of fact that his magic pen was hailed on every hand as the instrument of the country's salvation.

When, as a result of Paine's "Common Sense," the colonies were aflame with rebellion against impositions of the "mother country," it was determined by the patriot congress to draw up a Declaration of Independence, various names were proposed for the honor of formulating the document. Franklin was one of those originally suggested but other work in behalf of the struggling colonists engaged all of his time and besides—it is said—there was fear that he might inject too much wit and humor in the important document. Other names were proposed but rejected for various reasons. Then Jefferson, a young lawyer from Virginia, was suggested. Jefferson at first demurred but was eventually prevailed upon to undertake the work in conjunction with a committee consisting of John Adams, Franklin, Robert R. Livingston and Roger Sherman. These four latter had little or nothing to do with the preparation of the document and Jefferson was generally accredited the author. As such he has been glorified in history and every schoolboy will glibly tell you, when asked, that it was Jefferson, *of course*, who wrote the Declaration of Independence.

But evidence that Jefferson was really the author is lacking and it is quite probable that history has placed its laurels on the wrong head. Paradoxically, history records many instances where the honors that truly belong to some person in the background of the scene have been bestowed unjustly upon some other person. The "facts" of history are *facts* only when they are indisputable.

Jefferson, who was never a facile, forceful or felicitous writer—as proven by his published works—presented to Congress in due time a draft of the document that he had been commissioned to formulate—the wonderful document that has achieved imperishable fame as the Declaration of Independence. The orig-



THOMAS PAINE

From the Portrait in Independence Hall, Philadelphia

inal draft he produced was read, re-read, revised, read again and then amended. Then it was adopted by Congress.

Let us now examine the document as it was originally presented to Congress by Thomas Jefferson; let us seek such evidence in the document itself as shall throw light upon its authorship.

That the reader may note some of the evidence for himself by following the text in the original draft of the Declaration, as submitted by Jefferson, a fac-simile is printed here, showing the upper part of the first page. (It is impracticable to reproduce the entire document in fac-simile. The beginning of the document, however, itself contains two or three of the important points we shall discuss.) The original draft from which our fac-simile is made consists of four closely written pages, foolscap size, 7 7-8 x 12 1-2 inches. It is in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia. It has annotations and corrections both in the body of the text and on the margins of the paper.

We need go no further than the seventeenth line in the original draft to discover a little word of four letters upon which is based one of the strongest arguments against Jefferson's authorship, and it is at the same time one of the strongest arguments for crediting Paine with the work. The word is "*hath.*" Now in all of Jefferson's writings—and Jefferson has written a great deal—that word never once occurs. It is a word that apparently was not in his vocabulary. In Paine's works, however, the old-fashioned word is to be found hundreds of times. He employed it continually.

Another striking bit of internal evidence to be found in the original draft is contained in the paragraph next to the very last. That paragraph reads as follows:

"At this very time, too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood but *Scotch and foreign mercenaries* to invade and destroy us."

Now, Jefferson, an American, born in Virginia, would have naturally included the word "other" in the phrase "Scotch and foreign mercenaries." He would have written "Scotch and *other* foreign mercenaries" were he the author. Paine, born in

Thetford, England, and not very long in America, would, as a matter of habit, think of the Scotch as *not* foreign and would write the phrase just as it appears in the first draft—without the word “other.”

Besides this, it is known that Jefferson had no aversions to the Scotch, while Paine particularly disliked and distrusted them. Jefferson had successively three Scotch tutors, to each of whom he was greatly attached. He would hardly have alluded to the Scotch so derogatorily. It is most improbable, too, that, were Jefferson the author of the Declaration, he would deliberately offend by such a phrase several Scotchmen in the Congress that commissioned him to draw up the document. (Congress struck out the words “Scotch and” before approving the document.)

Another point in connection with this same phrase in the Declaration: Were Jefferson the true author of the document he would in all probability have been able to correctly quote the phrase about “mercenaries.” The word is fairly uncommon in itself and would cling to the memory in this phrase. Yet Jefferson, quoting the phrase later, (Vol. VIII, p. 500, of his works) gives it as “Scotch and *other* foreign auxiliaries.”

A notable variance of opinion may be found in the long paragraph in the original draft of the Declaration which protests against negro slavery. The slave trade is denounced as “an assemblage of horrors” and “execrable commerce.” Jefferson could not logically have written this, for he was the owner of many slaves himself. Were Jefferson the author of the Declaration he would carefully have avoided any mention of slavery—certainly he would not bitterly denounce it.

Thomas Paine, on the other hand, made *the very first plea for the abolition of negro slavery* in America. This was an essay entitled “African Slavery in America,” published March 8, 1775, in *The Pennsylvania Magazine*. In November, 1779, there was introduced in the Pennsylvania Assembly, of which Paine was Clerk, an act for the abolition of slavery in that State, which then contained six thousand negro slaves. The act was inspired by Paine’s writings against slavery and the preamble, it is generally believed, was written by him. The senti-

ments and phraseology of the act are almost identical with Paine's anti-slavery writings. The act was passed March 1, 1780. Paine was not only the first abolitionist but his essays on the subject of negro bondage rank today among the strongest and ablest documents ever written on this topic.

What more natural, assuming that Paine was the real author of the Declaration, than his introduction of a paragraph denouncing the system of negro bondage? What more unlikely than the writing of such a paragraph by Jefferson, the owner of many slaves?

To these pertinent questions we may add another, bearing on the same topic. Is it likely that the owner of slaves would write a paragraph declaring that *all* men were created equal and all endowed with the right of *liberty*?

The full text of this paragraph, as it appears in the original draft of the Declaration, follows:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident that *all* men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inherent and inalienable rights; that among these are life, *liberty* and the pursuit of happiness."

It is hardly conceivable that Jefferson penned these words. They are neither in accord with his known sentiments, nor is the phrasing similar to any other of his writings. But both phrasing and sentiment flavor fully of Thomas Paine.

Another notable inconsistency is to be found in the Declaration's mention of taxation. One of the chief causes of the Revolutionary War was the unjust taxation to which the colonies were subjected by Great Britain, yet in the Declaration but very scant mention is made of taxation. Jefferson believed the matter of taxation to be of the greatest concern; Paine (formerly an exciseman having to do with the levying of taxes in England,) considered the subject of minor importance, a side issue in the great movement for independence. If Jefferson wrote the Declaration why is so little notice taken of the matter of taxation?

In the original draft of the Declaration is to be found a lengthy paragraph in which the following sentence occurs:

"This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is

the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain." The words "infidel" and "Christian" are underscored.

Paine was a Deist, avowing in his will, and elsewhere, belief "in one God and no other." He was not a Christian, i. e., one having belief in the divinity of Christ, but a believer in the god of nature. The sarcasm to be found in the reference to George III as "the Christian King of Great Britain" might very well have flowed from the pen of Paine, the Deist. The allusion to "nature's god" in the Declaration's first paragraph (see facsimile) is also indicative of Paine, who believed God was to be found in Nature.

Paine never claimed the authorship of the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson, his intimate friend, had been commissioned to frame the document and was generally accredited the author. Paine could not as a matter of fairness to his friend take from Jefferson the laurels. Many of Paine's works were published anonymously. He cared not for glory and neither did he desire financial reward, for he copyrighted none of his works—all of which had an enormous sale. His sole ambition was to benefit the struggling young nation to which he had consecrated himself. It mattered not to him on whose ears fell the plaudits of the nation so its interests were advanced.

The great document, embracing all the ideas (and in many instances the very words) of Paine's pre-Revolutionary works, was prepared behind closed doors. It would have been a breach of confidence and honor for Paine ever to proclaim himself the real author, and no more conscientious and honorable man ever lived than Paine.

Neither did Jefferson ever claim the authorship. In all his lifetime he never said he was the author of the Declaration of Independence. He was generally accredited the authorship of the document and was content. In his autobiography Jefferson naively writes:

"The Committee requested that I should prepare the Declaration; *it was accordingly done.*" This is as close as Jefferson ever came to claiming the Declaration as his own work. The wording smacks of evasion.

On Jefferson's tombstone are these words:

“Author of the Declaration of Independence,” chiselled no doubt by order of enthusiastic and perhaps too credulous friends.

The little marble slab that rested on the modest grave of Thomas Paine in a corner of the 277 acre farm at New Rochelle, N. Y., presented to the great patriot by the State of New York “in consideration of eminent services rendered to the United States” was long ago shattered and lost. It bore no mention of the Declaration of Independence, but was simply marked:

“Thomas Paine,
Author of ‘Common Sense.’ ”

MILITARY GRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

BY J. B. OFNER

PART II

SOUTH CAROLINA on March 28, 1778, promised enlists in her Continental line rendering a stipulated amount of service 200 acres of land. This included the 100 acres promised by Congress. The offer was also extended to certain of the militia. Restrictions against assignment of these rights were imposed probably to insure the bounty to the real donee contemplated by law and also to protect the soldiers from crafty claim purchasers who have always hampered the administration of such laws and diverted the bounty from its real intendment. Soldiers are not tradesmen and experience has shown that they part with such rights at an enormous discount from the real value.

On March 26, 1784, provision was made for the location, surveying and patenting of lands between the "Togolo" and Keowee rivers to the South Carolina soldiers in satisfaction of bounties due them under any act of the local legislature or resolve of Congress. Privates received 200 acres and the officers more. 628 grants were made. They are alluded to as plantations and describe the land by reference to an appended plat. Among the noteworthy grants are those to Marion, Moultrie and Sergeant Jasper's eldest son for his father's service. Marion was given 302 acres in St. Johns parish for his work as lieutenant-colonel. Moultrie earned a warrant for 1,100 acres from the United States which issued to an assignee. It is thought that it might be estimated that these grants averaged about 250 acres apiece, and that South Carolina donated about 150,000 acres to her soldiers in the Revolution. The War of 1812 soldiers are not believed to have procured bounty-lands from South Carolina.

Georgia issued five classes of land certificates for services per-

formed by her Revolutionary troops, termed Citizens' Rights, Refugees' Certificates, Continental Certificates, Minute Mens' Certificates and Marine Certificates, all of which define themselves. Citizens' Rights are traceable to an act of August 20, 1781, and were to be issued to citizens who did not absent themselves during hostilities, but remained at home and encountered the hardships and rendered faithful service. There were issued 2,923 of these rights. Under an act January 12, 1782, the Governor issued 694 certificates to those, who during their refugee-ship served their country as good soldiers. There was also delivered 200 Continental Certificates to those who served in the Continental establishment, 555 Minute Mens' Certificates to those enrolled for such duty, and nine certificates to men of the State Naval Service. The unit was 250 acres exempt from taxation for 10 years or 287½ acres with immediate assessment for taxes. The officers' grants were upward commensurate with rank. It might be conservatively estimated that the grants total 1,400,000 acres. Satisfaction was made with land obtained from the Creek Indians and formed into Franklin and Washington counties. Georgia also granted the confiscated estates of the tories for patriotic services. It is thought that Georgia is the only one of the original colonies to reward her War of 1812 soldiers with land. This was done indirectly, the men receiving an additional chance in a land allotment to citizens.

Massachusetts made no inducements with land to enlisters in the Continental army, but on March 5, 1801, tendered 200 acres to each private and non-commissioned officer or their immediate heirs, who could show three years service, and reserved a township for that purpose. The land was not to be sold or mortgaged until settled upon and cultivated to the extent of five acres. Here is a homestead law in embryo. Numerous resolves were enacted extending the time for the assertion of these rights and appropriating more land. The bounties are known locally as soldiers' lots, and lie in Maine. Prior to the cession of her eastern lands, Massachusetts executed 410 patents for such tracts, being in Mars Hill township, Aroostook county; T. 4 R. 2, Somerset county, and T. 2 R. 7, Penobscot county. Subsequently Maine granted 117 lots of 200 acres each in Township 2, Indian Purchase,

Penobscot county; 107 lots of the same area in Letter D. R. 2, Washington county (now Aroostook), and 21 lots of 600 acres each to officers in Letter E. R. 2, Washington county (now Aroostook). It is thus computable that Massachusetts contributed 82,000 acres and Maine 57,400 acres. Massachusetts did not grant land to her troops in the War of 1812.

It will readily be known that a State so imbued with the martial spirit as the Old Dominion was bountiful to her defenders. As early as October, 1776, she legislated with a view of augmenting the army by offers of land, being the first to respond to the appeals of the Continental Congress. Virginia is believed to have issued warrants for more land to the soldiers of the Revolution than any of her sister states or the United States, and,—in fact, more than all combined. It is true that the national government satisfied the great majority of them, but this was one of the terms and considerations of the Northwest cession, or at least arose out of the same, and Virginia equitably, is the real donor.

The beneficiaries consisted of her own troops, both regulars and militia, beside the Naval force which she raised. She also emulated New York and Pennsylvania in rewarding Baron Steuben. The Virginia warrants may be classified as Continental, State and Navy lines. Many warrants issued under resolutions were known as resolution warrants. Her grants were 300 acres to a private, 400 acres to a non-commissioned officer, 2,000 acres to subalterns, 3,000 acres to a captain, 4,000 acres to a major, 4,500 acres to a lieutenant-colonel, 5,000 acres to a colonel, 8,000 acres to a brigadier-general and 15,000 acres to a major-general. The officers and men of the Navy were given grants corresponding with these ranks according to military usage. In October, 1780, the grants to officers were increased by one-third and later this product was supplemented by a one-sixth for each year's service over a certain period. This will explain the odd-sized grants made by that State. To illustrate a colonel was entitled to 5,000 acres plus one-third or 6,666 2-3 acres. If he served an additional year, he was allowed an additional one-sixth of this amount or 1,111 1-9, aggregating in all

7,777 7-9 acres. This was rendered more complex by calculating allowances for fractional portions of a year.

Under resolves of May, 1779, January 2, 1781, and October, 1783, 150,000 acres was donated to General George Rogers Clarke's regiment, which lie in Clarke and Scott counties, Indiana. The patents were issued by Virginia and recognized in the cession of the Northwest territory to the government.

The bounty-lands accorded by Virginia formed the subject of multitudinous laws both by the Virginia law-makers and by Congress. The system is intricate and difficult of explanation. In October, 1783, it was resolved to satisfy these warrants with the good land southeast of the Ohio river and being on the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers and upon their exhaustion with tracts northwest of the Ohio river between the Little Miami and Scioto rivers. This latter reserve is the Virginia Military District of Ohio. The land southeast of the river is in Kentucky in a territory bounded by the Ohio, Green and Tennessee rivers, the Cumberland mountains and the Tennessee line. Grants falling west of the Tennessee river were legalized on December 26, 1820, and a number of grants falling into North Carolina (now Tennessee) and being void, were ultimately satisfied in a lieu reserve in Kentucky between the Mississippi, Ohio and Tennessee rivers and the Tennessee line. This will outline generally where the Virginia soldiers of the Revolution procured land in Kentucky. Services in the French and Indian war were indirectly rewarded by Virginia with Kentucky land.

On March 1, 1784, the Northwest territory was ceded by Virginia to the United States, which then agreed to satisfy some of the Virginia Revolutionary bounty-land warrants in the said Virginia Military District. It was originally contemplated to satisfy the State line warrants therein as well as the Continental line rights, but owing to the mistake of a printer in omitting a phrase, the reference to the State line warrants was overlooked and the warrants for services in the Continental establishment only were made locatable therein. It is doubtful whether a printer's error was ever so prolific of litigation and legislation. The courts held that the locations with State line warrants were void. Consequently the great bulk of the Continental line war-

rants were satisfied in said district, which embraces in whole or part the counties of Hardin, Marion, Auglaize, Logan, Union, Delaware, Champaign, Madison, Clark, Franklin, Pickaway, Fayette, Greene, Clinton, Ross, Warren, Highland, Pike, Brown, Adams, Scioto, Clermont and Hamilton and was estimated to contain 4,204,800 acres. The grants are not in one contiguous tract and a soldier's bounty will be found to be satisfied with widely separated tracts, which were described by metes and bounds, courses and distances or natural boundaries. Surveys will also be found to be based on the location of several warrants. Grants predicated on the services of John Paul Jones, Horatio Gates, Baron Steuben, Henry Lee, Robert Lawson, Daniel Morgan, Peter Muhlenburg, Charles Scott, Edward Stevens, George Weedon, William Woodford, Colonel William Washington and many other famous Virginia officers will be found herein. The public lands of Ohio appear to have been used very generally to reward soldiers. On February 18, 1781, the vacant land in said district amounting to 76,735.44 acres was given to Ohio and in turn presented to the Ohio State University. Warrants to the extent of 3,770,000 acres are claimed to have been located therein up to June 30, 1861. More locations were probably made between that date and 1871, but it must also be remembered that the 3,770,000 acres located, contained much more land on an accurate resurvey.

In 1830, Congress authorized the exchange of Virginia warrants of all three establishments for scrip of equal acreage, which was receivable at \$1.25 an acre for unappropriated land in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. More scrip was issued under later acts until March 4, 1900, prior to which there had been issued scrip totalling 2,547,046 acres. After deducting herefrom the amount covering the United States Revolutionary warrants, it may be estimated roughly that the government redeemed Virginia warrants to the extent of about 2,500,000 acres by scrip exchange, 3,770,000 acres in the Virginia Military District and 150,000 acres in Indiana or an approximate total of 6,420,000 acres. The said scrip was subsequently made applicable to lands in the western States. The amount satisfied in Kentucky was claimed to be between 1,800,000 and 2,000,000 acres, prior to

1792. On October 30, 1831, Virginia had issued warrants for 6,046,147 acres. The precise figures to date are not immediately available, but it can be safely stated that Virginia issued warrants aggregating at least 9,200,000 acres, which is over one-half of the land given in return for services in the Revolution. It will be seen that these warrants were satisfied in Kentucky, Ohio, and through scrip exchange throughout the public domain. The men of Clarke's regiment got land in Indiana.

Texas reserved her public lands on admission to the Union. She was very generous to the brave men who earned her freedom. She gave bounty-land to the participants in her war with Mexico in 1835, granting 320 acres for three months service, 640 acres for six months participation and 1,280 acres for one year's duty. Her bounty-land was not extended to the enlistees in the Mexican war of 1847, who as herein stated, were rewarded by the United States. The heirs of those who fell at the Alamo, at Goliad, in the battle of San Jacinto and other battles of the Republic received 1,920 acres bounty and 640 acres additional as a donation. Undoubtedly grants for military services will be found in favor of Houston and other leaders in the Texan struggle for liberty. Competent authorities conservatively estimate that Texas gave about 8,500,000 acres to her soldiers.

It must be borne in mind that there were a large number of military land grants made under special acts of Congress, independent of general legislation, the most noteworthy being the presentation of a whole township to Lafayette, the patent being delivered to him in person on July 4, 1825. It cannot be stated without an exhaustive examination how much land was granted under special legislation by the federal government and by the States, but it is thought to be a very large amount.

Advertence must be made to the fact that land warrants issued by the United States were necessarily satisfied with tracts in the public domain, excluding Alaska. This means in States carved out of territory procured by the government through State cessions, foreign purchase or treaty. This eliminates the thirteen original States and also Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maine, Vermont and Texas. The system is perplexing to laymen. Perhaps isolated cases of location in Ten-

nessee exist because the lands of that State were for a time once treated as the public domain. Some of the United States Revolutionary bounty-land warrants were satisfied by New York as quasi-surety, provided that they were issued to soldiers from that State. Legislative provision appears to have been made for the satisfaction of some in favor of South Carolina soldiers with realty in that State.

Conversely, warrants issued by State authority were to be located within the then existing limits of that particular State, but it will be noted that such locatable territory has since often been formed into other States. The Massachusetts bounty-lands are in Maine. The North Carolina warrants were satisfied with land now in Tennessee. The Virginia warrants will be found to be scattered in their location throughout Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana, and by a scrip exchange all over the western states. The bounty-lands of New York, Pennsylvania, Maine, South Carolina, Maryland, Georgia and Texas are within their respective limits. Some Pennsylvania surveys fell into New York, and a few Virginia surveys were found to fall in Tennessee, but this was corrected. The foregoing assertions are believed to depict generally where the military grants of the different states lie, but they must be discounted to exclude exceptional and isolated instances arising out of unforeseen circumstances, which cannot be always brought to light without a semi-archaeological research.

It is also observable that the United States gave bounty-land to the soldiers and officers of the Revolution, War of 1812, Mexican war and Indian wars, all prior to March 3, 1855; that Texas rewarded the participants of her wars and battles, that Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia granted lands to their respective soldiers of the Revolution, and that Georgia also rewarded the participants of the War of 1812, enlisting from that State.

There were various ways of allotting bounty-land. The original custom was to issue under executive authority a certificate addressed to the surveyors warranting the laying off of the land. Upon return of the plat, field notes and evidence of no prior valid

adverse claims, patent issued. This certificate was termed a warrant, and through the evolution of nomenclature, the certificates which issued long thereafter to soldiers evidencing the right to land, although containing no allusion to the survey, were eventually called military bounty-land warrants even if predicated on naval service. It was also the original practice to set aside a reserve wherein the surveys were to be made and the tracts allotted in the order of application for survey, as in the Virginia Military District. This was a poor method. It militated in favor of the vigilant and those residing in close proximity to the reserve and to the prejudice of those residing in distant places and not familiar with the procedure. Too much power was vested in the surveyor, who naturally became familiar with the choicest tracts. It was very frequently found that the tracts contained much more land than described by the survey. The land was described by reference to fixed monuments which, of course, controlled over calls for distances. Then again there were many overlapping entries and much litigation ensued. The better practice was to divide the reserve into lots of known areas and to distribute the same by lottery, giving all an equality of choice. This was done by New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland and by the United States in the first grants to the troops in the War of 1812. After the acquisition of a vast public domain and the consummation of the rectangular system of survey, the warrants were not restricted to districts but were made applicable throughout the public domain on land which was purchasable from the government at \$1.25 an acre. Warrants located after July 27, 1842, were not confined to reserves.

Military grants in non-public land states will be found to be described by metes and bounds, courses and distances, natural boundaries, fixed monuments and also by lot number as in Pennsylvania, New York and in Maine and in rare instances by township and range. In the public land states, the grants are described by section, township and range under the rectangular system of survey. The uninitiated will readily discern this method on large maps of the United States. The public domain is divided into an extended checkerboard. Of course an exception must be made of grants in the Virginia Military District, and

also in Indiana in the grant to Clarke's regiment and the Vincennes military district, where the lots were numbered.

It is pleasurable to note that Lafayette was authorized to procure more land for Revolutionary service than any other individual, 34,548.50 acres being his allotment. Steuben is a close second with 34,100 acres to which New York contributed 16,000 acres, Pennsylvania 2,000 acres, Virginia 15,000 acres, and the United States 1,100 acres. General Greene is third with 25,000 acres from North Carolina, 2,171 acres from Georgia, 1,100 acres from the United States, and a 10,000 guinea estate in Colleton county, South Carolina. General Washington is claimed to have been entitled to 23,000 acres from Virginia and 1,100 from the United States. He loftily waived all claim to bounty-land for service in the Revolution. He handled many warrants and secured extensive tracts. His French and Indian war services netted him at least 20,000 acres. Under a Virginia resolution of 1784 he exchanged a certain warrant purchased by him and based on ante-Revolution service, for another warrant for 3,000 acres, which he located in Ohio. This location formed the basis of the recently proposed indemnity of \$305,000 to his heirs.

Count D'Estaing was given 20,000 acres by Georgia, being in four equal parts in Franklin county. General Gates obtained 17,500 acres from Virginia and 1,100 acres from the United States. Daniel Morgan secured 13,333 1-3 from Virginia and 850 acres from the government. "Lighthorse Harry" Lee got 8,240 1-3 acres from Virginia and 500 acres from the United States. General Irvine secured 850 acres from the Union and 1,000 acres from Pennsylvania. Kosciusko received 500 acres from the United States, while Captain L'Enfant, designer of the Capital secured 300 acres. New York granted Alexander McDougall 5,500 acres, George Clinton 5,100 acres, John Cochran 5,100 acres, Samuel Stringer 4,250 acres, James Clinton 4,200 acres, Peter Gansevoort, John Lamb, James Livingston, William Malcolm, Van Schaick and Van Cortlandt 3,000 acres each, and Isaac Ledyard 2,400 acres, besides many others. General Wayne received 1,500 acres from Pennsylvania, and a plantation of 840 acres from Georgia purchased for 3,900 guineas and a warrant for 850 acres from the United States, which he sold. South Ca-

rolina granted land to Brigadier-general Huger, Dr. David Oliphant, Colonel Charles C. Pinckney and others. It is not purposed to set forth all the famous donees of such grants.

While the value of these tracts was comparatively small, it must be considered in the light of then existing standards of affluence and opportunity. The grants to General Greene by South Carolina and Georgia not to exceed 15,000 guineas in value were probably the most expensive tracts. Many, of course, are now near population centres and of considerable value. Portions of Lafayette's grants are in New Orleans and Tallahassee.

A precise calculation of the area of all land granted by the government and the States for military services is an impossibility. Even an approximate estimate cannot be ventured without the co-operation of all the authorities. The following figures are thought to approach the truth.

United States, Revolutionary warrants	2,666,080
War of 1812 (old series).....	4,845,920
General legislation	61,044,790
Canadian Refugees	57,860
Canadian Volunteers	72,903
Vincennes Military District.....	22,100
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Total.....	68,709,653
Virginia, Revolution (Estimated).....	9,200,000
Texas, (Estimated)	8,500,000
New York, Revolution (Estimated).....	1,500,000
Pennsylvania, Revolution (Estimated).....	600,000
Georgia, Revolution (Estimated).....	1,400,000
Maryland, Revolution	208,250
South Carolina, Revolution.....	150,000
Massachusetts, Revolution	82,000
Maine, Revolution	57,400
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Total.....	90,407,303

The available data is unsatisfactory to attempt an estimate of the area given by North Carolina for service in the Revolution;

by Georgia in the war of 1812; by the United States under special legislation; by various States to cover depreciation in the pay of the Revolutionary soldiers; by grants of the confiscated estates of tories; by excessive surveys; by the federal government through soldiers additional rights under the homestead law to certain participants in the civil war and by the States under special legislation and for uncalculated contingencies. The estimates have in all cases been placed at the minimum figures. There should be deducted the amount of unsatisfied warrants. However it is manifest that at least 100,000,000 acres of land were contributed to the wars of the Republic.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MAINE BORDER DISPUTE

IT may be a surprise to many ordinarily well-informed persons to learn that Secretary Knox and Ambassador Bryce recently signed a treaty that settles forever the long standing boundary dispute between Maine and New Brunswick. Since 1783, when an attempt was made to fix a satisfactory boundary, after the close of the Revolution, this question has been coming to the front with persistent regularity, and the story of the efforts that have been made at adjustment and readjustment would fill a large-sized volume. Scarcely a diplomat has been sent to this country from England who has not been called upon to familiarize himself with the Maine and New Brunswick boundary situation, while the State Department has gone over the ground so many times that it had come to be regarded as a sort of perennial nightmare.

There are boundary lines that are fixed by nature; there are others that are arranged in a peaceful fashion, and that, once they have been fixed, stay fixed for all time. There are some boundaries, in fact, that might almost as well be left undetermined, so little do they count in the affairs of the nations. With the Maine-New Brunswick line, however, it is different, especially with the part that has so long been in dispute, for this particular line runs through Passamaquoddy Bay, among the little islands at the mouth of the historic St. Croix River. As the result, the indefinite character of the boundary has been the cause of no end of dispute among fishermen who have always frequented these water and this has been conspicuously the case since the Eastport and Lubec canning factories have sent their men to this point to catch sardines, for it makes a great deal of difference whether they were fishing in American or Canadian waters.

At one time it looked as if the situation was assuming such serious proportions that it would be necessary to submit the

matter to formal arbitration, but, through the efforts of Secretary Knox, the two governments finally reached a compromise that, it is believed, will settle the question for all time.

A writer in the *New York Evening Post* has made a careful and comprehensive summary of the various phases that the situation has developed since the first attempt at adjustment immediately following the war for independence. From this article it seems that when the treaty of 1783 was drawn up the way was left open for all the trouble which subsequently occurred. Here is the language of Article II of that document:

“And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared that the following are, and shall be, their boundaries, viz.: From the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, viz.: That angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the Saint Croix River to the Highlands; along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the northwesternmost head of the Connecticut River,” etc., etc.

Thus, while the St. Croix was plainly named as the beginning of the eastern boundary, the only point mentioned was the source of the river, and not a word was said about its mouth or the numerous islands of the great bay into which it empties. Moreover, there arose at once the questions as to what was the St. Croix River. Trouble loomed on the horizon, and there were several lively collisions on the border. In 1794 John Jay was charged, among other things, with the settlement of the dispute. He was able to secure nothing more than a provision in the Jay treaty of 1794 for the appointment of three commissioners to determine the St. Croix River.

They met at Halifax in 1798 and determined the river, but left unmentioned the source of the river and made no disposition of the islands at the mouth. During the years that followed there were many treaties, conventions, and declarations between the United States and Great Britain in which the subject of boundary was dealt with—those of 1798, 1814, 1818, 1827, 1842, 1846, and

1870, for instance—but there was always something left to be adjusted and determined around the mouth of the St. Croix.

The treaty of Ghent, signed in 1814, provided for commissioners who should settle the matter of the disputed islands in Passamaquoddy Bay. These commissioners finally decided that Moose, Dudley, and Frederick Islands belonged to the United States, and that all of the other islands, including Grand Menan, belonged to Great Britain. This was very good as far as it went, but it left unsettled the status of several small islands in the St. Croix and the line itself through the open waters of the bay. The channel remained in dispute.

This omission left the seed of later trouble, but it was nothing to the trouble which soon arose over the boundary line northward and westward from the source of the St. Croix. The treaty of 1783 had been exceedingly vague on the subject. The King of the Netherlands was named in 1827 as referee, but he could not determine the line to suit either party. Finally, in 1831, he laid down a big map on the table before him and drew a line to suit himself, awarding part of the disputed territory to Maine and part of it to New Brunswick. This arrangement was rejected by the United States government. In the meantime, there were disturbances on the border which were getting more and more serious.

Operations of the 1830 census enumerators in the disputed area made much feeling. Then in 1838 an American lumber surveyor was seized by local New Brunswick officers and hurried off to jail, and this precipitated the Aroostook war in earnest. It did not prove much of a war, as wars go, but two regiments of Maine militia were hurried through the northern wilderness to the scene, and there was great excitement in the country at large. No guns were fired, however, except those at sunrise and sunset, but Gen. Winfield Scott, then in command of the regular army, hurried to Maine, and there was every prospect of a third war with Great Britain.

A joint occupation of the disputed region was agreed upon as a temporary makeshift, and then Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton got together and drew up in 1842 their famous treaty, which settled all dispute as to that part of the boundary line. It

is told as an historical fact that during the negotiations leading up to this treaty each nation secretly had in its possession a map which was unfavorable to its own claims. The crafty Americans withheld one which had been recently discovered in the Paris archives, and which was supposed to have been drawn by Benjamin Franklin in 1782; and the crafty Britons withheld one made by Richard Oswald, who was one of the commissioners who had negotiated the peace treaty which gave the United States its independence. Later each government made use of its map to convince its people that it had made a good bargain.

There was told another story of the making of the treaty—a story to the effect that Webster, having a head which was little affected by the drinking of much liquor, was able to make particularly favorable terms with the British lord, whose head was more easily addled by alcoholic fumes. Anyway, the United States has always regarded this 1842 treaty as a most satisfactory ending of the long dispute over the northern Maine border. Maine received a grant of money in compensation for its “war” expenses.

The treaty made no mention of any part of the boundary south of the monument, which had been erected at the source of the St. Croix, and until Secretary Knox and Ambassador Bryce signed their treaty the other day, the lower part of the line was in places a sort of a twilight zone. It is worth remembering that it was upon a little island near the mouth of the St. Croix—sometimes called Dochet Island and sometimes St. Croix Island—that De Monts and Champlain established their ill-fated French colony in 1604, then the only settlement by Europeans in all North America north of the Spaniards in Florida. The island now belongs to Maine.

Troubles over the sardine fisheries finally rendered intolerable the unsettled condition of the boundary line along the lower St. Croix, and through the bay, and now that a fair and definite settlement has been made everybody concerned hopes that it will stay settled. There is now no part of the thousands of miles of boundary between the United States and Canada which is in the slightest dispute, and no spot where a fort points its threatening guns across the border. Line fences are always a source

of trouble between neighboring farmers, and it speaks well for the common sense of the United States and Canada that their numerous differences have always been settled peacefully and without leaving rancor behind.

THE SCOT IN NEW ENGLAND

BY JOHN CALDER GORDON

Secretary and Custodian, American Scots Historical Society

PART VIII

Scottish Influence Among the Early Founders

BEFORE proceeding farther with the history of the Scots' Charitable Society, we will pause to refer briefly to Scottish enterprise and influence among the early founders of New England. Generally early histories of colonization in America give the impression that the sole founders of New England were English Puritans. The seeker after historical fact, however, discovers the names of another race among the early founders, whose origin is traced to the Scottish nationality. This is proven by the fact that a number of Scots were associated on the Council "For Planting, ruling and governing of New England in America," under the charter from a Scottish king (James VI of Scotland, crowned James I of England). We have learned that Sir William Alexander's efforts to found a new Scotland in America attracted wide attention both in Scotland and England. Many of the leading Englishmen who were interested in American colonization sought the active co-operation of Scotsmen of social standing and influence. There was nothing strange or unusual about this, as that at this time there were large numbers of Scottish people living in London and other parts of England. In this connection we would recall the great work and far-reaching influence in England of that statesman-priest, John Knox.

Professor P. Hume Brown in his exhaustive study of the life and work of John Knox, says; "Judged by the scale and sig-

nificance of his work, Knox may fairly be called a figure of European importance. More than any other man he has the right to be called the founder of Puritanism in England. By his five years' labor in that country he left a permanent stamp at once on ritual and doctrine, and in Frankfort and Geneva, where Puritanism first gained a clear consciousness of itself, he continued this influence with still more direct and more abiding results. Among the English exiles in both of these towns he held the first place, being, as we have seen, their minister and teacher, and chosen champion, while in the work these men afterwards did in their own country, they perpetuated the spirit they had imbibed during the four years they had listened to Knox at Geneva. By the victory of Knox in Scotland he gave still another impulse to Puritanism in England, which it may be difficult to appraise, but which was none the less operative and real."

David Thompson, a Scotsman, was one of the first white men to attempt a permanent settlement in New England. He was actively associated with, and high in the confidence of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Captain John Mason, and others of the "Council of New England."

On the 10th day of August, 1622, the Council for New England granted Captain John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges jointly all the land lying between the Merrimack and Sagadahoc (now Kennebec) rivers, extending sixty miles inland, and including all islands within five leagues of the shore. With the aid of several wealthy merchants a company was organized under the name of the "Laconia Company," and plans were matured for the development of the country, and the establishment of a settlement, trading and fishing station at the mouth of the Piscataqua River. In the spring of 1623 David Thompson was sent out as the attorney, managing head and director of a small band of people to commence a settlement there, where was erected the first house at a place called "Little Harbor," the site of the Hotel Wentworth, near what is now Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

The pioneer work of subduing the wilderness and establishing a permanent home was vigorously carried forward. About

midsummer the colony received a visit from Captain Miles Standish of Plymouth. It appears that the colony of Plymouth at this time (1623) was in dire straits, owing to the failure of its crops and lack of food supplies in general, hence Governor Bradford sent Captain Standish to visit other settlements and trading stations to procure provisions. Governor Edward Winslow, writing of this says: "Captain Miles Standish, having been sent by the Governor of Plymouth Colony to buy provisions for the refreshing of the colony, returned with the same July, 1623, accompanied with one Mr. David Thompson, a Scotchman, who also that spring began a plantation twenty-five leagues from us, near Smith's Isles (now Isle of Shoals) at a place called 'Pascatoquack,' where he liketh well."

William Hubbard, one of the earliest historians, (p. 105) says: "In the year 1623 some merchants about Plymouth and the west of England sent over Mr. David Thompson, a Scotchman, to begin a plantation about Piscataqua, but out of dislike, either of the place or of his employers, he removed down into Massachusetts Bay. * * * There he possessed himself of a fruitful island and a very desirable neck of land, since confirmed to him or his heirs by the General Court of the Massachusetts Colony."

Capt. Christopher Levett, born in England, in 1586, and who was associated with Robert Gorges, Governor of New England, Capt. Francis West and the Governor of New Plymouth, in promoting Colonization and establishing government and law in the territory now known as New England, landed on the Isle of Shoals, in the Autumn of 1623. Capt. Levett in a report of his observation and study of conditions on the New England Coast, said: "The next place I came unto was Pannaway, where one M Thompson hath made a Plantation, there I stayed about one moneth in which time I sent for my men from the East, who came over in diverse shippes. At this place I met with the Governor, who came hither in a bark, which he had from one M Weston about twenty days before I arrived in the land. In the time I stayed with M Thompson, I surveyed as much as possible I could, the weather being unseasonable, and very much snow."

The Governor whom Capt. Levett met at this place was Robert Gorges, Esq. This taken in connection with other allusions to David Thompson's settlement is indicative that it was considered of some importance.

The fact of Capt. Robert Gorges establishing a government over all New England, has escaped the notice of many historians, even that of the indefatigable Bancroft.

Thompson had become interested in American Colonization some years before his first arrival in the New World. Doubtless he was associated in some way with one of the groups of men in London known as Merchant Adventurers, organized for the purpose of Trading and Fishing in America. Evidence of this appears in the affidavit of William Trevour, as follows:

"I, William Trevour, testify that 'Thompson's Island' is the formerly called 'Island of Trevour' which I took possession of in 1619 and declared the same (as the effect of my proceedings) to Mr. David Thompson in London, on which information the said T.—— obtained a grant and patent for peaceable and quiet possession of said island to him and his heirs forever. I being in the Company's service at the said time. To this I testify on oath, twenty-second of second month, 1650. Deposed the day before named before me

Incr. Nowell.

that this is a true copy taken and compared with the original left on file.

Attest: ED. RAWSON *Secr.*"

Then follows this, from Capt. Miles Standish:

"July 15, 1650. I doe testify that in the year 1620 I came into this country and I take it the same yeare I was in the Massachusetts Bay with William Trevoure and then being upon the island lying near Dorchester and called the said island, "Island Trevoure" and then no natives there inhabited neither was there any signe of any that had been there that I could perceive, nor of many, many yeares after.

P. MILES STANDISH.

Further I can testify that David Thompson showed me a very Ancient Patent and that Isle Thompson was on it, but the terms of it I cannot remember.

P. MILES STANDISH.

Deposed before the whole Court twenty-fifth October 1650.

E. R. *Sec.*

That is a true copie compared with its original left on file.

Attest: EDWARD RAWSON, *Secr.*''

There was a William Trevoure, a sailor, one of the crew of the Mayflower, in her historic voyage to Plymouth, Mass., who accompanied Capt. Miles Standish on various exploring expeditions along the coast of New England. Whether this is the same man who made the foregoing affidavit it is impossible to tell. However, Trevoure being a sea-faring man, it would be by no means improbable for him to have been in this country before the arrival of the Mayflower.

Thompson, on his return from Plymouth, visited Boston Harbor, and inspected the various islands and the main land, where he formally took possession of the island which now bears his name, and previously selected for him by William Trevor. This attractive spot Thompson decided should be his future home and headquarters. The neck of land secured by Thompson is known at the present day as Squantum, named after the famous Indian Squanto, a historic character, who was of great assistance to the first settlers. This site was formerly a part of Dorchester, Massachusetts, and adjoins the present city limits.

From the earliest settlement of Boston down to the present day,—nearly three hundred years,—this locality has been noted as the great playground of town and city; here all kinds of feasts and festivals have been held. The past and the present appear to meet at this historic spot, for only recently, September, 1910, was held here the greatest aviation exhibition in the world up to date.

Thompson lost no time in founding a permanent settlement on the island, in what was afterwards called "Boston Harbor." The records of the town of Dorchester, together with those of the Massachusetts General Court, confirm the statement that

in the year 1624 David Thompson, a Scotchman, settled on the island, since known as "Thompson's Island." This was six years before Boston was founded, and a little over two years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

This is one of the best cultivated and most fruitful Islands in Boston Harbor, distinguished from all others by the prolific growth of vegetation, which at once attracts attention. The island is about one mile in length and about a third of a mile in width, comprising upwards of one hundred and fifty acres of good agricultural land.

Thompson was evidently an educated man, endowed with energy and no little executive ability. He held an important relation to the Council established for the "Planting, Ruling and Governing of New England." Thompson is referred to by Charles Francis Adams as "A Scottish gentleman,—both a traveler and a scholar—who had been quite observant of the habits of the Indians"—and that "In London he had been agent or attorney of the Council for New England, and represented it before the Privy Council."

The first official mention of this island (Thompson's) is found in the colonial records of Massachusetts under date of 4th of March, 1634, in the following words:

"Thompson's Island is granted to the inhabitants of Dorchester to enjoy to them their heires and successors, which shall inhabite there forever, payeinge the yearly rent of twelve pence to the treasurer for the time being."

The General Court was to realize later that they had committed a serious mistake in making this grant. In consequence of this grant by the General Court of the colony the town of Dorchester voted on the 20th day of May, 1639, that a rent of twenty pounds a year should be charged for the island. The entire income from this source was to be devoted toward the maintenance of a school in the town of Dorchester, this rent of twenty pounds "to bee paide to such a schoole master as shall undertake to teach English, Latine, and other tongues, and also writing."

The schoolmaster was to be chosen from time to time by the Freemen (voters) but it was left to the discretion of the Elders and the Seven Men for the time being to decide "whether maydes shall be taught with the boys or not." This was the first public school established in America.

Thompson, it appears, was not permitted for long to take an active part in the growth and development of the settlements in the immediate neighborhood of Massachusetts Bay, for we find the early records, although somewhat obscure as to the exact date of his death, generally agree that it occurred somewhere between 1628 and 1632. He left a widow and young son named John, who inherited his estate.

The early records, diaries and other writings of Bradford, Winslow, Hubbard, Levitt, etc., bear ample evidence to the fact that Thompson was a man of no little importance in the colonies, as he was on most friendly terms with all the leading men in the Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay and other settlements.

John Thompson, son of David, shortly after arriving at his majority, commenced action against the town of Dorchester to recover the island originally the property of his father, David Thompson. In support of his right and title to the island he produced as evidence affidavits from William Trevour, William Blackstone, Miles Standish and the Saggmore of Aggawam, also Samuel Maverick of East Boston.

Six years after the death of David Thompson his widow married Samuel Maverick, the first of the family of that name in America, and one of the most notable men of his time. Maverick was appointed by Charles II one of the four Royal Commissioners "to visit the colonies and hear and determine all matters of complaint."

Mr. Blackstone was a well-known character in the annals of early Boston,—the first European to settle on the site of the old town of Boston. He knew Mr. David Thompson and was well acquainted with the location of the island. This island, since the time of the Thompsons, has always been private property, and used for agricultural purposes. In the year 1834 it was purchased by the directors of the Boston Farm and Trades School, an incorporated institution, noted for its highly meri-

torious work in moulding raw material into trained and self-respecting citizens.

This school has frequently been mistaken for a reformatory institution, where law breakers and criminals are kept. Such however, is not the case, for the youthful candidate for admission to the school must be of good character. The school derives its financial support from a generous and open-handed group of men and women in the City of Boston and surrounding towns.

From the records of the Mass. Gen. Court, under date of May 10, 1648, we read of the action of that body in response of John Thompson's petition to be restored to his right and title to the Island and Land, formerly the property of his father. The Court says: "For asmuch as it appears to this Corte, upon the petition of Mr. John Thompson, sonn & heir of David Thompson, deceased, that the said David, in or about the year 1626, did take actuall possession of an iland in the Massachusetts Bay, called Thomson's Iland, & then being vacuum domicilium, & before the patent granted to us of the Massachusetts Bay & did erect there the form of an habitation, & dying soone after, leaving the petitioner an infant, who so soone as he came of age, did make his claim formally, & not now againe by his said petition, this Corte, considring the premises, & not willing to deprive any of their lawful rights and possessions, or to prmit any piudice to come to the petitionr in the time of his nonage, do hereby grant the said iland, called Thompson's Iland to the said John Thompson & his heirs forever, to belong to this jurisdiction, & to be undr the govrnment & laws thereof."

This was the first law suit of importance that occurred in the Colony and the town of Dorchester, not satisfied with the result, tried again to get the Island restored by law, but failed in the attempt. When Mr. John Thompson made his defense against the renewed claim of the town to the Island, in 1650, he brought in evidence certain affidavits of prominent persons among others that of the famous Indian Chief, the Saggamore of Aggawam, concerning Thompson's Island, which was as follows: "I, Saggamore of Aggawam testify that in the yeare 1619 or thereabouts as I remember, I went in my owne

person with Mr. Davis Thompson and then he took possession of the island before Dorchester, he liking no other but that, because of the smale Riuer, and then no Endians upon it or any Wigwam or planting, nor hath been by any Endians inhabited or claymed since, but two yeares agoe by Harmben an olde Endian of Dorchester. Witness my hand this thirteenth of July, 1650, before Mr. Greenleafe.

Witness, Edmund Greenleafe, Sagamore of Agawam.

This is a true copy, composed with its original on file.

EDWARD RAWSON, Sec'y. (Archives of Salem).

After the Treaty of St. Germain's and the abandonment of Nova Scotia by the Scots, the attention of many Scots became directed towards New England. Governor Edward Winslow in his "Narration of The True Grounds or Cause of First Planting of New England," says: "So also 'tis well known that before these unhappy troubles arose in England and Scotland, there were divers gentlemen of Scotland that groaned under the heavy pressure of those times, wrote to New England to know whether they might be freely suffered to exercise their Presbyterian Government amongst us, and it was answered affirmatively they might, and they sending over a gentleman to take a view of some fit place, the river called Meromeck, near Ipswich and Newbury aforesaid, was showed their agent, which he well liked, and where we have since four towns settled, and more may be for aught I know. So that there they might have a complete Presbytery, and whether they intended to have come. But meeting with manifold crosses, being half seas through, they gave over their intendments, and, as I have heard, these were many of the gentlemen that first fell upon the late Covenant in Scotland."

Winthrop, in his history, referring to a similar letter received this same year appears to confirm this when he says: "We received letters from a Godly preacher, Mr. Levinston,—doubtless meant for Livingstone—a Scotchman in the North of Ireland, where he signified that there were many good Christians in those parts resolved to come hither, if they might receive satisfaction concerning some questions and propositions which they sent over."

Under date of Sept. 25th, 1634, the General Court of the Colony ordered "That the Scottishe and Irshe gentlemen which intends to come hither shall have liberty to sitt down in any place upp Mericmacke Ryrer not possessed by any."

As indicative that the people had full faith that a Scottish Colony would settle in the neighborhood of Ipswich or Newbury. The following conditional grant was passed by the town of Ipswich, December 29th, 1634: "Itt is consented unto that John Pirkins Jr., shall build a ware (fish trap) upon the river of Quasycung (now River Parker) and enjoy the profits of itt, but in case a plantation shall there settle then he is to submitt himself unto such conditions as shall by then be imposed."

William Hubbard, one of the earliest historians of New England, living in 1632, referring to the evacuation of Nova Scotia by the Scots, says: "For on the 17th of January following, they had intelligence that the French had bought the Scottish Plantation near Cape Sables, and that the fort there (meaning Granville, Annapolis Basin) with all the ammunition was delivered to them and that the Cardinal of France (meaning Richelieu) having the managing of that affair, had sent some companies already, and that preparations were made to send more the next year, with divers priests and Jesuits among them. This news alarmed the Governor and Counsel to stand upon their guard and look to themselves, and upon further debate and consultation with the Chief of the country, it was agreed with all expedition to finish the fort began at Boston, and raised at Nantasket, and to hasten the planting of Agawan (since called Ipswich) one of the most commodious places in the country for cattel and tillage, lest an enemy should prevent them by taking possession of the place. To that end the Governor's son was ordered forthwith to go and begin a plantation there."

HISTORY OF THE MORMON CHURCH

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER XXXV

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CHURCH IN ILLINOIS

THERE is nothing in our Church annals which indicates the objective point to which the Saints intended to move when they began their flight from Missouri. Was it the intention of the main body of the Church to move back to northern Ohio that led them eastward? The temple was there, and some still had claims upon lands in the vicinity of Kirtland. Others had come from points still further east, and from Canada. Was it their intention to return to their former homes, and was the Church, if not on the eve of disintegration, at least upon the eve of seeing its membership scattered and the attempt to live together as a community for the exemplification of those principles for which the Church stood, abandoned? There was much in the unsettled circumstances of the people to justify such a conclusion. It would seem also that as late as the 25th of March, 1839, that President Smith had no definite plan to suggest as to a location for the people, then fleeing from Missouri, and taking temporary refuge in western Illinois.¹ Yet it is clear that the Prophets' mind was undaunted, and that he was still determined to hold his people together as a

1. Under the date given the Prophet wrote from Liberty Prison:

"Now brethren, concerning the places for the location of the Saints, we cannot counsel you as we could if we were present with you; and as to the things that were written heretofore, we did not consider them anything very binding, therefore we now say once for all, that we think it most proper that the general affairs of the Church, which are necessary to be considered, while your humble servant remains in bondage, should be transacted by a general conference of the most faithful and the most respectable of the authorities of the Church, and a

people, and resume the work where it had been halted by the calamities that had befallen the Church in Missouri. "I would suggest," said he in the communication above alluded to, "for the consideration of the Conference, its being [that it be] carefully and wisely understood by the council or conference that our brethren scattered abroad, who understand the spirit of the gathering, that they fall into the places and refuge of safety that God shall open unto them, between Kirtland and Far West. Those from the east and from the west, and from the far countries, let them fall in somewhere between those two boundaries, in the most safe and quiet places they can find; and let this be the present understanding, until God shall open a more effectual door for us for further considerations."²

The Prophet further suggested for the consideration of the Conference "that there be no organization of large bodies upon common stock principles in property, or of large companies or firms, until the Lord shall signify it in a proper manner, as it opens such a dreadful field for the avaricious, the indolent, and the corrupt hearted to prey upon the innocent and virtuous, and honest."³

This was all in the way of plans for settlement that had been devised.

The point of exodus from Missouri was Quincy, Illinois. This place was chosen, doubtless, because it was in the direct line of the movement eastward, and also because of its ferriage facilities. Quincy is located on the east bank of the Mississippi on a limestone bluff, one hundred and twenty-five feet above low water mark. Quincy bay is an arm of the river and affords a natural harbor for river craft. Three years after the arrival of the first white settler it was laid out a town, (1825). It was not made a town, however, until 1834; in 1839, it became an incorporated city.

A kind reception was given to the exiled Saints by the people

minute of those transactions may be kept, and forwarded from time to time, to your humble servant; and if there should be any corrections by the word of the Lord, they shall be freely transmitted, and your humble servant will approve all things whatsoever is acceptable unto God." (Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. III, p. 295.

2. Documentary History of the Church, Vol. III, p. 30.

3. History of the Church, Vol. III, p. 301.

of Quincy and vicinity.⁴ The spectacle of a people in free America being driven from their homes and expelled from one of the states of the American union on account of their religion, might well arouse the indignation and excite the sympathy of the people of other states. The Democratic Association of Quincy was especially active in the interests of the exiles. In the month of February a meeting was called by this association to inquire into the situation of the Mormon exiles.⁵ At this first meeting all that was done was to pass a resolution, to the effect that the people called the Latter-day Saints were in a situation requiring the aid of the people of Quincy. A committee of eight was appointed to call a general meeting of both citizens and Mormons, and to receive a statement from the latter of their condition, with a view to having their necessities relieved. The second meeting was held in the courthouse, and the special committee appointed at the first meeting reported its labors. The committee had received statements from Sidney Rigdon and others in relation to the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri, and suggested a series of resolutions setting forth that the exiled strangers were entitled to the sympathy and aid of the people of Quincy; that a numerous committee, composed of individuals from every part of the town, be appointed to allay the prejudices of the misguided citizens of Quincy, and explain that it was not the design of the exiles to lower the wages of the laboring classes, but to secure something to save them from starvation; that a standing committee be appointed to relieve, so far as in their power, the wants of the destitute and homeless; and to use their utmost endeavors to procure employment for those who were able and willing to labor.

The report closed by saying:

“We recommend to all the citizens of Quincy that in all their intercourse with the strangers, they use and observe a becoming decorum and delicacy, and be particularly careful not to indulge in any conversation or expression calculated to wound their feelings, or in any way to reflect upon those who, by every law of humanity, are entitled to our sympathy and commiseration.”

4. See Note 1, end of chapter.

5. See Note 2, end of chapter.

This good work begun by the Democratic Association was continued by them for some time, and substantial assistance was given to the suffering Saints through their exertions. At a subsequent meeting of the Association the following resolutions were adopted:

That we regard the right of conscience as natural and inalienable, and the most sacredly guaranteed by the Constitution of our free government.

That we regard the acts of all mobs in violation of law; and those who compose them individually responsible, both to the laws of God and man, for every depredation committed upon the property, rights, or life of any citizen;

That the inhabitants upon the western frontier of the state of Missouri, in their late persecution of the people denominated Mormons, have violated the sacred rights of conscience and every law of justice and humanity.

That the governor of Missouri, in refusing protection to this class of people, when pressed upon by a heartless mob, and turning upon them a band of unprincipled militia, with orders encouraging their extermination, has brought a lasting disgrace upon the state over which he presides.

Thus with expressions of sympathy and material aid did the people of Quincy assist the exiles and bid them hope for better days. Nor was this kindly feeling confined to the people of Quincy and vicinity; it extended throughout the state; and especially was it exhibited by some of the leading men thereof, including Governor Carlin, Stephen A. Douglas, Dr. Isaac Galland and others.

While the great body of the Church made its exit from Missouri viz of Quincy, all did not do so. Some went northward into the then territory of Iowa. Among these was a brother Israel Barlow, who taking a northeasterly course from Far West, struck the Des Moines river a short distance above its mouth. He was without food and destitute of clothing. Making his wants known to the people living in that locality, they kindly supplied him with food and raiment. To them he related the story of the persecution of the Latter-day Saints in Missouri, and how his people, poor and destitute as himself, were fleeing from the state *en mass*. His relation of the sufferings

of the Saints, and the cruelties heaped upon them by their heartless persecutors, enlisted the sympathies of his hearers, and they gave him letters of introduction to several gentlemen, among which was one to Dr. Isaac Galland, a gentleman of some influence, living at Commerce, a small settlement on the banks of the Mississippi, in Illinois.

Dr. Galland owned considerable land in Commerce and vicinity; also he had claims upon an immense tract of land in Iowa called the half-breed land.⁶ He wrote the Saints located in Quincy that several farms could doubtless be rented in his locality, and that perhaps some fifty families could be accommodated at Commerce. In addition to this offer of lands made to the Church, another and a previous one had been made of twenty thousand acres, between the Des Moines and the Mississippi rivers, (the half-breed tract). This tract could have been purchased at two dollars per acre, to be paid in twenty annual payments without interest. A conference was convened at Quincy in February, and the advisability of making the purchase and settling the Saints in a body came up for consideration. It was decided by the conference that it was not advisable to locate lands at that time.

Subsequently, however, on the ninth day of March, the Saints having received further offers of land in Illinois and Iowa, called another public meeting and appointed a committee to go and examine the lands offered. In Iowa, the people and officers of the territory expressed a kindly feeling toward the exiled Saints. The governor of Iowa—Robert Lucas—had known the Saints in Ohio, and testified to Dr. Galland that the Mormon people, when they were in Ohio, were good citizens, and he respected them as such now, and would treat them accordingly, should they, or any part of them, decide to settle in Iowa. The Governor's statement is made in answer to a letter of inquiry on the subject of the Mormons settling in Iowa. He wrote to Dr. Isaac Galland as follows:

6. Galland's title to the half-breed tract was in dispute. "To him the acquisition of a few thousand industrious settlers upon his lands must at any time have been no small object. It was especially so in view of the complicated litigation in which the half-breed tract was involved, that being likely to terminate in favor of the actual possessor." Hunt's Mormonism (1844) Appendix, pp. 5, 6.

Executive Office, Iowa, Burlington, March, 1839.

Dear Sir:—On my return to this city, after a few weeks absence in the interior of the Territory, I received your letter of the 25th ultimo, in which you give a short account of the sufferings of the people called Mormons, and ask “whether they could be permitted to purchase lands, and settle upon them, in the Territory of Iowa, and there worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences, secure from oppression,” etc.

In answer to your inquiry, I would say, that I know of no authority that can constitutionally deprive them of this right. They are citizens of the United States, and are entitled to all the rights and privileges of other citizens. The 2nd section of the 4th Article of the Constitution of the United States (which all are solemnly bound to support), declares that the “citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states.” This privilege extends in full force to the territories of the United States. The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States declares that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.”

The Ordinance of Congress of the 13th of July, 1787, for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, secures to the citizens of said territory, and the citizens of the states thereafter to be formed therein, certain privileges which were, by the late Act of Congress organizing the territory of Iowa, extended to the citizens of this territory.

The first fundamental Article in that Ordinance, which is declared to be forever unalterable, except by common consent, reads as follows, to-wit: “No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship, or religious sentiments in said territory.”

These principles, I trust, will ever be adhered to in the territory of Iowa. They make no distinction between religious sects. They extend equal privileges and protection to all; each must rest upon its own merits, and will prosper in proportion to the purity of its principles, and the fruit of holiness and piety produced thereby.

With regard to the peculiar people mentioned in your letter, I know but little. They had a community in the northern part of Ohio for several years; and I have no recollection of ever having heard in that state of any complaints against them from violating the laws of the country. Their religious opinions, I consider has nothing to do with our political transactions. They are citi-

zens of the United States, and are entitled to the same political rights and legal protection that other citizens are entitled to.

The foregoing are briefly my views on the subject of your inquiries.

With sincere respect,

I am your obedient servant,
 To Isaac Galland, Esq. Robert Lucas.
 Commerce, Illinois.

This communication Dr. Galland sent to the *Quincy Argus*, accompanied by the following note.

Commerce, Illinois, April 12, 1839.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—

Enclosed I send you a communication from Governor Lucas of Iowa territory. If you think the publication thereof will in any way promote the cause of justice, by vindicating the slandered reputation of the people called Mormons, from the ridiculous falsehoods which the malice, cupidity and envy of their murders in Missouri have endeavored to heap upon them, you are respectfully solicited to publish it in the *Argus*. The testimony of Governor Lucas as to the good moral character of these people, I think will have its deserved influence upon the people of Illinois, in encouraging our citizens in their humane and benevolent exertions to relieve this distressed people, who are now wandering in our neighborhood without comfortable food, raiment, or a shelter from the pelting storm.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

Isaac Galland.

In conversation with Dr. Galland, Isaac Van Allen, Esq., attorney general for the same territory (Iowa), gave him to understand that he would, so far as within his power, protect the Mormon people from insult and injury. It was these assurances of sympathy and protection which led to a reconsideration of the conclusion of the former conference, and the appointment of a committee to examine the lands offered. But little or nothing was ever done by this committee.

As before stated, Joseph Smith arrived in Quincy on the 22nd of April. The day following he spent in greeting his friends, and receiving visits from the brethren, but on the twenty-fourth he

called and presided over a conference, at which, in connection with Bishop Knight and Alanson Ripley, he was appointed to go to Iowa to select a place for the gathering of the exiled Saints. The conference also advised the brethren, who could do so, to go to Commerce and locate in Dr. Galland's neighborhood.

On the first of May the committee purchased from Hugh White, a farm of one hundred and thirty-five acres, for which they agreed to pay five thousand dollars; also another and a larger farm of Dr. Galland for nine thousand dollars. This was the first purchase of lands made in Commerce. The place is thus described by Joseph: "When I made the purchase of White and Galland, there was one stone house, three frame houses, and two block houses, which constituted the whole city of Commerce."

This small collection of houses was immediately on the banks of the river, and scattered between them and what afterwards became the south part of the city of Nauvoo, were one stone and three log houses. Back some distance from the river, however, were other dwellings scattered over the country, one of which was the home of Daniel H. Wells, a justice of the peace for the district of Commerce, and who afterwards became a prominent Church leader, one of the Counselors, in fact, in the First Presidency of the Church.

Later, when referring to the purchase of lands about Commerce, the Prophet Joseph said:

"The place was literally a wilderness. The land was mostly covered with trees and bushes, and much of it was so wet that it was with the utmost difficulty that a footman could get through, and totally impossible for teams. Commerce was unhealthy, very few could live there; but believing that it might become a healthy place by the blessing of heaven to the Saints, and no more eligible place presenting itself, I considered it wisdom to make an attempt to build up a city."

Having spoken of the first purchase of lands at Commerce, it may not be amiss here to say that subsequently more extensive purchases were made of Dr. Galland and Messrs. Hubbard, Wells, Hotchkiss, Hiram Kimball, and others. Considerable dif-

difficulty and embarrassment to President Smith personally and to the Church in general arose over misunderstandings about the Hotchkiss land purchase. Hotchkiss sold to Joseph for the Church upwards of five hundred acres of land in Commerce, for which he was to receive fifty-three thousand five hundred dollars, half to be paid in ten years, and the remainder in twenty years. This amount was secured to Hotchkiss & Company by two notes, one payable in ten years and the other in twenty, signed by Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon. The difficulty connected with this extensive land purchase arose from some exchanges that were made of property in the east by some of the Saints, for its equivalent in value in land out of the Hotchkiss purchase in Commerce; the matter, however, was finally amicably settled.

The terms on which Dr. Galland let the Church have lands were extremely advantageous to the Saints. He sold at a reasonable rate, and on long credit, that the people might not be distressed in paying for the inheritance they purchased. In addition to the first purchase, he exchanged lands with the Saints in the vicinity of Commerce for lands in Missouri, to the value of eighty thousand dollars. And he gave them a good title to the same. He is described as a man of literary attainments and extensive information and influence. All of which he used for the good of the exiles in giving them a standing among his friends. Finally he joined the Church, thus casting his lot with the exiled people he had assisted, and from that time until his death, shared their fortunes.

In addition to these land purchases the Church made others; some of them even more extensive than those already mentioned. The village of Nashville, in Lee county, Iowa, and twenty thousand acres of land adjoining, was bought. Another purchase also in Iowa was made by Bishop Knight, and a settlement was started there called Zarahemla, which was opposite to Nauvoo. This place was organized into a stake of Zion, but in January, 1842, the stake organization was discontinued, though Zarahemla continued as an organized branch of the Church.

Stakes of Zion in the following year were organized at Lima, in Illinois; also at Quincy, in Adams county, for the benefit of

the Saints who continued there. Another stake was organized at Columbus, in Adams county, Illinois, known as Mount Hope stake; besides these stakes, branches of the Church were organized in various parts of Lee county, Iowa, and Adams and Hancock counties, Illinois. But as Nauvoo rose from the swamps and underbrush of Commerce, and, under the industry and enterprise of the Saints, and the blessings of God developed into a healthy, beautiful and prosperous commercial and manufacturing city, these stake organizations in the surrounding country were discontinued and Nauvoo became the one great gathering place.

The name "Commerce" by which the little cluster of houses on the banks of the Mississippi was called, was early changed by Joseph Smith to Nauvoo. The word Nauvoo comes from the Hebrew, and signifies beautiful location; "carrying with it also," says Joseph Smith "the idea of rest." And indeed, the location of the city is beautiful. It stands on a bold point around which sweeps the placid, but majestic "Father of Waters"—the Mississippi. The city is at least half encircled by that noble stream. From its banks the ground rises gradually for at least a mile where it reaches the common level of the prairie that stretches out to the eastward, farther than the eye can reach, in a beautifully undulating surface, once covered by a luxuriant growth of natural grasses and wild flowers, with here and there patches of timber; but now chequered with an endless succession of meadows and cultivated fields.

Opposite Nauvoo, on the west bank of the river, the bluffs rise rather abruptly, almost from the water's edge, and were covered at the advent of the Saints in Illinois, with a fine growth of timber. Nestling at the foot of one of the highest of these bluffs, and immediately on the bank of the river, is the little village of Montrose, and back of these bluffs before mentioned, rolled off the alternate prairie and woodlands of Iowa. Between Montrose and Nauvoo, and perhaps two-thirds of the distance across the river from the Illinois side, is an island, from three-fourths of a mile to a mile in length, and from fifty to one or two-hundred yards in width, having its greatest extent north and south.

Nauvoo is situated just at the head of what are called the

Des Moines Rapids, about one hundred and ninety miles above St. Louis. These rapids were a serious obstacle to the navigation of the Mississippi at this point, as in the season of low water they could not be passed by the steamboats plying the river. This difficulty, however, was later obviated by the general government building a fine canal, running parallel with the west bank of the river, from Keokuk to Montrose, a distance of twelve or fifteen miles, at a cost of several millions of dollars.

Such is the location of Nauvoo; such its immediate surroundings.

NOTE 1: THE HEARTY RECEPTION OF THE SAINTS IN ILLINOIS NOT WHOLLY DISINTERESTED—ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS.—Much has been made of the kind reception given to the exiled Saints by the people of Quincy and, of western Illinois quite generally. Far be it from me to detract one iota from the kindness of those who extended the helping hand to the saints in the hour of their distress. Many were the acts of disinterested kindness extended to them by the people of Quincy and western Illinois; And every such act I am sure was and is remembered both by those who were the direct recipients of such acts of kindness and by their grateful descendants. But speaking of this reception of the Saints *en mass*, by Illinois, and leaving out of consideration for the moment—since they have already been acknowledged—the individual acts of kindness bestowed upon the exiles, was this reception of the Saints by Illinois wholly disinterested? Were there no benefits which the Saints could bestow upon the state in return for the heartiness of the reception given? Would it not have been, under all the circumstances, the gravest of blunders for Illinois to have refused asylum to these exiles? Is it to be presumed that the public men of western Illinois were so blind to their own interests as not to see in these twelve or fifteen thousand people a mighty advantage to the state? It is true they were poor in this world's goods; but they were rich in labor power, and their reputation for habits of sobriety and of industry had preceded them. Here were thousands of husbandmen seeking lands. Illinois had thousands of acres of unoccupied lands awaiting husbandmen. How shortsighted and unstatesman-like it would have been for the men of Illinois not to have welcomed these settlers into their state? With half an eye it is easy to see that the benefits of this reception of the exiled Mormons by Illinois is not by any means a one-sided affair; and it would be doing an injustice to the intelligence of the people of

that state to suppose they were blind to these advantages. This will more fully appear when other conditions are taken into account. Illinois has an area of 56,650 square miles; and at the time of the advent of the Saints in that state a white population of less than four hundred thousand,⁷ as against a present population of more than five and a half millions.⁸ It will be seen then, that in 1839, the year of the advent of the Saints into that state, Illinois was very sparsely settled, and needed above all things for her development and prosperity, people to subdue her wilderness and cultivate her rich lands, especially people desirous of making homes, and becoming permanent citizens. Moreover, Illinois had recently launched an extensive system of internal improvements by state aid. This system included the construction of 1,300 miles of railroads in the state, besides provisions for the improvement of the navigation of the Kaskaskia, Illinois, Great and Little Wabash, and Rock rivers. Also the construction of a canal from Lake Michigan to the navigable waters of the Illinois river, a distance of more than one hundred miles (from Chicago to Peru). To carry out this system of internal improvements the state legislature of 1836-7 had appropriated the sum of \$12,000,000; and to raise the money state bonds were placed on the stock markets of the eastern states and in England. It is not my province here even to note the wisdom or unwisdom of this policy of wholesale state aid for these internal improvements; let the wisdom or unwisdom be what it may, these conditions emphasized Illinois' demand for population, and again makes it evident that it would have been the height of folly for the people of that state to do other than give hearty welcome to this body of population so rich in labor-power; so potent in wealth producing energy.

NOTE 2: POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS: Another thing to be noted is the fact that about the time of the advent of the Saints into Illinois, political parties were just taking form in the state, and it is within the record of facts in the case, as well as of great likelihood, that a desire for obtaining political advantage was at least in the background of motives prompting the heartiness of the reception given to the Saints.⁹

7. The population in 1830 was but 155,061; and in 1840, 472,254.

8. The population of Illinois in 1900 was 4,821,550—nearly five millions; the estimated population for 1908 is 5,590,000.

9. "The greeting of the Mormons in Illinois, in its practical shape, had both a political and a business reason. Party feeling ran very high throughout the country in those days. The House of Representatives at Washington, after very great excitement, organized early in December, 1839, by choosing a Whig Speaker,

Illinois was admitted into the Union in 1818, but it is a matter of common knowledge that in the early years of her history as a state, her officers were elected not on any well defined political party principles, but chiefly on the strength of the personality of the candidates and the special things for which they individually stood. Indeed, it was not until 1830 that anything like party lines were drawn in the state, and that it became a battle ground for the two great national parties, Whigs and Democrats. It was a committee from a Democratic party organization in Quincy, Illinois, that took the initiative in welcoming the Saints into the state, and strive how one may, it is difficult to think there was not some political advantage sought through this action. On the other hand, the Whigs were not slow to urge upon the incoming exiles that it was a Democratic state and a Democratic administration in that state which had not only permitted, but had really ordered their expulsion from Missouri, and that doubtless the injustice they had suffered was owing to Democratic ideas of the administration of government. Joseph Smith, the Prophet, found it necessary to reprove some of his people who were rapidly making the question of their expulsion from Missouri a political, party question in Illinois. This effort to win the Saints to one political party or the other, continued to be a factor in their affairs so long as they remained at Nauvoo.

and at the same time the Whig National Convention, at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, nominated General W. H. Harrison for President. Thus the expulsion from Missouri occurred on the eve of one of our most exciting presidential campaigns, and the Illinois politicians were quick to appraise the value of the voting strength of the immigrants. As a residence of six months in the state gave a man the right to vote, the Mormon vote would count in the presidential election.

"Accordingly, we find that in February, 1839, the Democratic Association of Quincy, at a public meeting in the court-house, received a report from a committee previously appointed, strongly in favor of the refugees, and adopted resolutions condemning the treatment of the Mormons by the people and officers of Missouri. The Quincy Argus declared that, because of this treatment, Missouri was "now so fallen that we could wish her star stricken out from the bright constellation of the Union." In April, 1839, Rigdon wrote to the "Saints in prison" that Governor Carlin of Illinois and his wife "enter with all the enthusiasm of their nature" into his plan to have the governor of each state present to Congress the unconstitutional course of Missouri toward the Mormons, with a view to federal relief. * * * The business reason for the welcome of the Mormons in Illinois and Iowa was the natural ambition to secure an increase of population. In all of Hancock county there were in 1830 only 483 inhabitants as compared with 32,215 in 1900." (Story of the Mormons—Lynn, p. 221).

Drawn by Fred Percy, 1883

NAUVOO "THE BEAUTIFUL"—FROM "LIVERPOOL ROUTE"



CHAPTER XXXVI

EVENTS IN THE SUMMER OF 1839—THE APPEAL OF THE SAINTS TO
THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT

“They are not all Israel that are of Israel,” said Paul to the Roman Christians. So in these last days all were not Saints who flocked into Quincy with the exiles from Missouri. Many who were nominally members were unworthy of any standing whatever in the Church; and some had already been disfellowshipped. These several classes of delinquents preyed upon the hospitality of the people of Quincy to such an extent that the Church by action of a conference authorized Elder John Taylor to write the following letter, which was printed in the Quincy *Argus* of May 1st, 1839:

To the Editor of the Argus:

SIR:—In consequence of so great an influx of strangers arriving in this place daily, owing to their late expulsion from the state of Missouri, there must of necessity be, and we wish to state to the citizens of Quincy and the vicinity, through the medium of your columns, that there are many individuals amongst the number who have already arrived, as well as among those who are now on their way here, who never did belong to our Church, and others who once did, but who, for various reasons, have been expelled from our fellowship. Amongst these there are some who have contracted habits which are at variance with the principles of moral rectitude, (such as swearing, dram-drinking, etc.), which immoralities the Church of Latter-day Saints is liable to be charged with, owing to our amalgamation (with them) under our late existing circumstances. And as we as a people do not wish to lie under any such imputation, we should also state that such individuals do not hold a name nor a place amongst us; that we altogether discountenance everything of the kind; that every person belonging to our community, contracting or persisting in such immoral habits, has hitherto been expelled from our society; and that we will hold no communion with all such as we may hereafter be informed of, but will withdraw our fellowship from them.

We wish to further state that we feel ourselves laid under peculiar obligations to the citizens of this place for the patriotic feeling which has been manifested, and for the hand of liberality and friendship which has been extended to us in our late difficul-

ties; and should feel sorry to see that philanthropy and benevolence abused by wicked and designing people, who under pretense of poverty and distress would try to work upon the feelings of the charitable and humane, get into their debt without any prospect or intention of paying, and finally perhaps, we, as a people, be charged with dishonesty.

We say that we altogether disapprove of such practices, and we warn the citizens of Quincy against such individuals, who may pretend to belong to our community.

By inserting this in your columns, you, sir, will confer upon us a very peculiar favor.

Written and signed in behalf of the Church of Latter-day Saints, by your very humble servant,¹ John Taylor.

I have given this letter *in extenso*, because it bears upon its face the evidence of the honesty of the Church, and its disposition to treat the people of Illinois, who had so nobly and kindly received its members in the days of their distress, with candor. It also tells us of a class even then in the Church, who by the irregularities of their lives gave some coloring to the charges subsequently so unjustly made against the whole Church; a class who brought upon the Church reproach; an unrighteous, apostate element, which lingered with the church for the sake of advantage—the bane of the body religious.

About this time also some dissatisfaction arose because of an attempt on the part of some Church members to make a partisan political issue of the expulsion of the Church from Missouri. Prominent in this effort was Lyman Wight. He began the publication of a series of letters in the *Quincy Whig*, in which he laid the responsibility of the outrages perpetrated against the Saints in Missouri upon the Democratic party, implicating not only the Democrats of Missouri, but indirectly the National Democratic party. This gave much dissatisfaction to members of that party in the vicinity of Quincy, a number of whom, as we have seen, had been very active in assisting the Saints; and some of the leading men approached prominent brethren, who still remained in Quincy, and desired to know if the Church sustained the assertions of Lyman Wight. Elder R. B. Thompson wrote a letter to

1. Documentary Hist. of the Ch., Vol. III, pp. 341-2

President Joseph Smith on the subject, in which he protested against the course taken by Lyman Wight, because of the influence it was having on many of those who had so nobly befriended the Saints in the day of their distress. Besides it was altogether unjust, for no particular political party in Missouri was responsible for the cruelty practiced towards the Saints. Those who were in the mobs which robbed them of their homes, burned their houses, ran off their stock, and who whipped, murdered and finally drove the people from the state of Missouri, were made up of individuals of every shade of political faith, and of every religion, and many of no religion whatever. It was unfair, then, under these circumstances, that the responsibility should be laid at the charge of any one party or sect of religion. So that Wight's course was not only doing much mischief, but was also unjust.

To counteract the evil effect of Lyman Wight's communication to the *Quincy Whig*, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith, then the presiding quorum of the Church, published a letter in the *Whig*, from which I make the following quotation:

"We have not at any time thought there was any political party, as such, chargeable with the Missouri barbarities, neither any religious sect, as such. They were committed by a mob, composed of all parties, regardless of difference of opinion, either political or religious.

The determined stand in this state, and by the people of Quincy in particular, made against the lawless outrages of the Missouri mobbers by all parties in politics and religion, have entitled them equally to our thanks and our profoundest regards, and such, gentlemen, we hope they will always receive from us.
* * * We wish to say to the public, through your paper, that we disclaim any intention of making a political question of our difficulties with Missouri, believing that we are not justified in so doing.'"²

In reply to the letter of R. B. Thompson concerning this matter, President Joseph Smith admitted that the course of Wight was unfair, and said: "The Church was not willing to make of

2. Documentary Hist. of the Ch., Vol. III, pp. 354-5, where the letter is given *in extenso*.

their troubles a political question;" but he also said he considered it to be "the indefeasible right of every free man to hold his own opinion in politics and religion;" and therefore would have it understood that, as an individual, Lyman Wight had the right to entertain and express whatever opinion he pleased in regard to their troubles in Missouri; only intimating that care should be taken not to set forth individual views as the views of the Church.³ In writing to Lyman Wight on the subject, Joseph did not upbraid him, nor peremptorily order him to discontinue the publication of his letters, or retract them, but he informed him that the matter had been considered in a council of the Church, and that the result was that his course was disapproved.⁴

During the summer of 1839 the Saints who had been driven from Missouri continued to gather at Nauvoo and settle on the lands which had been purchased by the Church authorities. The violent persecution they had passed through in Missouri had well nigh wrecked the people. The exposure and hardships endured made them an easy prey to the malaria that infected Nauvoo and vicinity. A period of relaxation, too, was following the intense excitement under which they had lived for more than a year. They had reached a haven of rest. The fearful strain on the nervous system under which they had labored during the mobbings in Missouri and their flight from the state was removed; and they fell down in Nauvoo exhausted, to be a prey to the deadly malaria. Such was their condition on the morning of the 22nd of July. President Smith's house was crowded with the sick whom he was trying to nurse back to health. In his door-yard were a number of people camped in tents, who had newly arrived, but upon whom the fever had seized. Joseph himself was prostrate with sickness, and the general distress of the Saints weighed down his spirit with sadness. While still thinking of the trials of his people in the past, and the gloom that then overshadowed them, the Spirit of God rested upon him and he was immediately healed. He arose and began to administer to the sick in his house, all of

3. Documentary Hist. of the Ch., Vol. III, pp. 363-4.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 366-7.

whom immediately recovered. He then healed those encamped in his door-yard, and from thence went from house to house calling on the sick to arise from their beds of affliction, and they obeyed and were healed.

In company with P. P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Heber C. Kimball, and John E. Page, he crossed the river to Montrose and healed the sick there. One case is mentioned by all who have written on the subject as being very remarkable. This was the case of Elijah Fordham. He was almost unconscious and nearly dead. Bending over him, the Prophet asked the dying man if he knew him, and believed him to be a servant of God. In a whisper Fordham replied that he did. Joseph then took him by the hand, and with an energy that would have awoken the dead he commanded him in the name of Jesus Christ to arise from his bed and walk. Brother Fordham leaped from his bed, removed the bandages and mustard plasters from his feet, dressed himself, ate a bowl of bread and milk, and accompanied the brethren to the other houses on his mission of love.

All day the work continued; and to the Saints who witnessed the remarkable manifestation of God's power in behalf of the sick, it was a testimony that God was with them; for they witnessed a fulfillment of God's ancient promise to His people, viz:

“Is any sick among you? Let him call for the Elders of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil, in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.”⁵

And again:

“These signs shall follow them that believe. In My name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; . . . they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover.”⁶

These ancient promises to God's people had also been renewed to the Latter-day Saints in modern revelations to the Church through the Prophet Joseph himself:

5. James v: 14, 15.

6. Mark xvi: 17.

“As I said unto mine apostles I say unto you again, that every soul who believeth on your words, and is baptized by water for the remission of sins shall receive the Holy Ghost; and these signs shall follow them that believe. In my name they shall do many wonderful works:

In my name they shall cast out devils;

In my name they shall heal the sick;

In my name they shall open the eyes of the blind, and unstop the ears of the deaf; and the tongue of the dumb shall speak; and if any man shall administer poison unto them it shall not hurt them. . . . But a commandment I give unto them, that they shall not boast themselves of these things, neither speak them before the world.”⁷

The only mention that the Prophet himself makes in his journal of this notable experience is:—

“*Monday and Tuesday* 22nd and 23rd (July)—The sick were administered unto with great success, but many remained sick, and new cases are occurring daily.

Then on the following Sunday this entry:

Sunday 28.—I spoke, and admonished the members of the Church individually to set their houses in order, to make clean the inside of the platter, and to meet on the next Sabbath to partake of the Sacrament, in order that by our obedience to the ordinances, we might be enabled to prevail with God against the destroyer, and that the sick might be healed.

All this week chiefly spent among the sick, who in general are gaining strength, and recovering health.⁸

The modesty of the Prophet in making allusion to an incident so remarkable, and of which there were many witnesses, goes far towards correcting the reports that the Prophet sought notoriety as a “worker of miracles,” even resorting to trickery to win such reputation.⁹

Another event that made this summer of 1839 a memorable

7. Doc. & Cov. Sec. lxxxiv. The revelation was given in September, 1832. Also note I at the close of this chapter.

8. Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. IV, pp. 4, 5 and note end of chapter.

9. See Howe, Tucker, Cregg, Caswall, Kidder and nearly all anti-Mormon writers.

one, was the departure of the Twelve upon their mission "over the great waters," to England. They had taken leave of the Saints from the public square of Far West on the 26th day of April previous, in fulfillment of the appointment by revelation as already detailed;¹⁰ but such was the condition of their families and of the Church that they had halted at Nauvoo to set matters some what in order before continuing their journey. But the call of the Mission was heavy upon them, and in the latter part of the summer they began taking their leave of the saints at Nauvoo. The circumstance of their departure is worthy some detail:

Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor were the first of the quorum to leave Nauvoo for England. Elder Woodruff at this time was living at Montrose, and was rowed across the river in a canoe by Brigham Young. On landing, he lay down to rest on a side of sole leather, near the post office. The Prophet came along and said: "Well, Brother Woodruff, you have started on your mission?"

"Yes, but I feel and look more like a subject for the dissecting room than a missionary," was the reply.

"What did you say that for?" asked Joseph. "Get up and go along, all will be well with you."

Shortly afterwards Elder Woodruff was joined by Elder Taylor, and together they began their journey. On their way they passed Parley P. Pratt, stripped, bareheaded and barefooted, hewing some logs for a house. He hailed the brethren as they passed and gave them a purse, though he had nothing to put in it. Elder Heber C. Kimball, who was but a short distance away, stripped as Elder Pratt was, came up and said: "As Brother Parley has given you a purse, I have a dollar I will give you to put in it." And mutually blessing each other, they separated to meet again in foreign lands.

On the twenty-ninth of August, Parley P. Pratt and his brother, Orson started for England, leaving Nauvoo in their own carriage.

On the fourteenth of the following month Brigham Young left his home at Montrose and started for England. He had been prostrated for some time by sickness, and at the time of starting

10. *Ante* chapter XXXIII—closing pages.

on his mission was so feeble that he had to be assisted to the ferry, only some thirty rods from his house. All his children were sick, and he left his wife with a babe but ten days old, and in the poorest circumstances, for the mobs of Missouri had robbed him of all he had. After crossing the river to the Nauvoo side, Israel Barlow took him on a horse behind him and carried him to the house of Elder Heber C. Kimball, where his strength altogether failed him, and he had to remain there for several days, nursed by his wife, who, hearing that he was unable to get farther than Brother Kimball's, had crossed the river from Montrose to care for him.

On the eighteenth of the month, however, Brigham, in company with Heber C. Kimball, made another start. A brother by the name of Charles Hubbard sent a boy with a team to take them a day's journey on their way. Elder Kimball left his wife in bed shaking with ague, and all his children sick. It was only by the assistance of some of the brethren that Heber himself could climb into the wagon. "It seemed to me," he remarked afterwards in relating the circumstance, "as though my very inmost parts would melt within me at the thought of leaving my family in such a condition, as it were, almost in the arms of death. I felt as though I could scarcely endure it."

"Hold up!" said he to the teamster, who had just started. "Brother Brigham, this is pretty tough, but let us rise and give them a cheer." Brigham, with much difficulty, rose to his feet, and joined Elder Kimball in swinging his hat and shouting "Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah for Israel!" The two sisters hearing the cheer came to the door—Sister Kimball with great difficulty—and waved a farewell; and the two Apostles continued their journey without purse, without script, for England.

The departure of Elders George A. Smith, Reuben Hedlock, and Theodore Turley, the last two not of the twelve, but of the seventy, was but little less remarkable.¹¹ They were feeble in

¹¹ This was all of the Twelve who departed from Nauvoo for England—seven, a majority of the quorum. John E. Page was at this time living below Warsaw, in Hancock county, and for some cause, indifference most likely, did not go with his brethren to England. Orson Hyde had repented of his apostasy in Missouri, and in the month of June, 1839, had been restored to fellowship in the Apostle's quorum, but was reserved for another Mission, viz. a Mission to the Jews in Palestine; and Wm. Smith—brother of the Prophet was not in full fellow-

health, in fact, down with the ague. Before they were out of sight of Nauvoo their wagon upset and spilled them down the bank of the river. Elders Smith and Turley were unable to get up, not because of any injuries they had received, but because of their illness. Elder Hedlock helped them into their wagon and they resumed their journey. They had not proceeded far when they met some gentlemen who stopped their team and said to the driver: "Mr., what graveyard have you been robbing?" The mark being elicited by the ghostly appearance of the Elders en route for England.

Thus in sickness and poverty, without purse and without script, leaving their families destitute of the comforts of life, with nothing but the assurances of the people who were as poor as themselves, that they should be provided for, the Twelve turned their faces toward England to preach the Gospel to the highly civilized people of that land. They had ringing in their ears the words of Jesus: "He that loveth father or mother, houses or lands, wives or children more than he loveth me is not worthy of me." And again they had the promise: "There is no man that hath left houses, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting."

With this warning and this promise before them, the Twelve made their way by different routes, but at last met in England, where an effectual door was opened for the preaching of the Gospel, and thousands with joy embraced the truth.

These men went out weeping, bearing precious seeds; they returned in time bringing their sheaves with them, and had joy in their harvest. And what shall separate these men who endured so much for the gospel's sake, from the love of God? "Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?" "Nay, in all these things they

ship with the Church at this time. The vacancies occasioned by Marsh's apostasy and Patten's death were not yet filled; but fortunately a majority of this quorum after the awful experience of the Church in Missouri were firm in the faith, in full fellowship with the Saints and in every way worthy to be special witnesses of the Lord Jesus in foreign lands, and to act in their calling as the traveling presiding high council of the Church—"to build up the Church, and regulate the affairs of the same in all nations."

shall be more than conquerors through Him that loved them.”

It has already been stated that the *Elders Journal*, which succeeded the *Messenger* and *Advocate* at Kirtland, but only published two numbers there, was revived at Far West, Joseph Smith being the Editor. There also it issued two numbers, July and August. On the night that the mob-militia forces of Gen. Lucas surrounded Far West the *Journal* press and type were buried in the door yard of a brother Dawson. The form for the third number of the *Journal*, was buried with the ink on it in the hurry to get it safely hidden from the enemy. It remained in its place of concealment until taken up by Elias Smith, Hyrum Clark and some others, and shipped to Commerce, where, in the fall of 1839, the press was set up again in a cellar, and on it was published the “*Times and Seasons*”—the fourth periodical begun by the Church.

This periodical was issued first as a sixteen page monthly, but afterwards became a semi-monthly. Its first editor and manager was Don Carlos Smith, the youngest brother of Joseph Smith, who learned the printer’s art in the office of Oliver Cowdery, and at the time he took charge of the “*Time and Seasons*” was but twenty-four years of age. Ebenezer Robinson was associated with him in the work. The first issue came from the press in November, 1839.

Don Carlos Smith continued to act as editor of the “*Times and Seasons*” until his death, which occurred on the seventh of August, 1841. Ebenezer Robinson then became the editor and Elder Robert B. Thompson was appointed to assist him. The manner in which the paper was conducted by these editors was very unsatisfactory to the Church authorities, and the Twelve Apostles took charge of it with Elders John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff as its managers, and President Joseph Smith as editor-in-chief. It was conducted by these gentlemen for about a year, when the Prophet Joseph resigned the editorial chair, and Elder John Taylor was assigned to the position of chief editor, and kept that place until the discontinuance of the publication, in consequence of the Saints being driven from Nauvoo. The last number was published on the 15th of February, 1846. It was a valuable means of communication for the Church authori-

ties, especially in the first years after the settlement at Nauvoo, as they were enabled to reach the Saints through its columns notwithstanding their scattered condition; and in its pages are collected the principle historical events which occurred in the early days of the Church; which, in connection with the principles and doctrine expounded by its editors, and the communications of the Prophet, make it of inestimable value as a depository of Church history and a record of the development of Church doctrine.

When Sidney Rigdon arrived in Quincy early in the spring of 1839, he soon won the friendship of Governor Carlin of Illinois, a Whig, and other leading men of Western Illinois; and of Governor Lucas of the territory of Iowa. The latter gave him letters of introduction to President Van Buren, and to Governor Shannon of Ohio. Elder Rigdon conceived the idea of impeaching Missouri on the ground that she had abdicated republican government in her treatment of the Latter-day Saints, and as the constitution provides that the United States shall guarantee to every state in the Union a republican form of government,¹² his idea seems to have been that the general Government could be brought to coerce the state in some way to deal justly by the saints and indemnify them for their losses. His plan was to have the Governor of every state make Missouri's abdication of republican government a subject in their messages to the legislatures of the respective states, and after the action of the state legislatures, the case was to be presented by petition to the President of the United States and Congress. Governor Carlin gave his approval to the plan, and promised to bring the matter before the Illinois legislature and have the action of that body upon it. Elder Rigdon also represents that Carlin was active in preparing papers to be signed by leading men in western Illinois asking for a favorable hearing in Washington for representatives of the Church. "Governor Carlin and his lady," wrote Elder Rigdon to the Prophet, while the latter was yet in prison, "enter with all the enthusiasm of their natures into this

12. U. S. Constitution, Art. IV, Sec. 4.

13. Rigdon's Letter to the Prophet, April 10, 1839. Documentary History of the Church, Vol. III, pp. 310-11.

work, having no doubt but that we can accomplish this object.'"¹³

Not much headway, however, was made with this rather gigantic and fanciful scheme. On the fifth of May the subject was considered in a conference of the Church at Quincy—the Prophet in the meantime having arrived—and the following resolution was passed:

That this conference send a delegate to the city of Washington to lay our case before the general government; and that President Rigdon be the delegate; and that Colonel Lyman Wight be appointed to receive the affidavits which are to be sent to the city of Washington.

This of course simplified the plans of appealing to the general government; but here the matter rested for a time through the inactivity of President Rigdon, whose ardor in the work of the New Dispensation about this time began to wane.

In consequence of the inactivity and lack of interest manifested by Sidney Rigdon, at a High Council meeting, held at Commerce on the twentieth of October, 1839, the Prophet Joseph was appointed to be the delegate to Washington, and a few days later Sidney Rigdon and Elias Higbee were appointed by the same council to assist him in this mission. The ninth day after Joseph was appointed to this mission he left Commerce with a two-horse carriage, accompanied by Rigdon, Higbee and Orin P. Rockwell, *en route* for Washington.

The mission for the city of Washington passed through Springfield, the capital of the state of Illinois, on their journey, and here met with Dr. Robert D. Foster, who afterwards became prominently connected with events at Nauvoo; Elder Rigdon being ill, Dr. Foster prescribed for him and accompanied the party for several days to give him medical attention.

While at Springfield the Prophet met another man destined to take a prominent part in the drama to be enacted at Nauvoo. This was William Law. He was then leading a small company of Saints from Canada to Nauvoo. Joseph's company remained a number of days at Springfield, and he preached there several times, staying at the home of James Adams, the probate judge of that county. Judge Adams treated the Prophet with all the

kindness of a father, and became a most staunch and reliable friend during the remaining years of his life.

Elder Rigdon became so weak on the journey that it was necessary for the party to leave him near Columbus, Ohio, and Orin P. Rockwell and Dr. Foster remained with him, while President Smith and Judge Higbee continued on to Washington, where they arrived on the 28th of November and took up their abode at an unpretentious boarding house on the corner of Missouri and Third street.¹⁴

The first move of the delegation was to call upon the President, from whom they received little encouragement. Their presence seemed to be an annoyance to him. "What can I do," he asked. "I can do nothing for you! If I do anything, I shall come in contact with the whole state of Missouri."¹⁵

After the meeting with the President, a meeting with the Illinois delegation in Congress was arranged, to take into consider-

14. An incident occurred as the party approached Washington which borders on the romantic. The coachman stopped his horses in front of one of the many public houses they passed *en route* to get his grog, when the horses took fright, and dashed down the road at break-neck speed. The passengers, as might be expected, became terror-stricken, and one woman in her excitement tried to throw her babe out of the window; she was prevented, however, by Joseph, who calmed her fears, and persuaded the rest of the passengers to keep their seats. He then opened the door of the coach and succeeded in climbing up the side of the vehicle, and reaching the driver's seat. Gathering up the reins, he stopped the horses before any accident occurred either to coach or passengers.

It is needless to say that Joseph's heroism drew from his fellow-passengers their warmest expressions of admiration and gratitude. No terms were sufficiently strong to convey their admiration of his daring. Among the passengers were several members of Congress who proposed mentioning the incident to Congress, for they believed that body would reward Joseph's conduct by some public act. With this object in view they asked for his name, and were dumfounded to learn that they had been saved from their imminent peril by the courage of the Mormon Prophet. At any rate the profusion of thanks and admiration was stayed, "and," says Joseph, "I heard no more of their praise, gratitude or reward." Need one stop to moralize on the littleness of man when he allows prejudice to dictate his action instead of reason?

15. The above remark is from the Prophet's letter to his brother Hyrum, under date of Dec. 5th, 1839 (Documentary History of the Church, Vol. IV, p. 40). Describing this interview about a year later the Prophet said: "During my stay I had an interview with Martin Van Buren, the President, who treated me very insolently, and it was with great reluctance he listened to our message, which, when he heard, he said: 'Gentlemen, your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you. If I take up for you, I shall lose the vote of Missouri.' His whole course went to show that he was an office-seeker, that self-aggrandisement was his ruling passion, and that justice and righteousness were no part of his composition."

This answer accords well with the circumstances. Mr. Van Buren was a candidate to succeed himself and the election would take place in about one year, so that the Mormon question with Missouri's vote in the electoral college as the prize, presented a vexed situation.

ation the best means of getting the wrongs of the Saints before Congress. This meeting took place on the sixth of December. A Mr. Robinson of that delegation, took a stand against the Saints presenting any claims to be liquidated by the United States; but Joseph contended against him, and presented the constitutional rights of the people in such light that Mr. Robinson promised to reconsider the subject. At a meeting of the delegation next day it was decided that a memorial and petition be drawn in concise form and presented by Judge Young, one of the United States senators from Illinois, who had taken a lively interest in the cause of the Saints.

The petition presented to Congress related the outrages committed against the Church at considerable length, from the commencement of difficulties in Jackson County, in the autumn of 1833, until their final expulsion from the State in the winter of 1838-9; and made emphatic the infamy of Governor Boggs' exterminating orders, which gave the coloring of authority for the action of the state mob-militia. They said in their statement of wrongs that if given an opportunity they could prove every allegation they made against the state of Missouri. And that "neither the Mormons as a body, nor as individuals of that body, had been guilty of any offense against the laws of Missouri, or of the United States; but their only offense had been their religious opinions."

In conclusion the petition represents that for the wrongs endured—

"The Mormons ought to have some redress; yet how and where shall they seek and obtain it?

Your Constitution guarantees to every citizen, even the humblest the enjoyment of life, liberty and property. It promises to all their religious freedom, the right to worship God beneath their own vine and fig tree, according to their own conscience. It guarantees to all the citizens of the several states the right to become citizens of any one of the states, and to enjoy all the rights and immunities of the citizens of the state of his adoption. Yet all these rights have the Mormons been deprived. They have, without cause, without a trial, been deprived of life, liberty and property. They have been persecuted for their religious opinions. They have been driven from the state of Missouri at the point of the bayonet, and prevented from enjoying and exer-

cising the rights of citizens of the state of Missouri. It is the theory of our laws, that for the protection of every legal right, there is a legal remedy. What, then, we would ask, is the remedy for the Mormons? Shall they appeal to the legislature of the state of Missouri for redress? They have done so. They have petitioned, and these petitions have been treated with silence and contempt. Shall they apply to the federal courts? They were, at the time, citizens of the state of Missouri. Shall they apply to the courts of the state of Missouri? Whom shall they sue? The order for their destruction, their extermination, was granted by the executive of the state of Missouri. Is not this a plea of justification for the loss of individuals, done in pursuance of the order? If not, before whom shall the Mormons institute a trial? Shall they summon a jury of the individuals who composed the mob? An appeal to them were in vain. They dare not go to Missouri to institute a suit, their lives would be in danger.

For ourselves we see no redress, unless it be awarded by the Congress of the United States. And we here make our appeal as American citizens, as Christians, and as men—believing the high sense of justice which exists in your honorable bodies, will not allow such oppression to be practiced upon any portion of the citizens of this vast republic with impunity, but that some measure which your wisdom may dictate, may be taken, so that the great body of people who have been thus abused, may have redress for the wrongs which they have suffered.

The statement of wrongs and petition for their redress was introduced into the Senate by Senator Young, and referred to the committee on judiciary of which General Wall was chairman.

At this stage of the proceedings Joseph Smith became convinced that nothing was to be expected in the way of obtaining redress of grievances for his people from the very cautious politicians then in control of the government, all of whom were anxious, apparently, to paliate the actions of Missouri with reference to the Saints for the sake of retaining her political influence on their side; and also because of a prevailing inclination to a strict construction of the powers of the general government in its relations to the states. He therefore left Washington and went to Philadelphia, where he labored in the ministry among the Saints; until the fore part of February when he left for Nauvoo, arriving there on the fourth of March. While in the

east the Prophet held public meetings both in Philadelphia and Washington, in which he delivered his message and expounded his faith;¹⁶ but Judge Elias Higbee was left in Washington to look after the interests of the petitioners before the Senate committee.¹⁷ The subject was held under advisement and discussed occasionally, until the fourth of March, 1840, when the committee reported. That report was of a character to crush forever the hopes of obtaining, at the hands of the general government, any redress for the outrages perpetrated against them in Missouri. The report said that after full examination and consideration, the committee unanimously concurred in the opinion: "That the case presented for their investigation is not such a one as will justify or authorize any interposition of this government"—i. e. the general government.

The committee stated that the wrongs complained of were not alleged to have been committed by officers of the United States; that the charges were all against the citizens and authorities of the state of Missouri; that the petitioners were citizens or inhabitants of Missouri; that the grievances complained of were committed within the territory of Missouri; and for these reasons the Senate judiciary committee did "not consider them-

16. The following is a pen picture of the President Smith at the time he delivered this discourse, by M. L. Davis, a member of congress, in a letter to his wife: "I went last evening to hear 'Joe Smith' the celebrated Mormon, expound his doctrine. I, with several others, had a desire to understand his tenets as explained by himself. He is not an educated man; but he is a plain, sensible, strong minded man. Every thing he says, is said in a manner to leave an impression that he is sincere. He is apparently from forty to forty-five years of age, rather above the middle stature, and what you ladies would call a very good looking man. In his garb there are no peculiarities; his dress being that of a plain, unpretending citizen. He is by profession a farmer, but is evidently well read."

Then follows a full synopsis of the discourse.

17. Judge Higbee deserves great credit for the manner in which he conducted the case of the Saints in the hearing given their cause before the Senate Judiciary Committee. His earnest, though temperate zeal; his courage and judgment and patience in that trying ordeal, for he made the fight single handed and alone, were all highly commendable. His reports to the Church at Nauvoo as the case progressed, will be found in the Documentary History of the Church, Vol. IV, pp. 81-100. His course was highly approved by the High Council of the Church at Nauvoo on the 17th of March, 1840. His letters making his progressive report were also read to a large number of the brethren, and the letter conveying to him the approval of the High Council said: On Monday evening last, your letters were read to a large concourse of our brethren, and other persons who were assembled to hear the same; and I must say that the greatest satisfaction was manifested by the assembled multitude, with the noble stand and straightforward and honorable course which you had pursued; and before the assembly separated, a vote of thanks to you was unanimously agreed upon."

selves justified in inquiring into the truth or falsehood of facts charged in the petition." The committee represented that if the charges were true, then the petitioners must seek redress in the courts of judicature, either of Missouri or of the United States, whichever might have jurisdiction in the case. "Or," said the report, "the petitioners may, if they see proper, apply to the justice and magnanimity of the state of Missouri—an appeal which the committee feel justified in believing will never be made in vain by the injured or oppressed." The report said that it could not be presumed that a state wanted either the power or lacked the disposition to redress the wrongs of its own citizens, committed within its own territory, "whether they proceeded from the lawless acts of her officers or any other person."

The resolution was passed without dissent, and thus the appeal to Congress for redress of the outrages committed against the Saints by Missouri ended.

At a conference of the Church held in April following, a number of resolutions were adopted, regretting and condemning the action of the Senate judiciary committee, and approving the course pursued by their delegation to Congress, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Elias Higbee, and requesting them to continue their exertions to obtain redress for a suffering people as opportunities became more favorable for such efforts, and if at last all hopes of obtaining satisfaction for the injuries done us be entirely blasted, that they then "appeal our case to the Court of Heaven, believing that the Great Jehovah, who rules over the destiny of nations, and who notices the falling sparrows, will undoubtedly redress our wrongs, and ere long avenge us of our adversaries."¹⁸

This suggestion to take their case to the United States Courts was never acted upon by the Saints, nor does it appear in what manner it would have been practicable for them to do so. True it is expressly provided in the Constitution that "The Judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to controversies between two or more states; between

18. Documentary Hist. of Ch., Vol. IV, p. 108.

a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state," etc. The case of the Saints would fall either under the clauses in the above quotation respecting controversies arising between a state (Missouri) and citizens of another state (the Saints, now citizens, of Illinois); or "between citizens of different states," the Saints, citizens of Illinois, and their former persecutors, citizens of Missouri. In considering the question under cases of the first class it must be remembered that the eleventh amendment to the constitution (declared in force 1798) provides that "The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state." It is held that "the power as well as the dignity of a state would be gone if it could be dragged into court by a private plaintiff."

The Supreme Court in the case *Chisholm vs. the State of Georgia*, had decided (1793) that an action did lie against the state of Georgia at a suit of private plaintiff. The state, however, refused to appear, whereupon the Supreme Court proceeded, a year later, to give judgment against her by default in case she should not appear and plead before a day; whereupon there arose such a storm of protest, not only in Georgia, but in the other states as well, that the eleventh amendment was adopted exempting a state from being sued in the courts of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens subjects of any foreign state. Moreover, states are not suable in any event except with their consent; and if a state waive its immunity, it may attach any conditions it pleases to its consent. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the Saints never attempted to bring Missouri before the United States Courts. They could only have planted suit against the state by her consent, and if she consented, then under such conditions as she might be pleased to attach to that consent. Moreover, the Saints had the best of reasons for believing that Missouri would never consent.

As to suing their persecutors as individuals before the United States courts, as citizens of one state suing citizens of another, it

is only necessary to remind the reader of the insuperable difficulties attending upon that procedure to convince him of the futility of such action. The expensiveness of the undertaking, and the extreme poverty of the exiles alone would be sufficient to bar such an undertaking; for every one knows how bitterly hard it is for the poor to set the judicial machinery of organized society in motion in their favor. Then there was the evident conspiracy entered into by the mobs of Missouri to defeat the ends of justice in respect of the Saints; mobs which an unfriendly governor had converted into a state militia; to which that same governor gave an order to expel from the state or exterminate the entire people; under which order said mob-militia did expel from the state some twelve thousand citizens, depriving them of their property and liberty without due process of law; and afterwards the state through its legislature sanctioning and applauding the actions of this mob-militia for the part it had taken in causing said expulsion—though attended by acts of unspeakable atrocity—by appropriating \$200,000 to meet the expenses of the mob-militia in carrying out the governor's illegal orders. After these crimes against the constitution and laws of the state, against American institutions and the civilization of the age—after all this, I say, it is not difficult to understand how farcical would be any procedure before either the state or the federal courts in Missouri. By acts of perjury, in order to still further defeat the ends of justice and protect each other from the penalties due to their crimes, it would have been easy for the people of Missouri to defeat the ends of justice. And after having committed the crimes of murder and robbery; after having unlawfully expelled a whole people, numbering thousands, from their homes—of which the despoilers were then possessed—it is not to be believed that such characters would hesitate to suborn witnesses, commit perjury, or hesitate to do any other thing, however criminal, in order to escape the just punishment for their crimes.

The offense of the state of Missouri against the Saints was a denial of political as well as of civil rights. She had in her treatment of the Saints abdicated republican government. Her officers, including the chief executive of the state had violated

the Constitution of the state in that they had entered into a wide-spread conspiracy to deprive the Saints of their liberty and property without due process of law; and in fact had deprived them of those rights by expelling them by force of arms from the state.

These were the wrongs the Saints had endured; this the nature of the crime of the state of Missouri against them, and it seems that for these things which they suffered there could be found no remedy; for, as already explained, a state could not be made party to a suit before the courts, either state or federal, without her consent; and it is a well settled principle of American law that "a suit nominally against an officer but really against a state to enforce performance of its obligation in its political capacity, will not lie." A state, therefore, could not be directly arraigned before the courts or any kind of tribunal for failure to enforce its political obligations; nor could it be indirectly so arraigned through its officers since such an arraignment would undoubtedly have been held to be but "nominally against the officers and really against the state;" hence void. The only arraignment of the state that could be made was evidently at the bar of public opinion and sentiment, and this opinion, unfortunately viciated by misrepresentations, was against the Saints. All things considered then, there was little wisdom behind the recommendation of the Senate Judiciary Committee for the Saints to prosecute their case before the Federal courts having jurisdiction in Missouri; and the suggestion that they apply to the justice and magnanimity of the state of Missouri, though doubtless not intended so, borders upon mockery.

NOTES 1: A DAY OF GOD'S POWER: The brief account of healing the sick on the 22nd of July, 1839, in the text of this History is a circumstance worthy of fuller statement and confirmation; hence the following statement from the journal of Wilford Woodruff one of the Twelve Apostles:

WOODRUFF'S GENERAL STATEMENT: "In consequence of the persecution of the Saints in Missouri, and the exposures to which they were subjected, many of them were taken sick soon after their arrival at Commerce, afterwards called Nauvoo; and as there was but a small number of dwellings for them to occupy, Joseph had filled his house and tent with them, and

through constantly attending to their wants, he soon fell sick-himself. After being confined to his house several days, and while meditating upon his situation, he had a great desire to attend to the duties of his office. On the morning of the 22nd of July, 1839, he arose from his bed and commenced to administer to the sick in his own house and door-yard, and he commanded them in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to arise and be made whole; and the sick were healed upon every side of him.

THE CASE OF HENRY G. SHERWOOD? ET AL: "Many lay sick along the bank of the river; Joseph walked along up to the lower stone house, occupied by Sidney Rigdon, and he healed all the sick that lay in his path. Among the number was Henry G. Sherwood, who was nigh unto death, Joseph stood in the door of his tent and commanded him in the name of Jesus Christ to arise and come out of his tent, and he obeyed him and was healed. Brother Benjamin Brown and his family also lay sick, the former appearing to be in a dying condition. Joseph healed them in the name of the Lord. After healing all that lay sick upon the bank of the river as far as the stone house, he called upon Elder Kimball and some others to accompany him across the river to visit the sick at Montrose. Many of the Saints were living at the old military barracks. Among the number were several of the Twelve. On his arrival the first house he visited was that occupied by Elder Brigham Young, the President of the Quorum of the Twelve, who lay sick. Joseph healed him, then he arose and accompanied the Prophet on his visit to others who were in the same condition. They visited Elder Wilford Woodruff, also Elders Orson Pratt, and John Taylor, all of whom were living in Montrose. They also accompanied him.

THE CASE OF ELIJAH FORDHAM: "The next place they visited was the home of Elijah Fordham, who was supposed to be about breathing his last. When the company entered the room, the Prophet of God walked up to the dying man and took hold of his right hand and spoke to him; but Brother Fordham was unable to speak, his eyes were set in his head like glass, and he seemed entirely unconscious of all around him. Joseph held his

hand and looked into his eyes in silence for a length of time. A change in the countenance of Brother Fordham was soon perceptible to all present. His sight returned, and upon Joseph asking him if he knew him, he, in a low whisper, answered, 'Yes'. Joseph asked him if he had faith to be healed. He answered, 'I fear it is too late; if you had come sooner I think I would have been healed.' The Prophet said, 'Do you believe in Jesus Christ?' He answered in a feeble voice, 'I do.' Joseph then stood erect,

still holding his hand in silence several moments; Then he spoke in a very loud voice, saying, 'Brother Fordham, I command you, in the name of Jesus Christ, to arise from this bed and be made whole.' His voice was like the voice of God, and not of man. It seemed as though the house shook to its very foundations. Brother Fordham arose from his bed, and was immediately made whole. His feet were bound in poultices which he kicked off; then putting on his clothes he ate a bowl of bread and milk and followed the Prophet into the street. * * * There were many sick whom Joseph could not visit, so he counseled the Twelve to go and visit and heal them, and many were healed under their hands. On the day following that upon which the above described events took place, Joseph sent Elders George A. and Don Carlos Smith up the river to heal the sick. They went up as far as Ebenezer Robinson's—one or two miles—and did as they were commanded, and the sick were healed." "*Leaves from my Journal*," (the booklet is made up of extracts from the journal of Wilford Woodruff) ch. xix. Also Documentary History of the Church, Vol. IV, pp. 3, 4, 5.

NOTES 2: JOSEPH SMITH IN WASHINGTON: The comments and views of the Prophet in relation to the President and Congress are interesting, and doubtless his visit there was of great educational value to him. While in Washington he was brought in contact with and interviewed such men as Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, President Martin Van Buren, different members of the Cabinet, Senators, and Representatives. Such contact enabled him to take new measurements, not only of a different class of men from those with whom he had been accustomed to associate, but new measurements of himself by comparison and contrast of himself with those leading spirits of the nation.

Describing Martin Van Buren, he said: "Now we shall endeavor to express our feelings and views concerning the President, as we have been eye-witness to his majesty. He is a small man, sandy complexion, and ordinary features, with frowning brow, and considerable body, but not well proportioned as to his arms and legs, * * * and in fine, to come directly to the point, he is so much of a fop or a fool (for he judged our cause before he knew it), we could find no place to put truth into him. We do not say the Saints will not vote for him, but we do say boldly, that we do not intend he shall have our votes."

President Smith was not favorably impressed with Congressmen. "For a general thing there is but little solidity and honorable deportment among those who are sent here to represent the people, but a great deal of pomposity and show. * * * There is such an itching disposition to display their oratory on

the most trivial occasions, and so much etiquette, bowing and scraping, twisting and turning, to make a display of their witticism, that it seems to us rather a display of folly and show, more than substance and gravity, such as becomes a great nation like ours. However, there are some exceptions."

In some respects however, it was unfortunate that the Prophet was not more cosmopolitan in his training and in his views of life on the occasion of this visit to the nation's capital; for lack of such training and views of life led him to the formation of rather hasty judgments as to the character of our nation's public men at that time. He undoubtedly had sticking to him as yet, some of the prejudices of his New England and New York sectional training; and at the time of his visit the spirit of the public men of the nation at Washington was largely influenced by the Southern character and spirit. Bourbon Democracy was at its height. The gentlemen of the South with their extreme notions of chivalry and polite deportment, predominated. In those days men were held to strict account for their manner of address one to another. An improper word, a slight, magnified into an insult, meant a challenge to mortal combat on "the field of honor," and in this sense of personal responsibility for utterances begot, no doubt, an extreme politeness in personal deportment which seemed puerile to those reared in another atmosphere and influenced by other sentiments than those which resulted from education in the South. Joseph Smith's judgment upon manners and customs in Washington, was doubtless New England's judgment upon Southern customs with which it had no patience, much less sympathy. It is only from these considerations that the rather harsh judgment of the Prophet in relation to conditions in Washington can be properly understood.

LITTLE WARS OF THE REPUBLIC

BY JOHN R. MEADER

PART V.—THE AMERICAN FILIBUSTERS

(Continued)

FOUR years later Sonora was the scene of another quixotic attempt at conquest. The leader of this disastrous expedition, Henry A. Crabb, was a prominent resident of Stockton, Cal., and as his wife, a native of Sonora, had many relatives in that province he believed that their invitation to him to come and aid them in overthrowing Governor Gandara had every promise of success. Collecting a force of about one hundred men, therefore, he succeeded in marching to Sonora, but, when near the line, he was attacked by the Mexican forces, and, after losing more than twenty-five men, was compelled to surrender. The natives of the province who had invited him to aid them made no attempt to assist him, and he and the fifty-eight men who survived the battle were promptly executed, but this foolhardy enterprise can in no manner be compared to one of Walker's well-generalled campaigns.

There is something so infinitely pathetic in the story of William Walker's life that one finds little difficulty in accounting him one of the most picturesque figures in the pages of history. Born in Tennessee, in 1824, he attended the common schools and afterwards graduated at the University of Nashville. Originally intending to enter the ministry, his studies finally drew his attention from the church, and he decided to study medicine. He devoted two years to attendance at lectures in various parts of Europe, and, upon his return, he prac-

ticed both in Nashville and in Philadelphia. Finding this profession unsuited to his health, he went to New Orleans, where he studied law and was admitted to the bar, but, instead of devoting himself to legal pursuits, he obtained a position upon a newspaper and soon became known as one of the most virile writers in the South. In 1849, seized with the gold fever, he turned his steps towards California, but, upon his arrival he forgot his intentions of digging for gold to become the editor of the San Francisco Herald, the personal organ of "Boss" Broderick, one of the Democratic leaders of the State. Here his peculiar style of writing and his pugnacious characteristics kept him constantly in hot water, and his appearances in court, and upon the "field of honor," enabled him to maintain a prominent position in the public eye. At this time, after a career more eventful than most men would care to encompass within an entire life-time, Walker was but twenty-eight years of age.

Forced to return to private life by the ill-success of his Sonora enterprise, Walker was discontented. The editorial chair became a prison to him. The profession of journalism which had once fascinated him seemed tame and insipid when compared to the trade of the filibuster. The taste for real adventure which he had acquired in Mexico unfitted him for less exciting pursuits, and he spent all his idle moments in laying out new campaigns of conquest. He knew that he possessed the power to be a leader of men. He knew that he could make them love, and fear, and follow him into the very jaws of death, and he found little difficulty in persuading himself that it was his destiny to become one of the world's great conquerors. Of course, he had failed in Sonora, but no one knew better than he himself why he had failed. Given the opportunity he would yet be able to make failure spell success; would yet win for himself the laurels of the victorious hero. There are those who say that Walker was insane. There are others who claim that his insanity was merely the despair of frustrated genius. However that may be he was certainly the victim of circumstances over which he had little if any control. Had Fate dealt less brutally

with him, history would have treated him with more consideration.

The great mistake which Walker made in Nicaragua was in demanding too strict a recognition of his technical rights. As a lawyer, he knew how the statutes should be interpreted, but he forgot that, especially among nations, it is sometimes "might" not "right" that wins the victory, and that to know the law of right and not to be able to enforce it has always been one of the greatest of national calamities.

Invited to Central America to aid the Leonese party in its struggles against the Legitimates, in Nicaragua, Walker first satisfied himself, by an actual decision from the federal authorities, that he might undertake the commission without fear of violating the neutrality laws. Under these circumstances he was very glad to accept the contract, and, with fifty-six men to support his efforts, he soon made his way to Leon, the Democratic headquarters, where he displayed so much skill and courage in the direction of his troops that he attained the reputation of being a great commander even before the influx of adventurers from all parts of the world so augmented his forces that he was able to accomplish the results which at last placed him at the actual head of the nation. From the very beginning, however, Walker had depended upon the power of arms to maintain the position which he had made for himself, and, for nearly two years, he reigned, a supreme dictator in the midst of bloodshed and confusion. If any one offended him, violated one of his laws, or proved himself unworthy of the trust imposed in him, whatever his official position, he was shot without mercy; if anyone stood in his way, he was removed, for Walker was determined that he should finally rule over the whole of Central America. With patience and with the exercise of ordinarily tactful prudence, it is not at all improbable that he might have succeeded in attaining his ambition, but, unfortunately for his success, these were traits that were so foreign to his nature that it would even have been impossible for him to have attempted to assume them. He could win battles, for he knew how to fight and he had the courage of a madman. When his native allies supported him he won great bat-

tles; when they deserted him at a critical moment, as they usually did, he always had some bit of strategy in mind, and—apparent defeat became a victory. It was just what he had anticipated—the natural triumph of civilization over barbarism.

Wise as he was as a commander, clever as he was as a military strategist, he made the mistake of carrying the characteristics of the martinet into all his government affairs, and the “rule or ruin” policy which he adopted alienated more sympathy than it attracted. That he was honest there can be no doubt. Sometimes he was too honest for his own good, as when he made himself a pariah among rulers by insisting upon the abrogation of the anti-slavery laws, not because the Nicaraguans wanted to hold property in man, but because he himself believed that it was right; or when, with utter fearlessness, he broke with the Transit Company, an act which was, perhaps, the most direct cause of the failure of all his plans. Controlled by the Vanderbilts, and representing the interests of Wall Street, its favor was so necessary to his success that he might well have afforded to overlook any small peculations of which it might have been guilty. As it was the one artery between Nicaragua and civilization; the only avenue for supplies, and his only hope for reenforcements, his interests as a commander would have suggested the advisability of silence. Walker, however, was no ordinary man and his honor was not effected by any taint of selfishness. As soon as he had been told that the Company had robbed the Government by peculiar methods of bookkeeping he appointed a commission to examine its books, and later, he announced that the Company was indebted to the Republic to the amount of \$250,000. As Cornelius Vanderbilt refused to admit the existence of such a debt, and as Walker persisted in demanding payment in full, the Company’s steamers were suddenly withdrawn, leaving the filibuster absolutely without means of communicating with his friends. Thus, for the sake of a pittance and a principle, Walker sacrificed the position which he had gained, for while he might have been able to have waged war successfully against the entire armed force of Central America the injection of American millions and American influence quickly turned the tide of his fortune. On

May 1, 1857, in compliance with the imperative demands of Commander Davis, he boarded the *St. Mary's*, and returned to the United States. Instead of coming as a conquered filibuster, however, he was everywhere received as a popular hero and martyr, but, as his protests that America had taken advantage of her power to drive him from the position which he held by right of law, fell upon deaf ears at Washington, he determined to seek the redress which he could not obtain legally by means of his own effort. These plans reaching the ear of the Government officials, he was arrested, but, thirteen days after his release, he sailed from New Orleans for San Juan, and the little force which accompanied him was in a fair way of seating him in the President's chair again, when, on December 6, Commodore Pauling appeared in the harbor with the United States frigate *Wabash*. In spite of Walker's protests that the United States had no right to molest him, he was arrested and sent back to Washington, where President Buchanan, realizing that Pauling's action was illegal, refused to recognize him as ever having been in Government custody. At the same time he declined to recognize Walker's very logical demand that he be indemnified for his losses, or, at least, be given free transportation for a new expedition of sufficient strength to enable him to regain the foothold he had lost through the illegal acts of his own countrymen.

For two years Walker labored assiduously to organize another expedition, and, in 1858, President Buchanan deemed it necessary to issue a proclamation calling attention to this project and assuring the filibusters that they would not be permitted to carry it into execution. In spite of this warning, however, a party of one hundred and fifty men succeeded in sailing from Mobile on December 1, but, meeting with shipwreck, they were rescued by a British war vessel and so returned to the United States.

Walker's next attempt, in September, 1859, was equally unsuccessful, the filibusters being compelled to disembark under threat from a United States frigate stationed at New Orleans, but, in August, 1860, he succeeded in outwitting the vigilance of both the United States and the British men-of-war that had been set to watch for him, and he soon landed his force on the eastern

coast of Honduras. There success again promised to crown his efforts, but, at the critical moment, the British steamer *Icarus* appeared and its commander, Captain Salmon, made a demand upon the filibusters for unconditional surrender. Being assured that he was surrendering to British authority and not to his native enemies, Walker submitted under formal protest, but, on arriving at Trujillo, Captain Salmon deliberately violated his pledge of honor by delivering his prisoners into the hands of the Honduran authorities. Indignant at such an exhibition of dishonesty, and sick at heart from the ill-treatment which he—unquestionably the lawful President of Nicaragua—had received at the hands of more powerful nations, he positively declined to permit the British officer to plead for his life. Tried before a court martial, therefore, he was convicted on September 11, and his sentence—death by the fusillade—was executed early the next morning.

HERALDIC CONSIDERATIONS

GENERAL EUROPEAN NOBILITY AND ITS HERALDRY

BY THE VISCOUNT DE FRONSAC

Families of the Seigneurial Succession in College of Arms of Canada

FITZJAMES CÔLON DE LA CERDA, DUKE OF VÉRAGUA

ARMS: Grand-quarterly in the first and fourth parte the Royal Arms of King James II, of Great Britain, surrounded by a bordure compony of lion and fleur-de-lys, to show the descent of Fitzjames from King James II and Arabella Churchill, in the second and third sections, quarterly, 1st the arms of Castile; 2nd those of Leon; 3d wavy azure, a contenant and 29 islands of gold; 4th azure anchors d'or, the shield *enté en pointe* d'or with a bend azure and a chief gules. Ducal Coronet, over Seigneurial one.

HISTORY: The Duchy of Vérauga established in 1537 and confirmed in 1540 as a Province in Central America in the American Empire of Charles V. is the first and highest fief in the Seigneurial Succession of the Order of the Empire in America, having hereditary precedence with the title and with the hereditary rank of Admiral of the Indes, all borne at the present day by the family of Fitzjames. The second title, that of courtesy of the eldest son, is Marquis, of Jamaica. The history of the original family to which this title was granted commences with Christopher Columbus, himself a descendant of the Norman Colombo, who came into Italy with Tancred in the X Century. The great explorer was born of a poor but respectable parentage, who were members of the "Guild of Dyers," and the father was Dominic Columbus, a native of the

Genevese Valley of Fontanabuona. Christopher, instead of following his father's occupation, entered the merchant marine and as a sailor in the Mediterranean, learned of the ideals of the ancient mariners, of the roundness of the earth and of the former voyages of legendary explorers. He also projected a scheme to travel west until he might discover the land beyond the great veil of waters. He was encouraged by Toscarrelli, one of the most learned navigators of Europe. His first attempt was that to obtain the aid of the King of Portugal, which failed; his next, in 1488, was at the Courts of Spain, France and England, this last appeal of 1491 was met by the derision of ignorant hangers-on and bounty-fed upstarts of mediocrity, who in every time and in every place are the natural born foes of genius. In his despair, he sought Council of one named Mu-liar, a resident of Huelva, Spain, husband of a sister of his wife, where he met Dr. Garcia Herndoz de Palos, who knew something of cosmography, and who admired the plan of Columbus. Through Palos' acquaintance with Juan Perez, confessor to the Queen, he sent a letter to the Sovereign. The confessor conferred with the Queen Isabella, who shared in his confidence to the success of the plan. Perez found Columbus and took him to the Queen at the Camp at Sante Fé in December, 1491. In January, 1492, the expedition was decided on and Columbus sailed for the Western World of America a few months later with three small ships and 120 officers and men. After his return from the great discovery he led a second expedition to the West Indies of 15,000 men, 1,000 sailors and officers, 50 pages and 20 lancers and their horses. He obtained letters patent of nobility at Burgos, 23 April, 1497, with the registration of his arms, title and rank, with remainder to his son Diego, done the 22nd January, 1498.

The mother of Columbus was Suzanna Fontanarossa, of Bisagno, in the suburb of Genoa, and she had three other sons, Giovanni-Pellegrino, Bartolomeo and Diego, and one daughter, Bianchinetta. Of the brothers, Bartolomeo was associated in the enterprises of Christopher. He had first been established at Lisbon as a practical mariner and cartographer. He was cartographer to Anne de Beaujeu, Queen of France, in

1493. In 1494, he commanded a squadron destined to provision his brother in America, who appointed him Governor of Hispanola (1494) and Senechal of the American dominion (1496) which offices were confirmed by the King. He founded San Domingo. He had but one child, a daughter Maria, born in 1508. Diego, the youngest brother, born 1446, died, Saville, 1515, was deputy-governor of Hispanola in 1496, but in 1500 entered into Holy Orders. The sister married Giacomo Bavarello and had a son Pantaleone, born 1490.

Christopher Columbus married Philippa Moniz and had a son:—Diego Colon, born 1486, page to Queen Isabella 1498. On the death of his father, he inherited his rank, privileges, revenues and title of Admiral of the Indes. In 1509 he departed for Hispanola as governor-general with his wife. The Emperor Charles V, in 1520, made him Vice-roy of the Indes. He died in 1526, leaving seven legitimate children. His wife, Marie de Toledo, was daughter of Fernando, Grand Falconer and Commandant-Major of the State of Leon, brother of the Duke of Alba. His children were: I. Filipa; II. Maria, married Don Sancho de Cordova, admiral of Aragon; III. Juana, married Don Luis de La Cueva; IV. Isabel, married Prince George, of Portugal; V. Luis (see below); VI. Cristoval (see below); VII. Diego, d. s. p. By his marriage with Maria de Toledo, he became allied with the Royal Family of Spain, she being grand-daughter of Maria Enriquez, sister of Juana, mother of King Ferdinand, the Catholic.

Luis Colon of Toledo (son as above of Diego) succeeded his father as third hereditary Admiral of the Indes, and was created Duke of Veragua in 1537 by the Emperor Charles V and premier Seigneur of the European (or Aryan) Order of the Empire in America. His domain in Central America was fixed at 25 leagues square. In 1540 he was named Captain-General of the American Empire. He died and was succeeded by his brother:—

Cristoval Colon, Duke of Veragua, Premier Seigneur of the Empire in America, etc., married 1st, Leonora Zoazo. 2ndly, Anna de Pravia. 3dly, Madelena de Guzman Anaya,—all three of San Domingo. By the second wife he had:—

Diego Colon, who succeeded as 3d Duke of Veragua and Premier Seigneur of the Empire in America, etc. He married 1573 Filippa, youngest daughter of Luis. He died childless. The title then reverted to the descendants of Prince George, of Portugal, and Isabel Columbus (see above). Prince George was created Count of Gelves in 1529. His father was Don Alvaro, youngest son of the 2nd Duke of Braganza of the Royal House of Portugal. So on the extinction of the male line of Columbus by the death of the 3d Duke of Veragua without issue, the title passed to the 6th Count of Gelves. All these honors finally became merged again in the female line in the person of:—

Catalina de Portugal Colon, 9th Duchess of Verango and 9th Premier Seigneuress of the Empire in America, 3d Duches of Le Verga, 9th Marchiness of Jamaica, 11th Countess of Gelves, and 10th Admiral of the Indes. She married in 1716 James Francis Fitzjames, 2nd Duke of Berwick, Liria and Xerica, K. G. and K. G. F., son of James Fitzjames, 1st Duke of Berwick, etc., son of King James II of Great Britain, and Abella Churchill. The 1st Duke of Berwick was naturalized in France in 1703. He was made a Marshall of France and was sent to Spain to aid King Philip V by whom he was appointed Captain-General and defeated the English army at Almanza, 25 April, 1707, following which he was created Duke of Liria and Xerica and Grandee of the First Class. In France he was created Duke of Fitzjames. He was killed at the seige of Philipsburgh, 12 June, 1734.

From that line descends the actual Duke of Veragua, Premier Seigneur of the Empire in America, etc., at present a member of the Cabinet of King Alphonso (1910) of Spain.

POLLET DE LA COMBE

Arms:—Sable, a chevron d'or between 3 dogs of the same. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Francis Pollet, Sieur de La Pocartière and Catherine de Rossin, his wife, had a son:—

FRANCIS POLLET, who became Seigneur de La Combe in Can-

ada with noble rank. He came as a Captain in the Carignan Regt. and married at Quebec in 1669, Marie A., daughter of Nicholas Juchereau.

RICHARD DE LA FLEUR

Arms:—Azure, a chevron d'or between 3 stars of the same. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Jean Richard and Anne Meusnier, his wife, of St. Leger, Xaintes, France, had a son:—

GUILLAUME RICHARD, Seigneur de La Fleur in Canada. He was formerly a warden. He married at Montreal in 1675, Agnes, daughter of Urban Tessier.

PEZARD DE LA TOUCHE, DE CHAMPLAIN

Arms:—Sable, 4 swords in saltire, points at center, between four arrows arranged the same, argent, swords pommeled and hilted d'or [conceded 1906]. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Descended from the Noblesse was Claude Pezard de La Touche, of St. Honoré, Blois, France, who married Marie Masson, and had a son:—

ETIENNE PEZARD DE LA TOUCHE, who became Seigneur de Champlain in Canada. He was born in 1624 and married at Montreal in 1664, Madeleine Mulois, daughter of Thomas and Sabastienne Hébert, of St. Honoré. He died in 1740 at Champlain, leaving: I. Daniel, born 1665; II. Jacques, born 1666; III. Madeleine, born 1668; IV. Marie T., born 1672; V. Etienne, born 1673, who married in 1705, Joseph Chorel, from whom descends the family of de Champlain of Temisconata, Province of Quebec.

GODEFROY DE LINCTOT

Arms:—Azure, 2 chevronels argent between 2 mullets d'or in chief and a rose in base. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Pierre Godefroy, Seigneur de Linctot of Caux, Normandy, married Parette Cavalier and had a son:—

JEAN B. GODEFROY, Seigneur de Linctot, who came to Canada and married at Quebec in 1636, Marie, daughter of Mathew

Le Neuf, Seigneur du Herisson. Among his sons was Louis Godefroy de Linctot, Seigneur de Normanville, who married at Quebec in 1668, Marguerite, daughter of Etienne Seigneuret. He was King's Councillor. His brother was Michel Godefroy de Linctot, Seigneur Dutort, who married at Montreal in 1664, Perinne, daughter of Pierre F. Picoté, Seigneur de Belleastre. Louis G. de Linctot de Normanville had a son René Godefroy de Linctot, Seigneur de Tonancourt and de Normanville, who married in 1693, Marguerite, daughter of Severin Ameau. He was King's Councillor and judge. The family of Godefroy is very ancient in Normandy. The English family of Godefroy traces to the same source and came to England at the time of the Norman Conquest.

LE GOUS DE GOUS

Arms:—Sable, a lion d'or, armed and langued gules. *Motto*: "Sans Defallois." Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Charles Le Gous by Catherine Bonne, his wife, of St. Gibbs, Bayeux, France, had a son:—

LOUIS J. LE GOUS, who came to Canada as a Knight (Chevalier) and Captain of Troops where he received Seigneurial honors and the title of Seigneur de Gous. He was born in 1666 and married at Quebec in 1694, Marguerite, daughter of Charles Le Gardeur.

LE NEUF DU HERISSON

Arms:—Gules 3, cushions d'or. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—One of the most considerable of the Noblesse in Canada was Mathien M. Le Neuf, Seigneur du Herisson lieutenant-general, civil and criminal, who was born in 1601, and married at Quebec in 1636, Jeanne Le Marchand. His brother was Jacques Le Neuf, Seigneur de La Poterie, born in 1606 and Governor-general in 1665; he married Marguerite, daughter of René Le Gardeur, and had a son, Michel Le Neuf, Seigneur de La Vallière, who married Marie F., daughter of Simon Denys, Seigneur de La Triniteé and Bonnaventure and Receiver-general for the Company of New France. He had a brother

René Le Neuf, Seigneur de Beaubassin in Acadia and lieutenant in the marine corps.

LE PAGE DE RIMONSKI

Arms:—Argent, an eagle sable, beaked and armed gules. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Etienne Le Page and Nicole Berthelot his wife, were parents of German Le Page, whose son: —

RENÉ LE PAGE was the first in Canada of his name where he obtained the Seigneurie of Rimonski with noble rank. He was born in 1659 and married in 1686, Marie M., daughter of Pierre Gagnon. One of his sons, Pierre Le Page, Seigneur de St. Barnébé, was born in 1687, and married at Château Richer in 1716, Marie A., daughter of Francis de Trepagny. From another son descended the Seigneurs de Terrebonne and Des Plaines, an account of whom from the parish record is as follows:—

Le premier Seigneur de Terrebonne a été le Sieur Louis Lepage, de Ste Claire, fils de René Lepage, premier Seigneur de Rimouski. Ordonné prêtre en 1715 par Mgr de St Vallier, il fut envoyé desservant de St François de Salles, Ile Jésus, et en même temps de la mission de Les Bois, aujourd'hui Terrebonne. En 1720, il acheta la Seigneurie de Terrebonne, ou il vint résider, et en 1724, il pria Mgr de St Vallier d'ériger sa Seigneurie en paroisse et de lui accorder le droit de patronage. Il fut le premier curé de Terrebonne.

Les travaux qu'il entreprit pour la colonisation exigèrent de lui de grandes dépenses, et ce fut pour l'en dédommager que sur sa demande, le Marquis de Beauharnois, gouverneur du Canada, lui concéda en 1730 la Seigneurie Des Plaines, qui s'étendait a deux lieues en profondeur sur toute la frontière de la Seigneurie de Terrebonne.

Le Sieur Louis Lepage concéda aux enfants de son frère Germain, en 1734, le fief Ste Claire, sur la Seigneurie Des Plaines, lequel consistait en une étendue de terre de trente-quatre arpents de front sur deux lieues de profondeur.

Onze ans après cette concession, en 1745, les Seigneuries de

Terrebonne et Des Plaines passèrent aux mains de Louis De Lacorne, Sieur de Chapt, avec tous les droits et obligations du premier Seigneur. Ce dernier désirant répondre aux obligations de Sa Majesté, qui n'accordait des concessions de terres qu'à la condition de travailler à leur défrichement et établissement, présenta, en 1749, une requête à l'intendant Bigot, pour demander que le fief de Ste Claire concédé aux enfants de Germain Lepage par le premier Seigneur de Terrebonne fut réuni à la Seigneurie Des Plaines, vu que depuis plus de 15 ans aucun travail défrichement n'y avait été fait.

Germain Lepage, interrogé par l'intendant Bigot, déclara que ses enfants étaient dans l'impossibilité de faire les travaux exigés, et qu'il consentait volontiers à voir le fief de Ste Claire réuni à la Seigneurie Des Plaines.

En conséquence, l'intendant Bigot rendit une ordonnance, le 20 mars 1749, par laquelle il déclarait les enfants de Germain Lepage déchus de leurs droits, et le fief Ste Claire remis au Sieur Louis De Lacorne, Seigneur de Terrebonne, pour en faire ce que bon lui semblerait, suivant toujours les intentions de Sa Majesté.

Immédiatement, il concéda cet arrière-fief au Sieur Silvain, qui, lui aussi, n'ayant pas rempli les conditions stipulées, en fut dépossédé un an après, comme nous le fait connaître un jugement de l'intendant Bigot, date du 22 janvier 1750.

Les familles Lepage qui demeurent à Ste Anne des Plaines, sur le fief Ste Claire, descendent de Germain Le page, frère du premier Seigneur de Terrebonne, mais on voit par ce qui précède qu'elles n'ont aucun droit au domaine que possédait leur ancêtre en 1734.

Germain Lepage avait épousé à Terrebonne, en 1727, Marguerite Gariépy. De ce mariage, est né Germain Lepage qui épousa à Terrebonne, le 11 avril 1763, Angélique Limoge. Un enfant de ce dernier nommé aussi Germain, épouse Marguerite Marier, et vient demeurer à Ste Anne des Plaines dès le commencement, de la paroisse en 1788. De lui descendent les Lepage de cette paroisse.

MARTEL DE LA CHENAYE

ARMS:—Azure, a marteau argent, crowned d'or erect in pale, accompanied by a crescent of the second. Crest!—A lion issuant argent, crowned d'or. Seigneurial Coronet.

HISTORY:—Pierre Martel and Jeanne de La Hargue of Clarence, Bayonne, France, had a son:—

RAYMOND MARTEL, first in Canada of his family, who became Seigneur de La Chenaye. He married at Batiscan in 1697 Marie, daughter of Antoine Trottier.

PAYEN DE NOYEN

ARMS:—Argent, 3 towers sable, the first charged with a rose d'or. Motto:—"In Arduis fortior." Seigneurial Coronet.

HISTORY:—Pierre Payen, Chevalier de Chevoir by his wife, Helene Vivien, Avianches, Normandy, belonged to an ancient and noble origin from one stem of which descends the Norman English family of Payne, represented in Virginia. Pierre had a son:—

PIERRE PAYEN, Sieur de Nbyen, who came to Canada with Seigneurial rights. He married in 1664, at Quebec, Catherine J., daughter of Charles Lemoyne, 1st Baron de Longueuil.

PILET DE DIJON

ARMS:—Gules, 3 javeline d'or accompanied in chief by a dove of the same. Seigneurial Coronet.

HISTORY: GUY PILET, was the first of his race in Canada, where he obtained Seigneurial rank with the title of Seigneur de La Val de Dijon. He was son of Jean Pilet by his wife, Claudine de La Pierre, of Langres, France, and he married at Quebec in 1694, Louise, daughter of Jean Minot.

PIRON. DU LONG

ARMS:—Argent, 3 bars gules, accompanied by 10 mullets of the same. Seigneurial Coronet.

HISTORY: PIERRE PIRON was the first of his family in Canada and he was received into the Noblesse with the rank and title of Seigneur du Long. He was born in 1636, the son of Dr. Thomas Piron and Frances Bajot, of Malicorne, Mans, France, and he married in 1663 at Quebec, Jeanne, daughter of Mathieu Lorrion.

POITIERS DU BUISSON

ARMS:—Argent, 4 triangles with a bend over all, gules. Supporters:—Two pelicans with their young. Seigneurial Coronet.

HISTORY:—JEAN B. DE POITIERS was entered into noble rank in Canada as Seigneur du Buisson. He was son of Pierre de Poitiers and Helene de Belleau, of Ameius, France, and he married in 1672, Elizabeth, daughter of Baspard Jossard.

DE L' HOSPITAL, MARQUIS DE VITRY

ARMS:—Gules, a cock argent, crested, armed and membered d'or, bearing suspended from his neck a shield azure, charged with a fleur-de-lys d'or. Supporters:—Two angels, ppr. Motto:—"Honor, Virtus et Fidelitas." Cryde Guerre;—"St. Louis et Vaillance." Coronet of Marquis over Seigneurial one.

HISTORY:—The house of Vitry was established in France at the beginning of the XIV Century. The family came from Italy, near Naples; its original name was Galluccio and it was allied with the ancient kings of the country and with the Dukes of Milan.

The first one in the history of France was Adrian Galluccio de l' Hospital, Seigneur de St. Mesme, de Choisy and de Vitry, chamberlain to King Charles VIII, lieutenant-general in Brittany, who died in 1503. He married Marguerite Jeanne de St. Paul de Valois, Lady of Verberie, direct descendant of Charles, Count of Valois, 3d son of Phillipe de Hardi, King of France. The children of this marriage were the progenitor of three branches of the family, I. that of Counte of Choisy extinct in 1702, II. that of the Counts and Marquises de St. Mesme, and III. that of the Marquises of Vitry. Of the last, Francis de l'

Hospital, Seigneur de Vitry lived in the XVI Century. He married Anne, daughter of the Marshal de La Châtre.

Louis de L' Hospital de Vitry, born at Vitry in 1550, died at Paris in 1611, was Gentleman of Honor to King Henry II, Captain of the Guard, Governor of Meaux and Fontainbleue and first Marquis de Vitry. The King Henry IV accorded him the privilege of bearing a fluer-de-lys in his family arms. His eldest son, Nicolas, became by brevet Duc de Vitry, and was Count of Châteauevillain, of Nandy, of Braux, of Duplessis and Marquis of Ancourt. He died in 1644, leaving by his wife, Lucrece, Marchioness de Normontier, a son Francis, Count de Hallier, who became a Marshall of France. This latter had a son who was the Duc de Vitry, one of the leaders of the Fronde in the days of Louis XIV, who died childless and thus extinguished the Duchy of Vitry. But the Marquisate of Vitry was perpetuated by a younger brother of Francis, named Nicolas, whose son was Colonel of the Cavalry regiment known as "Royal Vitry," and whose wife was of the ducal house of de Noailles. His son, Gabriel, Marquis de Vitry, was Governor of Vervins in 1732 and lieutenant-general in Berry. He and his eldest son were killed at the Battle of Fontenoy in 1745. The younger son:—

CHARLES L. N. DE L' HOSPITAL, MARQUIS DE VITRY, Commander of the Order of St. Esprit, was gazetted in Canada with Seignorial rank, where he served as Colonel of the regiment Royal Deux Ponte. His son, Louis Charles, Marquis de Vitry, was Colonel of the regiments, Royal Champayne and Royal Vitry. In France he was Deputy of the Noblesse to the States General. He and his wife were murdered by the revolutionists in 1793. His eldest son, a Royalists Vendean officer, was killed in battle in 1794, leaving no posterity. The younger son, Charles Philippe, born in 1774, lived in exile in Germany. At the Restoration of Louis XVIII to the Throne, he was made a knight of the order of St. Louis and from him descends the present Marquis de Vitry, who married an Acadian named Leblanc and resided recently near Springfield, Massachusetts.

COMEAU

ARMS:—Az., a fesse or, between three stars of six rays of the same. Seigneurial Coronet.

HISTORY:—This family originated in Burgoyne, France, and afterwards had affixed to its name that of the Seigneurie of Creancy, which it possessed for over 150 years. In 1495, Guy de Comeau founded a chapel in the parish church of Pouilly, Ouxois, his name appearing in the act of foundation, and in the letters-patent of the King, Charles VIII, as “the noble Guy de Comeau.” He married and had a son, whose present day descendants are numerous. The family has been divided into several branches and has furnished a great number of officers to the Royal Army.

The first of this family ranked with the noblesse to be mentioned in the archives of Nova Scotia was JEAN COMEAU, who died before 1719. His wife, Frances Hebert, belonged to the first family holding seigneurial honor in Canada, that of Louis Hebert, Seigneur de L’Espinay. His daughter Marguerite married Ambrois Melanson at Port Royal in 1719, who was of the same family as the Melanson, Seigneur de la Verdur. His son, Francis, married Marie J., daughter of Jean Soulard, by whom he had a son Maurice, who married Marie Joseph, daughter of Jean Gaudet in 1766. This family is well represented at the present time in the sea merchant marine of Nova Scotia, and their homes extend from Weymouth to Yarmouth on the “French Shore.”

HISTORICAL VIEWS AND REVIEWS

Readers of Americana are invited to contribute to this column their views on any topic that comes within the scope of the magazine. Criticism and corrections are welcome.

GENERAL LEE'S JUSTIFICATION

GAMALIEL BRADFORD, JR., in a recent number of the *Atlantic* throws some interesting side lights upon the motives that actuated men like Lee and Longstreet in their support of the Confederacy. He says:

Why, then, did Lee leave the Union? Because Virginia left it, and he felt that Virginia was his country. And I cannot see how any citizen of the old colonial States, with all the memories and traditions of his forefathers in his heart and all the local attachments and fellowships that constitute home, can fail even now to sympathize with such an attitude. "No consideration on earth could induce me to act a part, however gratifying to me, which could be construed into faithlessness to this Commonwealth," wrote Lee's father to Madison; and at another time he expressed himself still more strongly: "Virginia is my country; her I will obey, however lamentable the fate to which it may subject me." Longstreet, in describing his own decision, tells us that "a number of officers of the post called to persuade me to remain in the Union service. Capt. Gibbs of the Mounted Rifles was the principal talker, and after a long and pleasant discussion I asked him what course he would pursue if his State should pass ordinances of secession and call him to its defence. He confessed that he would obey the call." Finally, if one may quote one's own feelings as perhaps representative of many, I do not hesitate to say that in the certainly most improbable, but perhaps not wholly impossible, contingency of a future sectional separation in the country, however much I might disapprove of such separation and its causes, I should myself be first, last, and always a son and subject of New England and of Massachusetts.



STATUE OF BARON VON STEUBEN
Unveiled in Washington, December 7th
(See Historic Views and Reviews)

UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF PAYNE

Mr. W. S. Pelletreau of the National Americana Society, recently discovered a letter written by John Howard Payne, which is believed to be unpublished. The letter is of more than ordinary interest as a personal document. It reads:

Washington, June 5, 1849.

Dear Sir:—

I have been ever since the inauguration waiting the chance of something like Justice in the provision for me during the next four years. It has been mentioned to me that the place of Librarian to the New York Historical Society, is vacant, and that it is worth from \$1,500 to \$2,000 a year, although I doubt if any place worth so much can be vacant long enough for the news of it to travel three hundred miles, even by railroad. Will you forgive me for troubling you to let me know whether the situation is empty. If so, what is the salary and whether there is any probability of my obtaining the post.

Your obliged friend,

JOHN HOWARD PAYNE.

Prosper M. Wetmore, Esq.

A TRUE HOROSCOPE

A curious horoscope, containing, if written at the time stated, a remarkable prediction of the death by violence in 1775 of Dr. Joseph Warren, the young Boston physician, who was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill in June, 1775, was recently sold at Anderson's. It is called "Geniture of Joseph Warren, of Roxbury, Mass.," (Dr. Warren was born there in 1741,) and it has a chart and horoscope, signed "Roger Elwes, 1743." Warren then was only two years of age, and the horoscope was evidently made at Roxbury. It will be recalled that when Elbridge Gerry, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, urged Warren not to expose his person in fortifying Bunker Hill, because his life was too valuable to his compatriots, he replied: "I know that I may fall, but where's the man who does

not think it glorious and delightful to die for his country?" He fought in the ranks and was one of the last to leave the redoubt.

As he turned, attracted by the voice of a British officer, who knew him, calling upon him to surrender, a bullet from one of the British soldiers penetrated his brain, and he fell dead.

AN INDIAN MYSTERY

A great deal of interest has been excited by a bust of an Indian shown at the Capitol at Washington, not alone because it is a striking piece of work, but particularly for the reason that the identity of the subject is unknown. Army men and employees of the Indian bureau have tried in vain to solve the puzzle, and a request has now been sent to historical societies and museums asking for an identification of the statue or its sculptor.

"MAIDEN LANE" A LOVERS' WALK

The old tradition of Maiden Lane being a lovers' lane in the time of the Dutch and called Maiden's path has been questioned in view of the custom of the English when they took possession of New Amsterdam of substituting the names of a number of London thoroughfares for the original Dutch designations. Color was given to this theory by the fact that old London maps exhibit a Maiden lane. Regarding this question a writer in the *New York Sun* says:

I am pleased to place on record through the columns of *The Sun* that the old tradition is safe and that the Dutch, when the lane was still a rural promenade beyond the city's wall, called it 'T maagde paatje (Maides's path), indicating beyond a doubt that it was a lovers' lane. All this appears in the minutes of the Burgomasters and Schepens, 1653-74, the original and translation of which may be found in the City Hall Library.

Curiously enough, the fact is established by the theft of some cabbages. A certain individual, it appears, fancied some specimens that grew in a garden situated at the entrance of Maiden lane, stole a quantity of them, was caught by the watch, duly tried and the case reported in the minutes. Owing to the cul-

prits' preference for Maiden lane cabbages a grave historical doubt is dispelled and a charming tradition preserved.

GAS AT \$10 A THOUSAND

The first incorporated gas company was the National Light and Heat Company of England, established in 1809. In America the first gas company was incorporated in Baltimore in 1816, the second one in Boston in 1822 and the next one was the New York Gas Light Company, incorporated in 1823.

Prior to 1830 the gas business of this country was nominal, but the price probably was responsible for its slow development. From 1824 to 1828 the New York Gas Light Company sold gas to consumers at the rate of \$10 a thousand cubic feet.

The first artificial illuminating gas was produced in England about 1726 by one Dr. Hales, but not until 1786 was a practical test made. In that year the Earl of Dundonald of Scotland, arranged an apparatus by which he lighted his castle with gas. The same year William Murdock of Birmingham, England, introduced gas as a light in his workshops at Redruth and Cornwall.

As Mr. Murdock was the first man to reap any commercial benefit from the discovery of the use of illuminating gas, he may properly be accredited as the father of modern public utilities. In 1813 London Bridge was illuminated by gas, and five years later gas was in general use throughout the main part of London.

OLDEST BEACON IN AMERICA

The oldest lighthouse in America is Boston light, the outer beacon of Boston harbor, eight miles below the city and at the outer end of the channel that ocean liners follow. It stands on Little Brewster Island, which is little more than a pile of rocks.

Three families live here—those of the head keeper and his two assistants. In all the inhabitants number a dozen souls, besides two dogs, a cat, and a raccoon. There are five children, and a teacher is provided by the town of Hull in conjunction with the State.

The school is kept in the third story of the head keeper's house. There, in a large light room, looking in all directions upon the sea, the children do their studying and recite their lessons.

The light was built in 1715 by the government of England. It is a rough boulder stone, hooped with iron bands, and its clean, whitewashed form is a landmark and a seamark far and wide.

A rustic iron railway for carrying coal leads up from the water side to the engine house, where is an engine and boilers in which steam is kept up continually to operate the siren fog horns. Their great trumpetlike forms protrude through the wall of the building on the seaward side. In foggy weather one can hear from the open windows the far-off mooing of the fog horn on the Boston lightship, seven miles away, as the keepers on the lightship can hear this one at Boston light.

An old cannon lies on the ground near the lighthouse; it was provided by the Cunard Steamship Company before the fog horn was installed to give signals. It is unused now. But in addition to the great revolving light in the tower there is a set of red and white range lights that give the location of anchorage for vessels in the channel. If they see red it means that they are out of their proper location, but if white they are safe.

SIGNED BY GEORGE III

An American Revolutionary document, signed by George III., with the royal seal, a folio manuscript of sixteen pages, issued from the Court of St. James's on October 8, 1783, to "Edward Matthew, Esq., Major General of his Majesties Forces and Governor in Chief of the Grenardines," will be sold at Anderson's during December. The document relates entirely to the trade and government of the "Plantations and Colonies," and reference is made to New York, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. Matthew came to America in 1776 with the rank of Brigadier General, and took part in the capture of Fort Wash-

ington, 1776; the expedition to destroy Gosport, and the capture of Stony Point. He was stationed at New York in 1780.

ADVOCATED MULBERRY TREES

Carew Reynell's "The True English Interest; or, An Account of the Chief National Improvements," (London, 1674), a rare and interesting item of Americana, was another important Anderson item. The author was an economic writer, the son of a Marshal of the King's band and the father of the Bishop of Derry. There are curious statements in the work. One is to the effect that when British seamen made trips to New England and Virginia not one in three ever returned, but that they settled there. The suggestion is therefore made that the cultivation of tobacco in Virginia be discontinued, and that the Colonists there should confine their efforts to the planting of mulberry trees. In a chapter on "Marriage" the question is asked, "What makes New England increase so fast, but because they have employment and estates for all people and no poor among them? They can give every child an estate by setting them out so many acres." There is also a reference to the "settling of New York" by the English. The chapter "On Plantations" is a plea in favor of Jamaica as against New England and the North Colonies, "which afford only such commodities as we have ourselves, and so breed no good commerce, but hinder trade to our Southern plantations."

There is not a record of any previous sale of this work in America and it is said that it is not to be found in any of the noted collections of Americana.

VON STEUBEN STATUE

The American nation paid a striking tribute to the memory of Baron von Steuben, the Revolutionary hero, when, in the presence of President Taft, the Army, Navy, and Diplomatic Corps, and civil hosts, on December 7, a splendid bronze statue to his memory was unveiled at Franklin Park, Washington, D. C. This square now contains statues of Lafayette, Kosciusko, and Rochambeau, as well as one of Baron von Steuben. To-

gether these constitute a fitting token of the appreciation of the American people for the great services foreign warriors performed for the country during its struggle for independence. The von Steuben statue was unveiled by the hand of Miss Helen Taft, the President's daughter. A multitude of representative German-Americans were in attendance to do honor to the occasion, delegations coming from as far West as Colorado Springs.

The most striking feature of the ceremonies was the huge parade, in which 10,000 men were in line, under command of Major-General William H. Carter, U. S. A. A special musical program was furnished by a chorus of 10,000 singers representing the United Singers' Societies, who rendered patriotic hymns during the exercises at the monument. Many stirring speeches were delivered, all of which touched on some phase of life of Baron von Steuben and extolled his bravery as a soldier and his worth as a man. The principal speakers were President Taft, the German Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, Representative Barthold and President C. J. Hexamer, of the National German-American Alliance.

MEAGRE WAR STORES OF 1775

A faint idea of the meagre character of the equipment possessed by the colonial forces at the beginning of the Revolutionary War may be obtained from the following summary of war stores made by the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts, April 19, 1775:

Field pieces	12
Firearms	21,549
Powder, pounds	17,441
Balls, pounds	22,191
Flints, pieces	144,699
Bayonets	10,108
Pouches	11,979
Canteens	15,000
Salt fish, pounds	17,000
Rice, pounds	35,000

HOW WASHINGTON TIPPED

Those who are interested in the question of tipping as a social obligation will be interested to see how gracefully and courteously the first President complied with this custom. In 1789, on his return from his New England progress, Washington lodged at Taft's Inn, at Uxbridge, Mass., where the domestic service—as at many inns in the country—was performed by the landlord's daughters. Somewhat later Washington wrote to Mr. Taft:

“Hartford, 8 November, 1789.

“Sir: Being informed that you have given my name to one of your sons, and called another after Mrs. Washington's family, and being moreover very much pleased with the modest and innocent looks of your two daughters, Patty and Polly, I do for these reasons send each of these girls a piece of chintz; and to Patty, who bears the name of Mrs. Washington, and who waited upon us more than Polly did, I send five guineas, with which she may buy herself any little ornaments she may want, or she may dispose of them in any other manner more agreeable to herself.

“As I do not give these things with a view to have it talked of, or even to its being known, the less there is said about it the better, you will please me; but that I may be sure the chintz and money have got safe to hand let Patty, who I dare say, is equal to it, write me a line informing me thereof, directed to ‘The President of the United States, at New York.’ I wish you and your family well, and am your humble servant,

“GEO. WASHINGTON.”

AN ANCIENT MAP

The curator of the National Library in Paris has added to the priceless collection of historical documents the library possesses a map dated 1584 showing North and South America as a French colony.

This map is contemporaneous with a plan drawn up by Catharine de Medici for the conquest of the two Americas, which she began to put into execution. Two viceroys were appointed by the Queen. Troilus de Mesgonez, one of her favorites, was to re-

capture North America, abandoned since the days of Jacques Cartier, and Strozzi was appointed Lieutenant-General, with the duty of capturing Brazil.

Strozzi started with a fleet of seventy-five vessels, but was defeated in a battle off the Azores, and Troilus de Mesgonez was wrecked before reaching his vice-royalty.

THE PRACTICE OF SCALPING

Giving to the white men the dubious honor of teaching the Indians the horrible practice of scalping, the editor of the diary of Major-Gen. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, United States Army, takes the reader over the early history of the ancestors of the subject of the volume. In the years just preceding the revolution, we are told here "the tomahawk never got rusty in the wilderness and the Governor of New Hampshire never ceased to pay a bounty for the scalps of Indians and Frenchmen.

"Indeed so natural and legitimate was this singular industry regarded that an amendment was added to the bill offering a premium for the heads of wolves and panthers, so as to include the enemy's scalps. Scalping seems to have been the invention of the white men, who taught the Indians to scalp, that they might keep tally of their dead, and thus be entitled to their bounty." In Buckle's "History of Civilization," volume 1, can be found this: "Among the expenses of the war that the Government laid before Parliament one of the items was for five gross of scalping knives."

AARON BURR'S TOMBSTONE

A letter written by H. C. Cameron to Charles Edwards, Esq., of New York, and dated Princeton, August 15, 1866, was sold in an autograph collection, 1909. From it we learn the following:—

"Aaron Burr was buried in Princeton in 1836 and his grave was unmarked for twenty years, when the present simple monument was erected by Alfred Edwards, Esq., of New York City, who sent it here and had it put up by Mr. John Murphy one of our masons. It was cut in the marble yard of Mr. Brawn in New York."

Parton, in his life of Aaron Burr, evidently did not know who erected it, and was not unwilling to throw an air of mystery about it and bring a lady into the case.

If we remember correctly, an article in the "New York Observer" many years ago, stated that Burr's executors managed to get money enough to erect the tombstone. Does the letter above tell the true story?

WM. S. PELLETREAU.

OUR THIRD CIVIL WAR

A correspondent writing from Providence, R. I., calls our attention to a small civil war which occurred in Pennsylvania in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century. His letter which is filled with interesting information follows:—

"The 'Window Tax War' the third in the series of internal disturbances which marked the first few years of American independence, was nothing more or less than an absolutely unnecessary quarrel due to a misunderstanding about the financial situation. Still staggering beneath the heavy debt incurred during the war, Congress in July, 1789, adopted the only course which could properly have been pursued, and voted a direct tax of \$2,000,000, the full amount of which was to be expended in pacifying anxious creditors.

"This direct tax was apportioned among the thirteen states, and the proportionate share assigned to Pennsylvania was \$237,000, a sum which was assessed chiefly upon houses and lands, the rate upon each house being determined by the size of its windows. If the people had clearly understood the law, if they had been properly instructed as to the reasons why Congress had ordered such a tax, it is doubtful if they would have attempted to resist by force an assessment which had been levied upon as equitable a basis as could possibly have been devised at that time. To the German inhabitants of Northampton, Bucks, and Montgomery counties, however, the entire proceedings were exceptionally unpopular. Still suffering from the effects of the war; often compelled to trade with commodities in the absence of negotiable currency, the idea that they should be forced to pay

a tax to the Government for the air they breathed inside their dwellings appealed to them as a hardship that was not to be borne in silence. It was the women who first declared that the window tax was tyrannical, and it was the women who first conceived the idea of repelling the assessors, for while their phlegmatic husbands and sons stood about in stolid silence while the Government's agents measured the size of the windows the women ascended to the second story, and from the windows poured boiling water upon the heads of their 'persecutors,' a method of defence which caused another title, that of 'The Hot Water War' to be applied to these disturbances.

"Met with such violent opposition the assessors were compelled to desist in their work, but when they made their report to Governor Mifflin, he refused to accept their excuses and ordered that warrants be issued for the arrest of those who had opposed the assessors. These warrants were delivered into the hands of the United States Marshal, but their service was made the excuse for a renewal of the disturbances. For example, in Bethlehem on March 7, the Marshal's force, with thirty men whom they had arrested, was stopped by a party of fifty horsemen, and after a spirited battle the prisoners were liberated. As this method of reprisal bordered closely upon rebellion, President Adams sent troops to the several counties under orders to arrest all the leaders of the rioters. This command was rigorously obeyed, and among those who were captured was John Fries, the man who was generally accredited with having been the chief instigator of the insurrection.

"Although it was some time before peace was finally assured the rioters succeeded in avoiding any serious conflict with the troops. The many persons who were arrested were sent to Philadelphia where all except Fries were soon discharged. He was held without bonds, and after two trials on the charge of treason, at both of which he was convicted, he was sentenced to death. In 1800, however, he was pardoned by the President."

WHEN WOMEN VOTED

Few advocates of woman suffrage seem to be aware that at one time women were allowed to vote in New Jersey. This right

was given them by the Constitution adopted in 1776 and was exercised until 1807, when it was abolished by an act of Assembly. Some question arose as to the constitutionality of the act and women voted in various parts of the State until the Constitution of 1844, which limited the suffrage to the male population.

The Constitution of 1776 contained many liberal provisions. Before its adoption only freeholders were allowed to vote. This caused much complaint, especially from soldiers who fought in the Revolutionary War, and when the convention met to draft the Constitution the following provision was made:

That all inhabitants of this colony of full age who were worth fifty pounds proclamation money, clear estate in the same, who have resided in the county in which they claim a vote for twelve months immediately preceding the election shall be entitled to vote for Representatives in Council and Assembly and also for all other public officers that shall be elected by the people of the colony at large.

The loose wording of the Constitution in allowing "all inhabitants" to vote created confusion, and diversity of practice prevailed in different parts of the State. In some parts the women availed themselves of the privilege, while in others they were not allowed to vote at all. The matter went on until 1806, when at an election held for the selection of a county seat of Essex county, at which there was a warm contest between Elizabethtown and Newark, women and negroes were allowed to vote without inquiry as to their property. The fraudulent voting was so extensive that the Legislature set aside the election.

In consequence the Legislature of 1807 passed an act limiting the franchise to free white male citizens. In some parts of the State this law was disregarded as unconstitutional and void and women continued to vote, and a contested election occurred in Cumberland county as late as 1837 from this cause.

THE FARTHEST NORTH

A monument has recently been put in place on the Crubaugh farm in Columbiana county, Ohio, which marks the farthest northern point reached by the Confederate forces during the Civil War.

It also marks the spot where Gen. John H. Morgan, the famous Southern leader, surrendered. Many will not realize without looking at the map that Wellsville is north of Gettysburg.

For many years an old locust tree marked the place of surrender, but a short time ago it died and was cut down, the stump being taken to East Liverpool, Ohio, and placed in the public library for safe keeping as a historical relic. It was the idea of the late W. L. Thompson, the well known song writer, who lived near the scene of the fight, to erect a monument to mark the spot.

He had a fund well started when he suddenly died, but his friends took up the work and carried it through. A huge granite boulder was put in place last year, but it was not until a few weeks ago that the bronze tablet was put in place and the monument dedicated. The tablet bears this inscription: "This stone marks the spot where the Confederate raider Gen. John H. Morgan surrendered his command to Major George W. Rue, July 26, 1863, and is the farthest point North ever reached by any body of Confederate troops during the Civil War."

FEBRUARY, 1911

AMERICANA

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REV. JOHN CORNELL,
Present Owner of the Cornell Homestead

AMERICANA

February, 1911

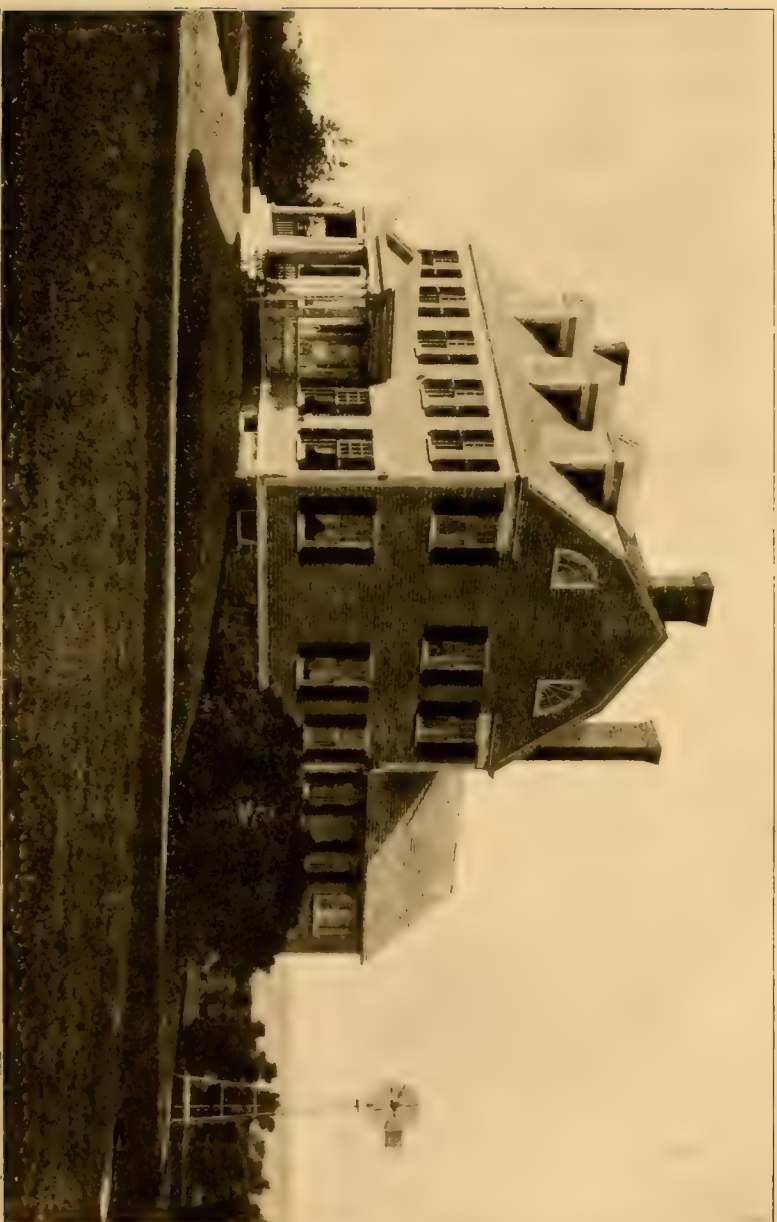
THE CORNELL FARM AT NEWPORT

BY REV. JOHN CORNELL

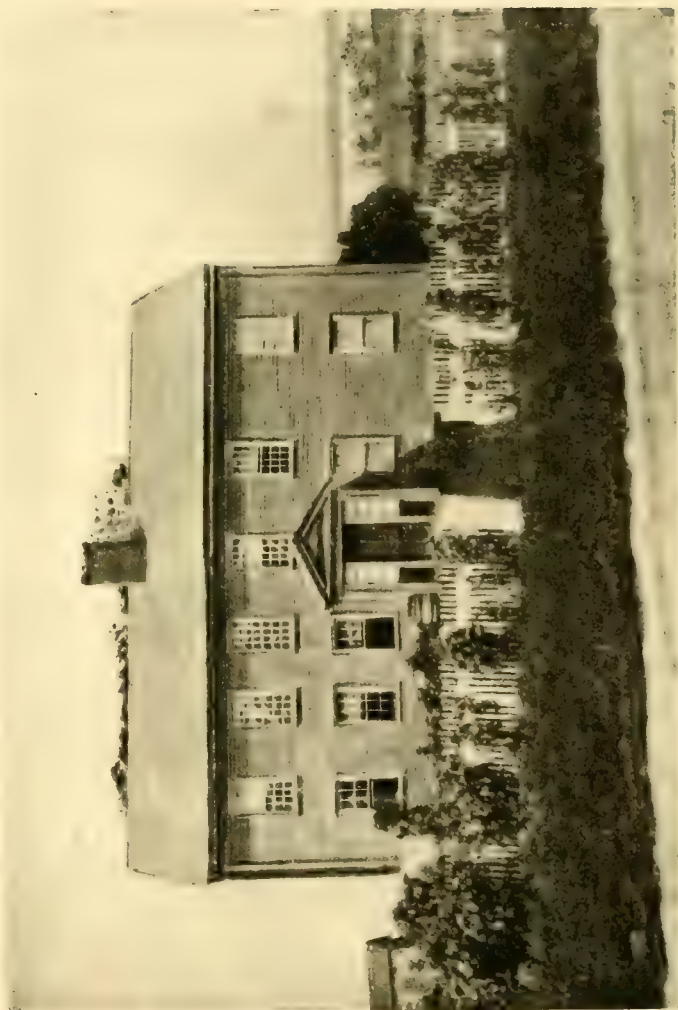
ONE of the most ancient homesteads in the country, is what is now known as the Cornell Farm, about five miles north of Newport, on the Island of Rhode Island. —Feb. 4, 1646, it was a grant from the town of Portsmouth, R. I., to Thomas, the ancestor of the Cornell family. He came from England and first appears in America, 1638, at Boston, where he was allowed to become a citizen and keep a tavern, which he did for some time. But not getting on very well, after a while, with his Puritan brethren, he followed Roger Williams and Ann Hutchinson to Rhode Island. It was very desirable that this coloney should be recognized by charter from Great Britain. It was accordingly decided that Roger Williams should go to England and obtain such a charter. He was banished from Massachusetts and, therefore, could not embark from Boston, the nearest port. So he went to the Dutch colony of New Netherlands to embark from New Amsterdam (now New York). There was not then, as now, lines of steamers running nearly every day thence to England, so he had to wait about a year for a Dutch ship to take him on his voyage. During that time he and Thomas Cornell and some of his other Rhode Island neighbors obtained a joint grant from Governor Kieft in New Amsterdam. From this they were driven by the Indians. Ann Hutchinson and others were murdered. Thomas Cornell escaped and returned to Rhode Island. Not discouraged by this experience, however, he returned to the New Netherlands and obtained another grant, consisting of 700 acres from Governor Kieft. This was afterwards known as Cornell Neck, and is now in the limits of Greater New York and known as Closson Point. The date of this

grant is July 25, 1646, and only the third of which there is any record in Westchester county. Here it appears he remained several years, and was at considerable expense in building and fertilizing and planting, and that he was driven off by the barbarous violence of the Indians who burned his house and destroyed his cattle. He then left the Dutch colony never to return, and went to his Rhode Island home where he lived and died and was buried in the family burial plot, which in those days almost always formed part of the homestead. Thomas Cornell's death occurred about 1655. He had five sons and four daughters. The family does not seem generally to have been guilty of race suicide, for its descendants are numerous and pretty well scattered over the country, and are most numerous in Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New York.

The New York grant was given to one of the daughters and thus passed out of the family in the next generation. The Rhode Island homestead, however, or portions of it including the site of the old house and the burial ground has remained in the family ever since. The oldest son naturally came in possession of the family homestead, and Thomas II was given this and lived there with his mother, and here occurred the tragedy of the family. For it seems that the mother was sitting by the fire smoking a pipe, having fallen asleep a coal from the fire or her pipe fell on her clothing and set fire to her burning her to death. This was the verdict of the coroners' jury, under which verdict she was allowed to be buried by her husband in the family burial ground. It is recorded, however, that she afterward appeared in a vision to her brother, John Briggs, and said, "see how I was burned with fire." This was thought to mean that she was set fire to, and as her son was last with her he must have set fire to her, and Thomas her son was tried and hung, principally on the strength of this vision, for her murder. Our Puritan forefathers had crude ideas of justice. A person under trial for murder was not allowed counsel and although he protested his innocence to the last he was hung all the same. Durfee in his *Legal tracts of Rhode Island* comments on the strangeness of this trial and the injustice of the execution. As we stated before the family are numerous, and have, as a rule, been distinguished for their



PRESENT CORNELL HOMESTEAD OWNED BY REV. JOHN CORNELL.



OLD CORNELL HOUSE

energy and integrity and freedom from intemperance. Many have attained eminence, seven of the name are mentioned in Appleton's Encyclopedia of Biography, distinguished as inventors, philanthropists, statesmen, soldier, medical authority and musical composer. Some have graced the clerical and legal professions and the bench. Others have from little or nothing financially, become millionaires. Ezra Cornell (the founder of Cornell University) was largely instrumental by his association with Morse, the inventor, in bringing the magnetic telegraph to successful operation. It was by his ventures in the telegraphic business, that he made his many millions. His son Alonzo B. Cornell, 25th governor of New York is still remembered for his honest and judicious administration. J. B. and W. W. Cornell were pioneers of the iron industry in America, the inventors of structural iron building and many useful applications of iron industry. Ezekiel Cornell was one of the leading generals in the Revolutionary war. Theodore Woolsey probably the best known president of Yale University, was a descendant of Thomas I. The homestead is now in possession of the writer (8th in descent from Thomas I. the ancestor of the family), he having purchased three of the four farms into which the homestead was divided. It is beautifully situated on Narragansett Bay, and he much enjoys it as his summer home.

HORSESTABLE ROCK THE ANCIENT HAUNT OF IN- DIAN AND OUTLAW

BY MAX SCHRABISCH

THE beautiful range of hills known as the Ramapo Mountains has always been an Eldorado for lovers of Nature. Its southern portion, which is but thirty miles north of New York City stands out in bold relief to the undulating hills of Northern New Jersey by reason of superior height and the rugged character of its contour. All along the southern base, which extends in a straight line from Pompton to the Hudson river, perpendicular ledges and inaccessible cliffs rise from the lowlands and fertile plains through which the Ramapo river pursues its meandering course. Beginning at Suffern and extending northward a natural pass, the Ramapo valley divides this mountainous tract into an eastern and western section. In places it is so narrow that river, highway and railroad fairly seem to compete for the right of way. Two hills, the Noorde Kop and the Hoghe Kop, east and west of Suffern, sentinel the entrance to the valley. The level ground between the Ramapo river and the foot of Hoghe Kop marks the site of an ancient village, once peopled by the Tuscarora Indians. They were strangers to the native inhabitants, having come here from the south, about the year 1718, on their way to join the Five Nations.

At Suffern a number of Indian trails converged, among which we may mention the Pompton trail along the banks of the Ramapo river, and the Haverstraw trail following the course of the Mahwah brook. Probably the most important trail ran from Suffern northward through the Ramapo Valley. Between Hillburn and Ramapo, a mile north of Suffern, the glacial moraines, flanking the river, reveal many traces of erstwhile Indian occu-

pation. This is particularly the case at a point almost opposite the Ramapo station. Here, there is a high bank bordering that picturesque water course, level on top and situated at the entrance to the Torne brook valley. This valley stretches forth into the very heart of the Ramapo Mountains, for a distance of nearly nine miles, with the Torne Mountains bounding it northward.

One of the wildest and most charming regions within this territory lies directly north of the Torne Mountain range. A deep and lovely valley forms the dividing line. Starting at Sloatsburg, it runs in a northeasterly direction to Johnstown, a little settlement amid the hills. The highway which connects both places clings close to the Stony brook, one of the eastern tributaries of the Ramapo river. A ramble through this valley with its ever changing scenery is at once enjoyable and inspiring. To the right one observes the Torne Mountain chain with its many summits, all thickly timbered and a tumbled wilderness; to the left there greets the eye a group of hills and massive crags, rising abruptly hundreds of feet in the air. Most conspicuous among the latter are two hills, locally known as Mine Hill and Pound Hill.

Back of these hills, that is, about three miles east of Tuxedo Park, there is situated a most interesting spot famed for its revolutionary lore. However, subsequent investigation proved that it was also a favorite trysting place of the redskins, long before the whites came to these shores. And, indeed, its archaeological significance had never been suspected, until the writer thrust his trowel into the earth of the floor and turned up split deer bones and charcoal, revealing the character of the place beyond a doubt. It is a so-called rock-shelter, i. e., a formation where the overhanging rocks form a small cave or shelter which the Indians used as a dwelling place. Structurally, it may well be deemed the monarch of aboriginal rock-shelters for many miles around which it has been our good fortune to discover; moreover it excels all the others both with respect to number and variety of antiquities left there. This place is known hereabouts as Horstable Rock. We knew of it from hearsay long before we had any conception of Indian rock-shelters. And, to be sure, our first efforts to locate it were not at all prompted by aspira-

tions of an ethnological nature, but rather by purely historical considerations. This penchant for archæological pursuits was to be slowly acquired. Thus, the desire to visit Horsestable Rock arose originally from the fact that it had played a certain part in the revolutionary history of the Ramapo Mountains, by having been the headquarters and hiding place of a noted Tory chief and brigand, called Claudius Smith and surnamed the Cowboy of the Ramapo Mountains. To conceive of its having been the haunt of prehistoric people was reserved for a much later period. For years all attempts to find it remained futile, when, in 1907, we redoubled our efforts, as the suspicion had crept in upon us that this place, which was reputed to be such a fine rockhouse, might be instinct with something more than mere modern lore. And so it was. Although everybody for many miles around had heard of it, no one seemed to have ever visited it, and, beyond some general remarks, we were unable to obtain any definite information as to its exact site. Being left to our own resources we roamed over the mountains Sunday after Sunday during the summer of 1907, agreeing with the poet that, though unsuccessful in our special mission, there is still a pleasure in the pathless woods. At last we succeeded, but not without the kind offices of a farmer, living on the Johnstown road, two miles south of the rock. This kindly individual undertook to guide us to the spot, he being one of the few who had actually been there, time and again. As his house happened to lie nearest to it, we covered the distance in forty minutes, but he it remarked on the double quick. Having now reached that long-sought-for goal, two old hexameters came to my mind, as most befitting the occasion:

*Que studet optatam cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit, fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit.*

A true saying, replete with the wisdom of ages! But let us return to the rock. No sooner had we glanced at it and taken a hasty survey of the surroundings than we felt convinced of its archæological significance. On giving expression to this opinion, our cicerone mumbled something between his teeth to the effect that ours was a gratuitous assumption and that he had never heard

of Indians prowling about this place. Having, however, passed my Lehrjahre, I intimated that I was equally sure of his being mistaken.

Horsestable Rock lies four miles N. N. E. of Sloatsburg and about three miles east of Tuxedo. It is a place quite difficult of access, for though there are some rough woodroads or trails round about, none leads close up to it, save one, and this is almost obliterated. As its altitude above tidewater is about one thousand feet, the neighboring hills look rather insignificant, with their tops not exceeding twelve hundred feet. The rock faces west, overlooking a comparatively level tract of woodland, and right in front is a swamp, covered with luxuriant vegetation mostly wild laurel. In order to give a better idea of the topography of this section, we may state that the mountain rises in terraces, of which the level space just mentioned forms the second from the summit. The next terrace, some forty feet above, occupies the top of the cliff, back of Horsestable Rock, and is bounded eastward by a much higher and more rugged crag, called Claud's Den, the top of which marks the highest elevation of the mountain, viz., 1,150 feet. Tradition points to this crag as having been the chief hiding place of Caludius Smith, already alluded to as a guerilla of revolutionary notoriety. At the foot there is an overhanging rock and half way up its face a kind of gallery or covered passage, four feet wide and fifty odd feet long. Although we left no stone unturned in searching this spot, we did not succeed in finding any remains, ancient or modern. As regards Horsestable Rock, it is said to owe its name to the fact that Claudius Smith used it for stabling the horses and cattle which were carried off during the frequent depredations committed by himself and followers against the Dutch patriots. How much of truth there is in the traditions investing this rock, what is idle fancy, what authentic history, is hard to ascertain. However, later research furnished certain evidence which really seems to give countenance to some of the stories current in regard to it.

As already stated, Horsestable Rock is by far the largest rock-shelter for a radius of many miles. Its roof inclines backward, showing along its outermost edge an elevation above the floor of from nine to twelve feet. As it does not slant all the

way down, but joins the vertical back wall at an average height of four feet above the floor, one can stand upright in nearly all parts of the shelter. The covered space has a frontage of seventy feet and a uniform width of fifteen feet. At the extreme right there is an additional protection in the shape of a protruding rock with adjoining embankment. Near the extreme left water trickles through a crevice on the inner wall, collecting in a natural basin, which is always filled except during periods of great drought. The floor slopes in a gentle curve from either side towards the centre, the depression not exceeding three feet. Within this hollow space, which, indeed, appeared almost level, there were found deposited two boulders of about equal size and weighing at least two thousand pounds each. They were placed close together so as to form an acute angle, and this position suggested at once the site of a fire place, a supposition borne out afterwards by the remains there discovered. Apart from its great size Horsestable Rock is remarkable in that it can draw on a threefold water supply. First, there is the swamp in front; second, the water oozing through fissure on inner wall of shelter; and, last, a spring at the head of the swamp north of the rock, less than a hundred meters distant. While the first-named sources sometimes dry up during midsummer, the spring is always filled with an abundance of ice cold water.

It goes without saying that to explore a place of such magnitude was by no means an easy undertaking, even under favorable circumstances and with the best of tools. In our own case matters were aggravated because of the inadequacy of the tools at our command, and we were therefore prepared for a long and arduous search. However, the prospect that many a day's toil would be required to examine with anything like thoroughness a thousand cubic feet of *débris*, did not discourage us in the least. As a matter of fact, the anticipation of archaeological treasures kept our interest alive and never permitted us to relax our efforts for a moment. Being thus handicapped, the investigation progressed quite slowly and has hitherto been limited to the lower middle portion, comprising about one-third of the entire surface. This section was selected as a start, because there was good reason for thinking that it would contain a majority

of the relics. And, to be sure, right at the outset things looked rather auspicious, for before we had begun digging, many chips were found scattered over the surface, forerunners of the antiquities that were soon to follow. Suffice it to say that the area excavated as yet comprises upward of three hundred cubic feet, and near its centre are the two boulders above described. The débris overlying the rock bottom varied between one and two feet in depth, and all this mass was gradually removed together with a number of large rocks imbedded in it. Many of the remains lay close to the boulders, some even underneath them. Our *à priori* assumption that they marked the site of a fire place, was shown to be correct, if we could depend at all on the testimony pointing in this direction, i. e., charcoal, burnt pebbles, etc. At first we were inclined to believe that these rocks had lain there from time immemorial, so to speak, or else that they had been put there by the aborigines. Neither view could, however, be reconciled with the evidence extant. The fact that many objects were found below the rocks makes it quite probable that the latter had been placed there by white men, hunters or mountaineers, to serve as a hearth. Originally, they had been elsewhere, for otherwise we should surely not have discovered relics in the position indicated. On the other hand, there is no gainsaying the fact that the location of these rocks coincided somewhat with that of the one prehistoric fireplace we were able to trace. And in this there is nothing extraordinary since the central portion was best suited for a hearth and therefore the very spot most likely to appeal to Indian and white man alike.

It will now be necessary to give a detailed description of the manifold objects unearthed. A minute search of the debris yielded the following antiquities. In upper layers there occurred three large English copper coins of the size of a quarter, two of them showing on obverse the legend "Georgius II Rex," arranged circularly around the king's head; on reverse the legend "Britannia" with date 1729 around a symbolic figure representing Great Britain. The other coin was of the same kind, differing only in the date, which was 1737. These modern curiosities lay from one to three inches below and on one side of

boulders. Next came four leaden bullets, all cast in the mold, three of them as large as oxheart cherries, the other one half their size. They occurred far apart and quite near the top. Mingled with them were chips, bones and other objects in great profusion. Primitive culture was represented by a hundred and fifty-eight specimens in varying conditions of preservation. First, there were two spearheads. One was of argillite, five inches long, leaf-shaped and with a straight stem; the other was three inches long, of flint and lanciform. The harvest included furthermore eighty-nine arrow-heads, of which fifty were perfect, besides sixty-six fragments of heads and one scraper. Two of the points were less than one inch long and triangular in shape; sixty-one between one and two inches and sixteen more than two inches. One was barbed, another twisted, some serrated, nine triangular and without notch, the rest were all notched. A few of these points were corroded and calcined, as if very old. The material used in their manufacture embraced flint, quartz, limestone, chert, argillite and slate. In addition, there were thousands of flakes and bones, the latter belonging for the most part to the deer family; but there were also the remains of some other animals such as bear, wolf, raccoon, opossum and beaver. Of particular interest were two deer's horns and the tusk of some animal, unknown to the investigator, the latter being gracefully curved and about four inches long. The deer's tines lay at the site of the fireplace, the tusk under one of the boulders, at a depth of five inches. The deposit within the fireplace and close by contained a disproportionately large number of relics and probably fifty per cent. of the objects were here crowded into some twenty cubic feet of soil. Yet this is hardly surprising, as it was naturally the most frequented spot. And it is no mere phantasm to imagine those children of Nature sitting around the fire and cooking their venison.

At the time "when wild in woods the noble savage ran," the forests abounded with game. The Ramapo Mountains, too, were no doubt the hunters' paradise and often roamed by them in quest of the quarry. Skilled as they were in the use of bow and arrow and their senses no less acute than those of the animals they hunted, the results would seldom be doubtful. Com-

ing up from their villages in the valleys, singly or in troupes, they would stealthily follow the animal's trail until hunted down. Then the foraging parties would betake themselves to some rendezvous, miles away from their lodges. And what finer trysting place could there be found than Horstable Rock? That its many advantages were appreciated may be inferred from the profusion of relics and bones left behind. They tell an eloquent story of frequent feasts. We may be certain, however, that they never lingered long, probably only a few hours at a time. As a matter of fact, they stayed permanently nowhere. Not being an agriculturual people and not "*glebae adscriptus*" they relied chiefly on fishing and hunting, moving about from place to place in search of food.

The fact that Horstable Rock did not contain the slightest vestige of aboriginal earthenware, may appear anomalous at first sight. Still, its absence may be accounted for satisfactorily by taking into consideration the general inaccessibility and remoteness of this rock from the nearest aboriginal settlements. To carry pottery over miles of an exceedingly rough territory would have been not only very cumbersome but useless, bound as these Indians were on a hunting trip.

Special interest attaches to the three English copper coins, struck in the reign of George II. These coins were covered with a thin crust of *vertigris*, and they bore marks of having lain buried for a long time. Although there is no way of determining how long they had lain there, we may assume, without fear of contradiction, that they had been deposited or lost here more than a hundred and fifty years ago. This assumption, gratuitous as it may seem, is supported by two facts, first, the coins are, at this writing, a hundred and eighty years old, and, secondly, they occurred three inches below surface mixed with the remains of Indian handiwork. Now it is a matter of history that while most red men abandoned this territory towards the close of the eighteenth century, some remained, intermarrying with negroes and whites and giving rise to that peculiar breed called albinos or Jackson Whites, whose descendants still inhabit certain parts of this region. This being the case, may we not suppose that the original owners of the coins were acquainted with the dusky fre-

quarters of this shelter, meeting them here on friendly terms and partaking of their hospitality?

In this connection we wish to comment on an observation which, if well founded, will tend to vitiate somewhat the testimony heretofore adduced, at least in so far as it pertains to the objects of modern origin. In the course of the investigation we could not help suspecting that the layers had been disturbed. There were, to be sure, no fresh traces of any such disturbance; still, the subsoil appeared to have been dug up in places at some not very recent period. And it is indeed conceivable that treasure hunters had searched this shelter, it having always been rumored that Claudius Smith had buried some of his booty hereabouts. Another point worthy of notice is the fact that more than two-thirds of the relics, i. e., the arrow-heads, were mutilated. In nearly all these cases the points had been broken off, while the bases were practically intact. Is it possible that these points had been stepped on by horses, stabled under this rock by Smith, according to tradition?

By reason of this curious medley of ancient and modern remains Horsestable Rock must be regarded as the most interesting of all the shelters hitherto explored by the writer. It is unique, invested as it is with memories both prehistoric and modern. Moreover, there may be a grain of truth in the traditions relating to this locality, since, irrespective of other evidence, it is not at impossible that the four bullets, above alluded to, date back to revolutionary times, when, it is said, this rock was one of the haunts of Claudius Smith, surnamed the "Cowboy of the Ramapo Mountains." It is one of those places which Longfellow must have had in mind when he wrote:

"The silence of the place was like a sleep,
So full of rest it seemed; each passing tread
Was a reverberation from the deep
Recesses, of the ages that are dead."

LITTLE WARS OF THE REPUBLIC

BY JOHN R. MEADER

PART VI.—THE GREAT RIOTS IN NEW YORK

(Continued)

ALTHOUGH the story of the riot represents one of the most important chapters in the history of American progress it is a subject that has received but scant attention at the hands of the modern historian. Regarded either as an ephemeral exhibition of popular indignation, or as a temporary outburst of lawlessness on the part of that mob element which is a necessary part of the population of all great cities, they have passed with a word incidents which have had a most vital bearing upon the fate of the nation. The anti-negro demonstrations, for example, have certainly had an important effect in calling attention to the race question—a problem now regarded as one of the great issues in present-day politics; and, as Headley has said in speaking of the anti-draft uprising, there was no single battle of the Civil War upon which the destiny of the nation hinged more critically than upon that short campaign when General Brown and the Police Commissioners fought the rioters in the streets of New York, during the second week of July, 1863. “Losses and defeats in the field could be and were repaired, but defeat in New York would in all probability have ended the war. . . . Had the rioters secured complete possession of the city but for a single day, the first dash would have been for the treasure piled up in its great institutions,” and, with New York sacked and destroyed, the contents of its sub-treasury, the custom house, and other depositories for money scattered, the financial credit of the North, already threatened with disaster, would have collapsed utterly.

Of course, such facts do not imply that all the riots that have occurred during the past century have had so important a bearing upon the political or economic history of the United States, and yet few of these uprisings have been based upon a cause so trivial that their effect cannot be traced by those who will take the pains to study the subsequent history of the people who have suffered from these breaches of law and order.

While the most serious riots in the history of New York city have occurred during the past seventy-five years, there were several pre-Revolutionary uprisings which had an important effect upon the condition of public affairs in those days. Among these were the patriotic stamp act riot of the Liberty Boys, in 1765, and the two anti-negro demonstrations in 1712 and 1741. From the beginning, and until 1785, the negro was a slave in New York. At first, under the amiable Dutch masters, the condition of bondage was by no means unbearable, but, when the English came, servants were treated with less consideration, and this change in circumstances resulted in two disturbances, each of which was responsible for loss of life. The first uprising occurred in 1712, when, after burning a house, the slaves attacked the whites and killed several persons before they were suppressed by the Royal troops at the garrison. After this there was comparative quiet for nearly thirty years, although there was always a certain amount of apprehension that there might be another riot among the discontented blacks, and so, in 1741, the sudden epidemic of incendiary fires was laid at their door. An investigation was immediately held, an investigation that was about as scientifically judicial as the witchcraft trials at Salem had been, and, as the result of the most improbable and contradictory testimony, some twenty-five negroes and several white persons, including a Catholic clergyman named John Ury, were convicted and executed, some on the gallows and some at the stake.

The Doctors' Riot of 1788 is conspicuous among the uprisings in New York because of the trivial character of the charge which gave rise to this demonstration. Incited among ignorant people by an unsubstantiated rumor started by a small boy the convulsion of public feeling finally became so general that it was with difficulty that even the most reputable medical men pre-

served their lives and property from destruction at the hands of the mob. It is undeniably true that the crime of "body-snatching," or the digging up of bodies for purposes of dissection, was much more common in those days than at this time. The fact that there was a stipulated commercial price for dead bodies appealed to certain idle classes always in search of an easy means of livelihood, especially as the accessibility of the graveyards made their task one of little difficulty. As the stories current about the desecrated graves in the city cemeteries did not lose anything by repetition the feeling against the local physicians and students soon became very bitter, and yet it was nothing more than a mere accident which caused this sentiment to break out into armed violence. In the spring of 1788 some boys who were playing in the rear of the City Hospital saw a young surgeon at work dissecting an amputated arm. One of the boys had just lost his mother, and the sight terrorized him to such an extent that he was easily convinced that it was her arm that he had seen in the hands of the student. Hastening to his father, who was a mason and at work on Broadway, he told his story, upon which the latter, leaving his work, went to his wife's grave. When he found that the body had actually disappeared he called upon his fellow-workmen to aid him, and they, sharing his rage, armed themselves with the tools of their trade and hurried towards the hospital, gathering a crowd as they marched. At first content with threats and denunciations the throng finally determined that this was a good opportunity for definite action, so, reaching the buildings, they broke down the doors and began their work of destruction. Valuable anatomical specimens were broken into small pieces, but when the mob, in swarming through the buildings, came upon the subjects which had just been prepared for the dissecting table, their rage redoubled, and both doctors and students fled to the jail to demand protection.

The riot continued during the night. In spite of the efforts of the State and City officials to calm the angry mob the rioters continued their tour of inspection. Columbia College was visited, but without results, and one by one the houses of the various physicians were searched for evidences of guilt. Up to this time it

had been quite a well-behaved mob, but, when it had satisfied itself that the local doctors were not concealing any bodies, it returned to the jail, where it rapidly assumed a more vengeful spirit. There were shouts and yells of "Bring out your doctors! Bring out your doctors!" and, when these demands were unheeded, the rioters announced their determination to tear down the building. Thoroughly alarmed the inmates of the jail prepared for self defense. The doors were barred, the windows barricaded, and everything was made secure, while the city authorities went out to parley with the crowd. All attempts to reason with the mob failed, however. Its leaders simply insisted that the doctors from the hospital should be turned over to them, and, when the authorities refused to accede to this ultimatum, they ordered an attack upon the jail. By united effort they attempted to force the doors from their hinges, but as the heavy bolts and bars resisted their strength, with sticks and stones they besieged the building, breaking the windows and bars in the hope that in some way they might be able to force their way into the jail.

Finding that arguments were useless the mayor was finally persuaded to call for the militia, but even the appearance of the soldiers did not intimidate the rioters. With yells of defiance they attacked them with a volley of stones and brickbats, an assault that was so effective that the commanding officer was compelled to fire upon the mob to save his own men from certain death. Not expecting this point-blank volley of bullets the rioters were confounded for a moment, but they quickly rallied, and would have continued the attack if another volley had not been poured into their midst. This, however, was too much for them, and, leaving some twenty-five or thirty of their comrades dead or wounded on the pavements, they disappeared into the darkness.

As these disturbances were followed by nearly half a century of internal peace the citizens of New York, feeling that the day of the riot was over, gave little thought to the disorderly element which was so rapidly becoming a formidable factor in the population of the city. It was this feeling of security which prevailed in 1834, when, almost without warning, the spirit of lawlessness which had steadily been gathering strength, burst all bounds of

restraint. In an instant it was discovered that the city was practically at the mercy of gangs of corrupt and ignorant men who would not hesitate to resort to open violation of the law in order to achieve their purpose. How to cope with this new element in municipal affairs was the serious problem of the day, and, on several occasions during the next two years, the authorities were compelled to call for military aid in their effort to maintain peace.

The city election, which began on the second Tuesday in April, gave rise to the first series of riots. At that time there was no registry law and comparatively few polling places, so that there was little check upon the voting, which then continued during three days. In the Democratic wards, where the voters were all on one side, everything was peaceable, but, in other sections of the city, where the Democratic voters were admitted to the polling rooms by private doors that they might cast their ballots in safety, while gangs of bullies by threat and, when necessary, exhibitions of violence, kept the Whigs away from the ballot box, there was no end of trouble. In the Sixth Ward the contest was conspicuously bitter, and matters there grew steadily worse until, at last, a gang of roughs, headed by an ex-alderman, burst into the committee room, where their opponents were assembled, and assailed them with such fury that, within a few minutes, twenty of them had been seriously wounded. Not content with this victory, the rioters proceeded to destroy the ballots, and finally ended by completely wrecking the polling place.

The second day of the election passed more quietly. During the night the Whigs had held a mass meeting at Masonic Hall, and, early, in the morning, between five and six thousand determined men congregated about the polls in the doubtful wards for the purpose of keeping them open to all voters. Overawed by this exhibition of organized strength the roughs, even in "the Bloody Sixth," contented themselves with threats and opprobrious epithets, or by hurling paving stones from the outskirts of the crowd, but, on the morning of the third day, the two elements came into conflict. Masonic Hall, the headquarters of the Whig committee, was assailed by the rioters, and although defended by hundreds of men, assisted by the Mayor, the Sheriff

and some forty watchmen, the mob was strong enough to overcome all opposition, and, as it streamed into the building, the defeated Whigs fled for their lives through the rear windows. The battle, however, had been a bloody one, and, when it ended, it was found that the Mayor as well as some fifteen of the watchmen and many citizens had been seriously wounded, while upwards of fifty of the injured rioters lay unconscious on the pavements.

As the tidings of this outrage spread through the city the adherents of both elements hastened to the scene. By this time the crowd was composed of not less than fifteen thousand men, and there is every reason to believe that a frightful battle would have ensued if the Mayor had not directed General Sanford to call out the city militia. Fearing that the mob would attack the arsenal, several hundred citizens took possession of the building and succeeded in holding it for several hours, when a detachment of infantry and two squadrons of cavalry appeared upon the scene. Unable to stand before such a force the crowd dispersed, remaining quiet until the election was over, although the soldiers were kept on duty, both at the arsenal and at City Hall, until it was felt that there would be no further outbreak.

About three months later another riot was created in New York, this demonstration arising from the local hostility to the anti-slavery movement. The trouble commenced on the evening of the 7th of July, when a dispute arose as to the possession of the Chatham Street Chapel. A company of colored people had already assembled to listen to a sermon by a colored preacher when the members of the New York Sacred Music Society, an organization of white persons, put in their appearance. They had hired the chapel for certain evenings during the year and they claimed that this was one of them. In the fight which followed a number of persons were injured, but the police soon appeared upon the scene, and, driving both parties into the street, settled the dispute by locking the doors. As the sentiment against the anti-slavery movement was extremely bitter among the lower classes in New York, especially since William Lloyd Garrison's open alliance with the British abolitionists, it required but just such a spark as this to kindle the fire of popular animosity. On

the night of the 8th, therefore, a mob of rioters was on hand, ready for action and, before they were dispersed, at two o'clock in the morning, they had assailed the Bowery Theatre, for no other reason than that the stage manager, Mr. Farren, was an Englishman who was suspected of sympathy with the abolitionists, and had also sacked the house of Lewis Tappan, a wealthy silk merchant who had made himself particularly obnoxious by his outspoken defence of the anti-slavery movement.

During the next day the events of the previous night were discussed on every street corner, and, early in the evening, the crowd which had assembled in front of the dilapidated Tappan residence, on Rose street, began to show a disposition to complete the work of destruction which the police had interrupted. The rioters were dispersed, again, however, but, instead of abandoning the purpose for which they had assembled, they hastened to the Laight street church, the pastor of which, Dr. Samuel Cox, one of the most popular preachers of the day, had recently joined the ranks of the abolitionists. Here the mob once more commenced its work of destruction, but it had scarcely gone beyond the point of breaking the windows when the sudden appearance of the police, under the command of the Mayor and several of the city officials, caused the crowd to scatter, as if by a common impulse, however, the several fragments, which had slunk away by different streets, reassembled in front of Dr. Cox's house, on Charlton street, when to their surprise the rioters found that they had been anticipated. Taking warning by Mr. Tappan's experience, and suspecting that he would probably be the next victim, the clergyman had removed his family and all his furniture during the day. As the result the mob found nothing but barricaded doors and windows, but these were promptly smashed in, and the work of demolishing the house had commenced when the police once more charged down upon them.

As it was quite apparent that the mob spirit was not satisfied, Mayor Lawrence issued a proclamation denouncing the rioters and calling upon all good citizens to aid in suppressing the uprising. In the meantime large bodies of troops had been assembled in several parts of the city, where they were held in

readiness to march at a moment's notice. Formidable as these preparations were the rioters returned to their work as soon as it was fairly dark. They assailed the Tappan store, but, being too well defended, they were obliged to content themselves with breaking its windows. At Varick street there was a battle between the police and the mob, in which the former were completely routed, and, delighted with this victory, the rioters hurried to Spring street, where there was a church over which Rev. Mr. Ludlow, another abolitionist, was pastor. Here, by tearing down the fence and breaking the windows, they soon forced an entrance, and, within a few minutes the pulpit, seats and everything destructible had been hurled into the street where other portions of the mob were employed in building a barricade.

Although an effort was made to withstand the attack of the troops the lack of organization was a discouraging factor which the mob leaders were unable to overcome, and, with a final volley of missiles, the rioters fell back into the side streets. So far from being discouraged, however, the leaders seemed determined to continue their work indefinitely. During the night, therefore, rioting was maintained in several sections of the city. Mr. Ludlow's house on Thompson street was attacked; a colored church on Centre street was demolished, and several houses were gutted and burned. By its action the mob had shown that it was prepared to go to any depths of lawlessness. On Saturday morning, therefore, the Mayor issued another proclamation calling upon all law abiding citizens to report to him for organization into companies for the protection of the people. He also directed that the entire military force of the city should report for duty, and he instructed the fire companies to assist in the work of suppressing the riot. As this meant that the city would be constantly patrolled by strong bodies of men the rioters saw that it would be useless to attempt to make any counter demonstrations and they accepted the situation so philosophically that the force of law and order were not compelled to fire a single shot. During the progress of these disturbances more than one hundred and fifty persons were arrested.

Within a month there was another riot, for which the stonecutters of the city were responsible. In building the new Uni-

versity the contractors, from motives of economy, had purchased their dressed stone at Sing Sing, where it had been prepared by the convicts. As there were several other buildings under process of erection which were being made from Sing Sing material the stone-cutters announced that the contractors had entered into a conspiracy to destroy their business, and that, if such conditions were permitted to continue, they would be unable to provide for their families. Inspired by their leaders, the workmen banded together, held public meetings and paraded the streets, bearing incendiary banners. They even attacked the houses of several citizens who were known to be in sympathy with the contractors, and at last assumed such a threatening attitude that the authorities, not wishing to have another experience with rioters, called upon the troops to disperse them. This was quickly done, but, fearing that the malcontents would still attempt to wreck their vengeance upon the new University buildings, the troops were kept under arms in Washington Square for four days.

The Five Points Riot, which began on June 21, 1835, was a brawl over the organization of a regiment of Irishmen, to which some native Americans took exception. Although the institution of the O'Connell Guards had been conceived in a spirit of loyalty, the anti-foreign sentiment which had just begun to be a factor in American politics, was too strong to permit such a regiment to drill unmolested. The trouble began on Sunday, with three fights, one on Grand street, one on Chatham street, and one on Pearl street, but the rioting soon became so general that Mayor Lawrence, at the head of a large body of police, dispersed the mob and arrested its ring-leaders. On Monday the riot was resumed, however, and, before the police could be called to the rescue, a public house on the Bowery had been sacked, and several prominent citizens who had attempted to remonstrate with the rioters, had been seriously injured. Again suppressed, the trouble broke out afresh on Tuesday; on Wednesday it was repeated, and this repetition of outrages might have continued if the originators of the obnoxious regiment had not been persuaded, in the interests of law and order, to issue a

public notice, announcing that there would be no further meetings of the O'Connell Guards.

It was during the winter of 1836-37 that New York was the scene of one of those pathetic disturbances, common enough in some lands, but, fortunately, extremely uncommon in the United States. From the beginning of the cold weather there had been a scarcity of grain in all parts of the country and the poor of the metropolis suffered greatly for the want of proper food. Taking advantage of these conditions the local agitators, many of whom were blatant demagogues, determined to arouse the people to deeds of violence. On February 11, 1837, the following notice was posted in all parts of the city:

BREAD! MEAT! RENT! FUEL!

THEIR PRICES MUST COME DOWN!

The voice of the people shall be heard and must prevail.

The people will meet in the Park, *rain or shine*, at 4 o'clock on
Monday Afternoon,

to inquire into the cause of the present unexampled distress, and to devise a suitable remedy. All friends of humanity, determined to resist monopolists and extortioners, are invited to attend.

MOSES JACQUES,

PAULUS HEDLE,

DANIEL A. ROBERTSON,

WARDER HAYWARD,

DANIEL GRAHAM,

JOHN WINDT,

ALEXANDER MING, JR.,

ELIJAH F. CRANE.

New York, Feb. 10th, 1837.

The response to this appeal was as great as its authors could have desired. At the hour appointed more than five thousand persons had gathered in the Park, the majority of the assembly being composed of the ignorant classes who were disposed to accept any remedy which might promise to mitigate their sufferings, or representatives of that vicious foreign element whose exhibitions of lawlessness had terrorized the city during 1834 and 1835. Constituted of such inflammable material it is not

surprising that the assemblage should have degenerated into a mob that could be satisfied only with violence and destruction of property.

Among the largest commission houses in the city was the firm of Hart & Co., whose storehouses on Washington street, near Cortlandt street, were packed with wheat and flour, so when one of the speakers suggested that a demand be made upon Mr. Hart for some of his grain, the mob made a rush towards his store. Arriving at the building the rioters were met by a detachment of police, whom they defeated, after which they completed their work of wrecking the store house. Hundreds of barrels of flour were thrown into the street and the gutters were filled with wheat deliberately poured from the sacks. At the same time the store-house of S. H. Herrick & Co., near Coenties Slip, was the scene of similar outrages.

During the progress of the riot Mayor Lawrence appeared and attempted to argue with the mob, but as no one would listen to him, he returned to the City Hall and directed both the police and militia to suppress the disturbance. Although driven to frenzy by their success, and eager for new objects of destruction, the sight of bayonets brought the rioters to their senses and they quietly dispersed, permitting their leaders to be arrested and lodged behind the bars.

It is quite probable that there was never a more unnecessary riot than that which occurred in front of the Astor Place Opera House during May, 1849. Because the natural rivalry of two great tragedians, Edwin Forrest and William G. Macready, had degenerated into acriminous jealousy, the lawless element in New York proceeded to assume the onus of their battle. Because Macready was suspected of having once hissed Forrest, during the latter's tour abroad, the masses, now thoroughly opposed to everything British, determined that the English actor should be driven from the American stage. Because the authorities attempted to protect Mr. Macready and save the Opera House from destruction the mob turned upon them, and, as the result of the conflict, many of its members were killed and wounded. It was practically a riot without a cause, a demonstration without a principle, and the lives and blood it cost were utterly wasted for the sake of a few minute's play at lawlessness.

The trouble started on the evening of May 7, the first night of Mr. Macready's reappearance in New York. On this occasion however, as the mob succeeded in driving the actor from the stage and stopping the performance, the police found the crowd quite ready to disperse peaceably. It had accomplished its purpose; it had rotten-egged its enemy, and the triumph of Americanism was complete.

So far from being satisfied with these conditions, however, the more respectable classes in New York were extremely indignant that the great English actor should have been subjected to such an outrage, and a delegation, headed by Washington Irving, finally persuaded him to appear once more, assuring him that he should receive substantial financial support and ample protection. In the meantime, Mr. Macready, insisting that he had been grossly misrepresented, as he had never dreamed of injuring Mr. Forrest, published his side of the story in the daily papers, and it was hoped that the spirit of opposition had been sufficiently pacified to permit the performance to proceed without interruption. That this feeling of security was entirely without foundation, however, was quickly indicated, for the advertisements announcing Macready's return on the following Thursday had scarcely appeared when the following notice was posted beside them:

WORKINGMEN.

Shall Americans or English Rule in this City?

The crew of the British steamer have threatened all Americans who shall dare to express their opinion to-night at the English Aristocratic Opera House! We advocate no violence, but a free expression of opinion to all public men.

WORKINGMEN! FREEMEN! STAND UP TO YOUR LAWFUL RIGHTS!

American Committee.

Warned by this poster that trouble was brewing, the police stationed a large force inside the theatre, while the reserve was ordered to maintain peace in the Square. At the same time the militia, warned to be in readiness, had assembled in their arm-

ories. As was anticipated the crowd began to gather at an early hour, and, by the time the curtain was raised, every avenue of approach to the theatre was densely packed with old and young of all classes. The theatre itself was filled to the dome and Macready's appearance was the signal for the explosion. Hisses, groans shouts of derision assailed him, intermingled with loud cries of "Out with him!" In an instant the police scattered about the house, fell upon the disturbers and they were either ejected, or taken to the basement, where they were locked in a room together for safe keeping, and, as it was soon apparent that the would-be rioters were in the minority, the play proceeded through the first two acts. At the beginning of the third act, however, a shower of stones assailed the windows of the theatre, and it became evident that, if peace had been restored inside the house, a mob was raging furiously outside. The leader of this mob, Edward Z. C. Judson, alias Ned Buntling, at that time editor of a paper called "Ned Buntling's Own," was quickly arrested, but as the crowd persisted in its strenuous attempts to destroy the Opera House, the militia was ordered to the scene. By this time the fury of the mob had become absolutely uncontrollable and the appearance of the soldiery only added to the excitement. With cries of rage and derision the mob rushed upon the troops, and volley after volley of paving stones fell about them. It was a critical moment. Either the order to fire must be given, or the soldiers would be driven from the Square. so as there was no alternative, the officers gave the necessary command. Again and again there was a point-blank fire of musketry, until, terror stricken, the rioters rushed frantically through the intersecting streets, and peace was once more restored, but at the cost of twenty-seven persons killed, and fifty or sixty wounded. Buntling and several others among the ringleaders were convicted and punished.

The year 1857 was a remarkable one for riots and disturbances. Early in the summer financial disaster brought ruin to many, and, during the remainder of the year, the police had all they could do to maintain peace among the starving poor. In one district alone more than 10,000 persons were fed by charity in a single day, but as such aid could not be extended to all it was with

difficulty that actual rioting was prevented. Moreover, the situation was made more critical by the conditions which existed in the police department itself. In April, 1857, the Legislature had passed an act transferring the control of the police from the municipal authorities to a State Commission. As the Mayor, Fernando Wood, had been devoting considerable attention to the training of the police as a military force, preliminary to the inauguration of a war against the liquor traffic, such an arrangement interfered with his plans, and he determined to resist its execution until he should have time to test the constitutionality of the new law. The State officials, on the other hand, proceeded with their work. A police district was created, the commissioners were appointed, but, although all the preparations were made and a new force selected, the Mayor still refused to surrender or to disband the old department. For a time, therefore, New York witnessed the novel spectacle of two police departments striving for mastery at the same time.

The question was still before the courts when the death of one of the street commissioners led Governor King to fill the vacancy by the appointment of Daniel D. Conover, but when the latter appeared at the City Hall he was forcibly ejected from his office by Mayor Wood and a detachment of the city police. In this manner matters quickly assumed an ominous aspect. Two warrants were issued for the arrest of the Mayor, one on the charge of inciting riot and the other in a suit for personal violence inflicted upon Conover. In order to serve these papers a large force of the Metropolitan police attempted to force their way into the presence of the Mayor, but he, protected by the municipal police, refused to admit them. A fierce fight ensued. At that moment the Seventh Regiment passed the City Hall on its way to take the steamer for Boston, and, as State authorities called upon them for aid, they quickly turned and, in a few moments, had quelled the disturbance. The Mayor, under the supposition that the regiment had been sent by the Governor to enforce the State enactments, submitted to the service of the processes, which were handed to him by General Sanford in person.

The Metropolitan Police troubles had another effect which may or may not have been anticipated by those who incited them,

for the fact that there were two departments in the city, each trying to thwart the other, naturally tended to divert the attention of the officials from the law-breaking classes. As the result the gangs of hoodlums which had been organized throughout the city began to resort to deeds of violence, and these culminated in the "Dead Rabbits' Riot" of July 4 and 5. This particular battle was between the "Dead Rabbits," one of the lawless gangs of the Bowery, and the Roach Guards, another Bowery organization with which they had formerly been affiliated, but the local fight at last became a general riot, and it was not until the evening of July 5th that peace was finally restored by the aid of the militia. By that time a dozen men had been killed, and between thirty and forty wounded.

These riots, serious as they were at the time, are practically insignificant disturbances when compared to the terrible draft riots of 1863. It was during the month of July that these troubles occurred. Practically all the troops stationed in New York city had been sent to the seat of war for thirty days service, for at that moment it was deemed necessary that every available man should hasten to the defence of the Federal Government. In spite of the unguarded condition of the city, however, the United States authorities persisted in their attempt to enforce the draft, but the opposition to this measure was so great that it finally passed beyond the limits of a riot and became an insurrection. Under the inspiration and leadership of the disorderly and criminal elements, thousands of workingmen, frenzied at the idea that they were to be torn from their families, joined forces with the rioters, and, for three days and nights, they maintained their reign of terror, destroying lives and property with the recklessness of desperation.

The draft, which commenced on Saturday, passed off so quietly that the Federal officers expressed the belief that no great opposition was to be encountered. The publication of the names of the 1,200 drafted men on Sunday, however, a day on which the working classes had ample opportunity to discuss their ill-fortune over copious draughts of bad beer and worse whiskey, aroused so much indignation that Superintendent Kennedy of the Police Department began to take some precautionary measures in an-

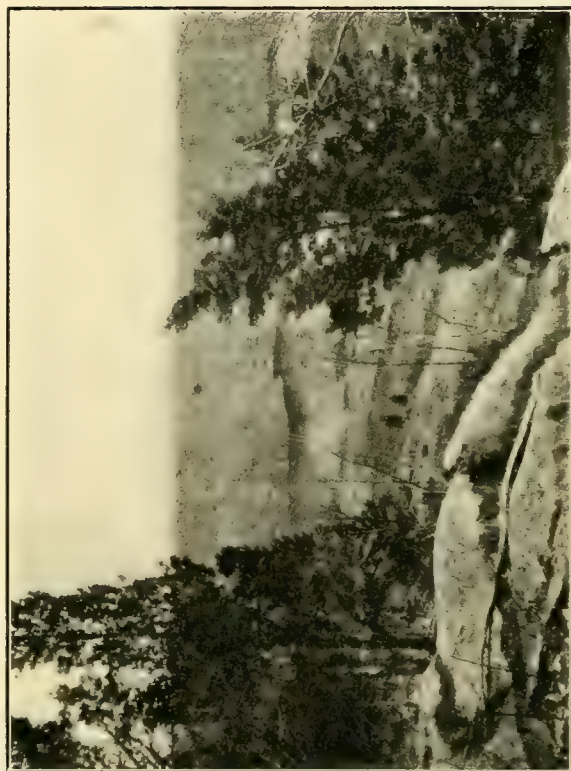
icipation of the trouble which, he felt certain, would break out on Monday. It was scarcely more than 10 o'clock when his worst fears were realized, for, at that hour, "a ragged, coatless, heterogeneously weaponed army," which had been gathering strength in various parts of the city during the early morning, surged angrily up to the building in which the draft was being conducted. A small force of police that had been stationed at this point to protect the provost marshal were bewildered. Knowing that it would be impossible to oppose such a force, they alarmed the drafting officers, who fled precipitately through the rear windows just as the crowd surged into the building. In a moment the wheel which contained the names for the draft was broken, books and papers were torn into pieces and scattered, and, not content with this form of destruction, the rioters finally set fire to the building. During this portion of the demonstration several of the police were brutally beaten, and Superintendent Kennedy himself was so badly injured that it was several weeks before he was able to leave the hospital. The defence of the city, therefore, devolved upon the shoulders of Police Commissioner Acton. Fortunately, however, he was just the man for such an emergency and it was largely due to his harmonious cooperation with General Brown that the rioters were so quickly suppressed. Had a less able executive been at the head of the Police Department, or a soldier of less experience in command of the militia, there is every reason to believe that the lawless mob would finally have obtained complete control of the city.

Even under these conditions, however, the riot continued for six days. At first the Invalid Corps, a small body of partially disabled soldiers, attempted to aid the police, but they were so badly beaten by the mob that they were glad to retreat, leaving the field to the local authorities. For some time, therefore, the police fought their battle alone, and, although comparatively little more than a handful among the enraged thousands that surged from one part of the city to the other, destroying everything that came in their way, they succeeded in anticipating every organized demonstration on the part of the rioters and so held the city until the arrival of military assistance from Fort Hamilton and Fort Lafayette. In the beginning the riot had been a great pop-

ular uprising in opposition to the draft, but, as time passed, the more lawless elements assumed control of the rioters, and the demonstration degenerated into an armed insurrection, the only purpose of which was destruction and pillage. The burning of the colored orphan asylum on the first day of the uprising, can be accounted for on the supposition that the ignorant rioters had evolved the theory that if there were no colored people there would have been no occasion for the draft, but the subsequent sacking of private dwellings, including the residences of inoffensive persons, as well as the robbery of stores and warehouses, indicated clearly that the mob had fallen into the hands of leaders who cared only for the spoils of conquest. The only principle which the rioters maintained until the end was their hatred for the negro. Whenever a black face appeared—whether it was a man, a woman, or even a child—the mob started in pursuit. If the negro allowed himself to be caught instant execution at the nearest lamp-post followed. Under the conditions which existed, business was practically suspended; the street cars and stage coaches stopped running, and a general exodus from this apparently doomed city commenced. Those who could not make their escape hastened to conceal their property and fortify their residences, precautions which none of them had reason to regret.

Towards the end of the week the situation began to assume a more peaceful aspect. The arrival of the local troops, ordered home by the Secretary of War, was hailed with delight by all law-abiding citizens and with execrations by the mob which desired nothing better than to prolong the carnival of crime through sheer greed for the booty which it brought. Thus the riot gradually spent its force. Overawed by the rapidly increasing number of troops, all of whom were prepared to shoot to kill, the cowardly rioters withdrew to their hiding places, leaving the authorities in possession of the city. During the progress of the disturbances only three members of the police force had been killed, although many were injured, but the number of rioters who had fallen was estimated at twelve hundred, and this did not take into account any record of those who were injured. The value of the property destroyed during the riot has been estimated at between \$2,000,000 and \$3,000,000.

In 1877 New York had a narrow escape from a railroad strike riot, four companies of the militia being required to suppress the disturbance, and, since that time, there have been several race demonstrations, in all of which there has been more or less loss of life. The last serious uprising in New York city, however, was the Orange Riot of 1871. On this occasion the bitter feud which had so long existed between the Ulster Protestants and Catholic Irish was revived in the streets of the Metropolis. Desirous of parading in commemoration of the battle of the Boyne, the Orange societies applied to the authorities for the necessary permission but were refused, Mayor Hall assuming the position that their appearance on the streets would be certain to result in serious trouble. Indignant that a Protestant body should thus be forbidden to appear in public, while no such restrictions had ever been placed upon Catholic societies, a delegation of prominent business men appealed to the Mayor, urging him to revoke his decision. At the same time they called upon Governor Hoffman, and he not only hastened from Albany, but insisted upon countermanding the Mayor's order by a proclamation of his own, promising the Orangemen a military escort. Although there were less than one hundred of the society members in the parade, they were accompanied by several hundred police, as well as by the members of the Sixth, Ninth and Eighty-fourth regiments. In spite of all this protection, on several occasions during the parade the line was assailed by single shots and by volleys of stones, and, during a halt at the corner of Twenty-fourth street and Eighth avenue, several shots were fired from the windows in the neighborhood. One of the bullets struck a member of the Eighty-fourth regiment, and, without waiting for a command, his comrades opened fire, aiming in the direction from which the ball had seemed to come. Thinking that the long-anticipated order to fire had been given the Sixth and Ninth regiments also sent a volley into the mob. It was in this way that the riot began, and, before it had ended, two members of the police force had been killed and twenty-four of the police and militia wounded, while the loss of the rioters is said to have included thirty-one persons killed and sixty-seven wounded.



MOUNT MISERY WHITE PLAINS NEW YORK

HISTORIC POINTS OF INTEREST

MOUNT MISERY, WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

BY LYMAN HORACE WEEKS

WHEN Washington selected the hills to the north of White Plains as the place for his final stand against Howe in October, 1776, he could scarcely have made a better plan for circumventing his vacillating, timorous opponent. The entrenchments thrown up hastily in the village street of White Plains were of the flimsiest character and intended only for temporary use. For the most part they were merely banks of earth and tradition says that the corn standing in neighboring fields was pulled up and piled with the bunches of earth-clogged roots toward the enemy for the purpose of adding to the imposing and threatening aspect of the barricade. Traces of these defenses still exist more than one hundred and thirty-four years after those memorable dates. On Upper Broadway a mortar, left on the field by the combatants, was discovered in later times and mounted on a small remaining vestige of one of the ramparts. But slight as they were, the entrenchments accomplished the purpose for which they were intended. They made the hesitating Howe more hesitant and for several days held him and his British and Hessian forces at bay.

Meantime Washington was working with feverish activity night and day to throw up substantial fortifications on the hills of North Castle, making impregnable bulwarks behind which he could successfully defy any army that might be brought against him. Three lines of breastworks were laid out on the hillsides at varying elevations and when these were in readiness Washington, on the night of October 31 withdrew his little army from the village below and placed it in safety behind walls of earth and rock from which he could command any approach of the enemy

from the south. And there he rested in security while Howe betook himself back to New York, outgeneralled and thoroughly discomfited.

On the crest of Mount Misery were some of the most important and strongest of these fortifications. Upon these Washington placed his main reliance and there he established his headquarters. Mount Misery overlooks the surrounding country from its position in the southeast angle of the town of North Castle, west of the White Plains reservoir. It is a beautiful hill from whose summit two hundred or three hundred feet above the valley, can be seen, on a clear day the mountains beyond the Hudson, the hills of North Castle and Greenburg, White Plains and other cities and towns of Westchester, and the country bordering upon the Bronx River and Long Island Sound. At its base runs the line of the Harlem Railroad and not far from the North White Plains station of that road still stands the house which Washington occupied as his headquarters. It is said that Mount Misery received its name from the fact that in the earlier colonial days a band of marauding Mohegan Indians who had fallen upon the settlement of New Rochelle and committed depredations there had been pursued to this spot by a company of enraged Huguenots and mercilessly slaughtered. It is worth noting in this connection that further to the north in Westchester, in the town of Lewisboro, is a similar mountain, bearing the same name, concerning the naming of which a like story is told.

The fortifications on Mount Misery were strongly constructed of rocks and earth, trunks and branches of trees and masses of bushes and sod. Portions of them have endured even to the present generation. Twenty-five years ago the ruins of a small stretch of the works existed in fair condition. On the round hill top the line of the old ramparts can even now be traced; heaped up ridges of earth and stones strewn about in more or less regularity tell the story. Many relics of the army occupation have been found hereabout and the remains of some of the ovens that the soldiers built. Trees have grown up from these earthy ramparts and among these overturned stone walls, and a solitary pine stands sentinel over the ruins.

The house where Washington had his headquarters was a

poor country structure of a single story with long sloping roof which in front extended over the piazza. It stood with its end to the street. In the time of the Revolution two windows in the lower story were on the side toward the street and a single small window far up in the gable gave light to the attic. The house rested upon a high cellar wall, for it was considerably above the ground level and a door led to the cellar at this end of the building. On the front the piazza went in under the roof and also was at a considerable height above the ground, the stone wall which supported it being pierced with a door which opened upon storage room beneath. A short flight of steps led up to the piazza directly to the door which was in the centre of the front. On each side of the door was a window with small panes and shrubbery and vines clung to the five posts that supported the overhanging roof. At the back of the house was a well, and overshadowing trees. Here in the deep solitude of woods, surrounded by hills and romantic scenery Washington laid his plans for the immediate future of his little army.

For more than a generation after the Revolution the house remained practically as it was when Washington occupied it. It was the Miller homestead, the home of Elijah Miller, an old revolutionary soldier, who lived until after the middle of the nineteenth century. It was as rude and simple within as it was without. The revolutionary soldier cherished the memory of his great general, and the rooms of his home were adorned with pictures of Washington and Mt. Vernon.

In later times the old house has been substantially remodelled, but it still retains the general appearance that it had a century and a quarter ago. It still stands end to the street, but the ground has been graded up to it so that the high cellar wall which once characterized it no longer exists. Four windows are in the end where two were before, but the little one in the gable remains.

Here Washington rested for a week after Howe had departed from his front. On November 6 he called his officers to a council of war and it was decided that the army should be transferred to New Jersey. Three days later this movement was accomplished. General Lee was left behind with a few thousand men

prepared for the contingency of further operations from Howe. But the British commander was comfortably housed in New York again by that time and within a fortnight Lee with his troops was with the main army in New Jersey. The fortifications of Mount Misery, thus abandoned, were never reoccupied and gradually began to fall into decay. Westchester became neutral ground and from that time on it was a theatre of desolation ravaged alike by friend and foe, the skinner and the cow-boy.

THE SCOT IN NEW ENGLAND AND THE MARITIME PROVINCES

BY JOHN CALDER GORDON

Secretary and Custodian of The American Scots Historical Society

PART IX

A GLANCE at some of the founders and early members of the Scots Charitable Society reveals that they were recognized leaders in their various vocations, men of unselfish public spirit and of marked force in promoting the public welfare and sound principles of political science.

To rescue from practically total oblivion the memory of men whose doings and spoken words vastly interested the generation in which they lived, if it be a not unworthy task, is still a difficult one, when it happens that only the most meagre information is obtainable from public records. The God-fearing and generous men who founded the Scots Charitable Society were apparently utterly devoid of that much too common modern attribute, self-advertisement—seeking the limelight, otherwise we should be provided with ample material with which to write biographical sketches that would be not only highly interesting, but fascinating as well. In too many cases, however, all we have is the bare fact that they were active and generous supporters of the Society's work in those days of weakness and danger and perplexity and small resources. Men who could undertake and found such an institution at a period so early in our history, when New England was as yet but an unbroken wilderness, were certainly rare and devoted characters.

The place that this old society to-day holds in the mind and

heart of every true Bostonian is an enduring monument to its founders,—an expression of their devotion and ability to discern and utilize the resources at their command.

One of the most active men in founding the Society was Dr. John Clark, born in 1598 and educated for a physician and surgeon. There is a tradition to the effect that Dr. Clark was one of those Scots who had become attracted to Sir William Alexander's colony in Nova Scotia and was intending to settle there at the completion of his medical training. The treaty of St. Germain, however, deflected him from his purpose, and the first evidence of Dr. Clark on American soil is as one of the founders and first proprietors of the town of Newbury, Massachusetts. Doubtless, owing to the satisfactory information that was reaching Scotland at this time, concerning the climate and resources of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, Dr. Clark was induced to visit Massachusetts and investigate conditions for himself. The most exhaustive research of every known source of information fails to shed any light on the antecedents of Dr. Clark previous to his settlement in America. The traditions and records of The Scots Charitable Society, however, are most emphatic in the statement that Dr. Clark was of Scottish lineage. In the first division of town land of Newbury, Massachusetts, after incorporation May 6, 1635, Dr. Clark's name is mentioned in the town records. In this division of land among the first settlers every person who had contributed fifty pounds into the common stock was granted 200 acres, and every person who had transported himself and family to New England at his own expense was entitled to 50 acres. This rule was strictly adhered to, and was evidently intended to encourage immigration and induce men with money and influence to settle in Newbury. Under this rule the town laid out to Mr. Richard Dummer 1080 acres, to Mr. Henry Sewall 630 acres, to Edward Rawson 580 acres and to Mr. John Clark 540 acres, in proportion to the amount of money each had invested.

The great mass of the first settlers were only granted a house lot of 4 acres. We read again from the town records under date November 1637, that Dr. John Clark was granted a farm "of 400 acres, next to Mr. Sewall's at the mouth of Carte Creeke."

Dr. Clark early became recognized among his new fellow townsmen as a useful and enterprising citizen, for at a general town meeting held in Newbury September 28, 1638, the following action was taken: "It was granted that Mr. Clark, in respect of his calling, should be freed and exempted from all publick rates either for the town or the county so long as he shall remain with us and exercise his calling among us." The General Court of the colony (the Legislature) September 6, 1638, granted to Seimon Bradstreet and Captain Daniel Dennison of Ipswich, John Clark and Christopher Batt, of Newbury and others liberty to begin a Plantation at Merrimack." The location on the north side of the Merrimac River was selected early in the spring of 1639, where a settlement was commenced and the place named Salisbury.

Dr. Clark's subsequent career justifies the confidence reposed in him by his neighbors and townsmen, as they continued to honor him in many important ways. Coffin, in his History of Newburyport, asserts "that he (Clark) was the first regularly educated physician who resided in New England." Dr. James Thacher of Plymouth, Mass., an eminent physician, author of the "American Medical Biography or Memoirs of Eminent Physicians," writing in 1827 says, "Nothing is discoverable of this gentleman (Clark) in print." This leads us to say that the searcher after historic truth is frequently reminded that it is most unfortunate often times for succeeding generations that the men who make history seldom write it.

Dr. Clark's enterprise and influence were manifest in many directions apart from his profession. He became widely known for his activity in promoting progressive and more scientific methods of agriculture and the introduction of improved breeds of farm animals horses, cattle, etc. Some of the horses he introduced were long known throughout New England as "Clark's breed." He maintained for many years a large farm at Plymouth, Mass.

During the years 1644-5 the people of Newbury were confronted with some vital problems concerning their future as a town. In January, 1646, at a general town meeting of the citizens Dr. Clark was appointed on a committee composed of eight

of the leading men to review and report on the issues at stake.

Between fifteen and twenty years after the founding of Boston it became apparent to the people living in the Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay and other colonies that Boston was destined to become the commercial and social centre of this part of the country. Consequently, as the leading physician in New England Dr. Clark was prevailed upon to remove to Boston. The exact date, however, we are unable to determine—somewhere between 1647 and 1650—but we learn that he was settled in Boston in the active practice of his profession in the year 1650. A careful perusal of the family records of the early Bostonians bears ample evidence that Dr. Clark was the chosen physician of the leading families of early Boston.

Dr. Clark married Martha Saltonstall, sister of Sir Richard Saltonstall of Boston, and left two children, John and Jemima, the latter of whom married John Drew. Dr. Clark was the founder of a noted family and for seven generations a Doctor John Clark represented this family in the medical profession, and descendants of the family have married into some of the leading families of New England.

The Hon. William Clark, grandson of the first Dr. John Clark, wrote in 1731 a brief family history for private use among members of his own family, in which he says:

“Finding many good families that through heedlessness have lost their descent and the reasons of their ancestors coming over to this country to make settlements in this desert wilderness, though now a well improved and large province, and as my ancestors were none of the least of those that have brought it forward, I am willing to impart to my children their descent. My grandfather, Dr. John Clark, was a younger brother of a good family, had collegiate education, took to the study of Physicks, and had from the College a diploma for a practitioner, and on his successful cutting several of the stone he had a separate diploma as to that faculty. * * * both of which I have seen in parchment with their seals. He came over here first as a bachelor * * *. My grandmother Clark, whose maiden name was Martha Saltonstall, was the only sister of Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knight and Baronet, and was the first English vir-

gin that landed on the spot of ground called Boston, with her brother, Sir Richard, one of the principal Patentees. Her father married a daughter of the noble families of Gordons in Scotland, of whom was born Sir Richard and Martha, and from her grandmother of the noble family of Gordons she received as a present my gold cup (since called the "Gordon Tankard"), which she called a "silver double gold goblet," which by computation must now have been in the family about one hundred and eighty years. She died in the eighty-sixth year of her age, and was a most gracious woman, full of good works."

James H. Stark, the historian, in his "Antique Views of Boston," thus describes the mansion house of Honorable William Clark:

"Honorable William Clark, Esquire, became a wealthy merchant and member of the Governor's Council. His residence was situated in North Square, on the corner of Garden Court and Prince Street. This mansion was a monument of human pride. In all Colonial Boston there was not its peer, and it was without doubt built to outvie that of Hutchinson's, Clark's wealthy next door neighbor, whose home was demolished by the mob. The principal feature which distinguished this house was the rich, elaborate and peculiar decoration of the north parlor, on the right of the entrance hall, which was a rich example of the prevalent style, found in the mansions of wealthy citizens of the Colonial period in and around Boston.

"The peculiar decorations consisted of a series of raised panels filling these compartments, reaching from the surbase to the frieze, eleven in all, each embellished with a romantic landscape painted in oil colors, the four panels opposite the windows being further enriched by the emblazoned escutcheons of the Clarks, the Saltonstalls and other allied families. Beneath the surbase, the panels, as also those of the door, were covered with arabesques. The twelfth painting was a view of the house upon a horizontal panel over the mantel, from which this engraving was made, and beneath this panel, inscribed in an oval, was the monogram of the builder, "W. C." At the base of the gilded and fluted vault of the buffet was a painted dove. The floor was inlaid with divers woods in multiform patterns. In the centre,

surrounded by a border, emblazoned in proper colors, was the escutcheon of the Clarks, with its three white swans.

The mere enumeration of the details fails to give an idea of the impression made by this painted and gilded parlor, not an inch of whose surface but had been elaborated by painter, gilder, carver or artist, to which the blazoner had added heraldic emblems, so that as you looked around these walls the romantic ruins and castles seemed placed there to suggest, if not to portray, the old home of a long line of ancestors, and the escutcheons above to confirm the suggestion, thereby enhancing the splendor of the present by the feudal dignity of an august past.

"The house is supposed to have been built about 1712, for the land was purchased of Ann Hobby, widow, and several other heirs, December 10, 1711, for £725 current money. If so, Counsellor Clark lived many years to enjoy the sumptuousness of his new house and the envy of his neighbors. His death, in 1742 was attributed by some to the loss of 40 sail of vessels in the French War. After his death the estate was conveyed to his son-in-law, Deacon Thomas Greenough, for £1400 old tenor, and was by him sold to Sir Charles Henry Franklanad, Baronet. The mansion was afterwards known as the "Franklanad House."

There were numerous places in Boston named after Clark. There was Clark's Wharf, afterwards changed to Hancocks, now known as Lewis. Clark Street, from Hanover to Commercial still known as such; Clark Square now North Square, where the Clark mansion was built, was named in 1708; Clark's Corner 1708, corner of Middle, now Hanover St. and Bennet Street; Dr. Clark's Corner in 1732, corner of Fish, now North St., and Gallop's Alley, now Board Alley, and Clark's Shipyard.

Fennimore Cooper, the novelist, visited the Clark house and examined it minutely before he wrote "Lionel Lincoln," in which the house is described as the residence of Mrs. Lechmere, and located on Tremont St.

In the historic Copp's Hill Burying Ground, Boston, are many monumental slabs having armorial devices cut upon them in the most exquisite style. Among the most remarkable of these may be mentioned that of Dr. John Clark, one of this noted family which gave seven generations of physicians in a direct line

bearing the same name, also that of Hon. William Clark, both stones remarkable as works of art. On the latter stone one reads this inscription:

“Here lies the mortal part of
William Clark, Esquire,
An Eminent Merchant of this Town and
An Honorable Counsellor for
The Province
Who distinguished Himself as a Faithful and Affectionate
Friend, a Fair and Generous Trader;
Loyal to his Prince, yet always Zealous for the Freedom of his
Country; a Despiser of
Sorry Persons
And little actions; an Enemy to Priestcraft and
Enthusiasm, Ready to relieve and help the Wretched;
A Lover of good Men of
Various Denominations and a
Reverent Worshipper
Of the Deity.”

Sarah, elder daughter of Hon. William Clark, married August 18, 1726, Christopher Kilby of Boston, whose capacity, public services, wealth and liberality rank him among the eminent men of his time. This marriage was to re-establish in an historic way a descendant of the Clark family in the female line with Scotland. Sarah, the daughter of this marriage, was given the best education that Great Britain and France had to offer, and in 1753 she was married to Nathaniel, only son of Captain Nathaniel Cunningham (a Scottish family) one of the wealthiest merchants of Boston, whose daughter, Ruth, married James Otis, celebrated patriot and orator.

Mr. Cunningham, soon after his marriage, settled in the fine manor house of his father situated on a hill top near Oak Square, Brighton. In “Price’s View of Boston” published in 1743, and dedicated to Peter Faneuil, this house is a conspicuous object. Nathaniel Cunningham died at an early age in Boston, December, 1756, leaving two infant children, Susanna and Sarah.

In May, 1756, Great Britain formally declared war against France and General John Campbell, fourth Earl of Loudon, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the King’s forces in North

America and Governor of Virginia. In January, 1757, the Earl of Loudon and a group of his chief officers came to Boston to meet the Commissioners of the several Provinces to consult with them concerning the plan of campaign against the French. In the Earl's party, as his aide-de-camp, was Captain Gilbert McAdam. Christopher Kilby played an important part in the military council held at this time in Boston, and was one of the undertakers in providing supplies for the army. Mr. Kilby entertained the Earl of Loudon and his chief officers, introducing them to his widowed daughter, Mrs. Cunningham. Captain McAdam was of an ancient Ayrshire family, and uncle to John Loudon McAdam, the inventor of macadamized roads. In September, 1757, Captain McAdam married the widow, Sarah Cunningham, and took her and her two children to New York, the headquarters of the British army at that time in America. Some years after Captain McAdam returned to Ayrshire, Scotland, with his family. Susanna and Sarah Cunningham, his stepchildren, continued to share their grandfather Kilby's bounty and solicitude. They were sent to France and there educated with the greatest care. Their domestic lives and that of some of their immediate descendants are invested with the glamor of romance. Susanna was married three times, her first husband being James Dalrymple of Orangefield, Ayrshire, the true friend and patron of the poet, Robert Burns. In one of the poet's letters he writes thus of Dalrymple: "I have met in Mr. Dalrymple of Orangefield what Solomon emphatically calls 'A friend that sticketh closer than a brother'." By this marriage Mrs. Cunningham Dalrymple had one son, Charles Dalrymple, an officer in the British army. Through subsequent marriages, first with John Henry Mills, and after with William Cunningham, both of Scotland, she is now represented in America by numerous descendants. Among them may be mentioned the Spoffords, Varnums, Mears, Cunninghams.

The sister, Sarah Kilby Cunningham, married William Campbell of Ayrshire, and had two daughters, the elder of whom, Elizabeth, married the seventh Duke of Argyll, grandfather of the present Duke, formerly Marquis of Lorne and Governor General of Canada.

HISTORY OF THE MORMON CHURCH

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER XXXVII

IMPORTANT EVENTS AT NAUVOO—SUMMER OF 1840—FOUNDING A CITY

MANY and various were the events of the summer of 1840 in Nauvoo. Death for one thing reaped a rich harvest. Before his ruthless stroke fell many worthy Saints who had been connected with the Church from the time it was founded. Among the first to fall was Bishop Edward Partridge. He died on the twenty-seventh of May, in the forty-sixth year of his age. He was the first Bishop in the Church, and in that capacity had presided over the Saints who gathered to Zion in Jackson county, Missouri, during the years 1830-33. Joseph described him as a "pattern of piety;" and the Lord himself declared that he was like Nathaniel of old—an Israelite without guile. His life was indeed an eventful one. He was called from his merchandizing and became a preacher of righteousness. Much, in fact all, of his riches fell into the hands of the mobs of Jackson county, in the autumn of 1833, and upon his meek and uncovered head fell a double portion of their fury. Five years later he passed through those trying times experienced by the Saints in their exodus from the State of Missouri, under the exterminating order of Governor Boggs; and at that time he again saw the fruit of his industry fall a prey to the rapacity of his relentless enemies. Stripped of his earthly possessions and broken in health, he reached Commerce, but the trials through which he had passed had proven too much for his constitution, which was never robust, and he passed away, a victim to the intolerance and religious bigotry of his generation.

On the fourteenth of September of the same year "Father Joseph Smith," Patriarch to the Church—the first in the new dispensation—and father of the Prophet Joseph died in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He was baptized on the sixth day of April, 1830, and was one of its six charter members. Indeed he was the one who first received the testimony of his son after the angel Moroni visited him on that memorable night of September 21, 1823; and it was he who first exhorted his son to be faithful and diligent to the message he had received. He endured many persecutions on account of the claims made by his son Joseph to being a prophet of God; for Joseph's declarations that he had received heavenly visions and revelations together with a divine commission to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, not only brought down upon himself the wrath of bigoted men, but involved his whole family in the persecutions which followed him throughout his life. Of these things, however, his father never complained, but endured all things patiently, and with true heroism. An account of his birth, ancestry, and a sketch of his personal history up to the time of the birth of his prophet-son have already been given in Chapter I of this history; after that his life's story is merged in that of the Church.

Father Smith was a large man, ordinarily weighing two hundred pounds; he was six feet two inches in height, and well proportioned, strong and active; and almost up to the time of his death he stood unbowed beneath the accumulated sorrows and hardships he had experienced during his nearly three score and ten years of sojourn in life. The exposure he suffered in the exodus from Missouri, however, brought on him consumption, of which he died. His was an unassuming nature—noted mostly, perhaps, for its sincerity and unwavering integrity. He was a child of nature's and one of nature's noblest. He belonged to that type of men, so well described by one of our American poets in the following lines:

“Simple their lives—yet theirs the race
When liberty sent forth her cry,
Who crowded conflicts deadliest place,
To fight—to bleed—to die;
Who stood on Bunker's heights of red,

By hope through years were led—
And witnessed Yorktown's sun
Rise on a nation's banner spread,
A nation's freedom won!"

The Patriarch's funeral services took place on the fifteenth of September, and a fitting eulogy upon his life and character was delivered by Elder Robert B. Thompson.¹ About a year later death also claimed the eulogist at Father Smith's obsequies, Robert B. Thompson, and also Don Carlos Smith, youngest brother of the Prophet. Both were young men and died within a month of each other, the former in his thirtieth, the latter in his twenty-sixth year. They were the editors of the *Times and Seasons* at the time of their demise, and both gave promise of useful careers as citizens and as officers of the Church. The loss of Elder Thompson was particularly to be regretted, since he was a man of education, refinement, a forceful character, and a writer of unusual ability. He frequently acted as the Prophet's scribe, and in that capacity was most helpful to the great leader. He was born in England, but removed to Upper Canada in 1834, and was among those who were brought into the Church by the ministry of Elder Parley P. Pratt.

Don Carlos Smith, the youngest son of Lucy and Joseph Smith, Sen., was a lovable character; noted chiefly for his quiet demeanor, courage, fidelity, uprightness, and faithfulness in his friendships. He was dearly beloved by the Prophet, who said of him: "I never knew any fault in him; I never saw the first immoral act, or the first irreligious or ignoble disposition in the child from the time he was born until the time of his death. He was a lovely, a good natured, a kind-hearted and a virtuous and a faithful, upright child; and where his soul goes, let mine go also. He lies by the side of my father."

Next in importance to the Mission of the Twelve Apostles to England, noted in Chapter XXXVI, was Orson Hyde's mission to Palestine, upon which he started in company with Elder John E. Page in this eventful summer of 1840. From the very beginning of the New Dispensation, it was declared that it carried

1. It will be found in extenso in Documentary Hist. of the Ch., Vol. IV, pp. 191-197.

within it an important message for the house of Israel. On the occasion of the angel Moroni's first visit to the Prophet he quoted part of the third chapter of Malachi, which announces the coming of a messenger to prepare the way for the Lord, who, it is declared, shall suddenly come to his temple; "and he shall purify the sons of Levi, * * * that they may offer an offering unto the Lord in righteousness. Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant with the Lord, as in the days of old, and as in the former years." The angel also quoted the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, which deals with the same theme as the above from Malachi—viz., the restoration of Israel to the favor of God. Moroni explained that this chapter of Isaiah was "about to be fulfilled." Among other verses that give promise of good days for Israel are the following:

"And it shall come to pass in that day that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people which shall be left from Assyria, and from Egypt. * * * And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. The envy of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off; Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim."

The book of Mormon itself is replete with prophetic passages upon the gathering of Israel in the last days, and the restoration of the Jews to the land of their fathers. So, too, are the early revelations to Joseph Smith. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that a mission should be sent to Palestine to begin this work; and this mission the church appointed at its April conference, 1840, by calling Elders Orson Hyde and John E. Page on a mission to the Jews in the large cities of Europe and other places, designating especially London, Amsterdam, Constantinople and Jerusalem. The purpose of the mission was to visit these places and others that they might deem expedient: "converse with the priest, rulers, and elders of the Jews, and obtain from them all the information possible, and communicate the same to some principal paper for publication." "The Jewish [meaning Israelitish] nations," said Elder Hyde's letter



ORSON HYDE

of appointment, "have been scattered abroad among the Gentiles for a long period; and in our estimation the time of the commencement of their return to the Holy Land has already arrived." Judging the purpose of the mission by what was done by Elder Hyde when on the mount of Olives, a year later, those composing the mission were authorized, though it is not specifically so stated in the letter of appointment, to dedicate the land of Palestine by apostolic authority, preparatory to the return of the Jews to possess it, in fulfillment of the promises made to their fathers.

Elder Hyde to whom principally this mission to the Jews was entrusted, had found his way back to the church after his defection in Missouri; he had been forgiven by the Saints and restored to his standing in the quorum of the apostles at a conference of that body in June, 1839.² Elder Hyde it appears was a descendant of the tribe of Judah;⁴ and some time after the Prophet had become acquainted with him, most probably in the year 1832, in the course of pronouncing a blessing upon him, said: "In due time thou shalt go to Jerusalem, the land of thy fathers, and be a watchman unto the house of Israel; and by thy hand shall the Most High do a work, which shall prepare the way and greatly facilitate the gathering together of that people." It was in fulfillment of this prediction upon his head that he had been called upon this mission to Jerusalem.

Elder John E. Page, Hyde's fellow Apostle, was associated with him in this mission and together they left Nauvoo about the middle of April to make their way through the eastern states to New York where they were to sail for Europe. Their movements, however, were somewhat dilatory and they lingered

2. See Hyde's letter of appointment and also Minutes of the 1840 April conference, Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. IV, ch. V.

3. Documentary Hist. of the Ch. Vol. III.

About this time the Prophet extended an invitation to Oliver Cowdery to return to the church and participate with Elder Hyde in this mission to the Jews. While laying out some work for the Elders of the church to undertake he said to his secretary; "Write Oliver Cowdery, and ask him if he has not eaten husks long enough. If he is not almost ready to return, be clothed with robes of righteousness, and go up to Jerusalem. Orson Hyde hath need of him." A letter was written accordingly, but the Prophet's generous tender of forgiveness and fellowship called forth no response from Oliver Cowdery. (Documentary Hist. of the Ch., Vol. V, p. 368).

4. See Hyde's Letter to Rabbi Hirschell (London) Documentary History of the Church, Vol. IV, pp. 373-375.

among the branches of the Saints in Cincinnati, New York and Philadelphia, until January, 1841. They were sharply reproved by the word of the Lord, and requested by the First Presidency "to hasten their journey towards their destination."⁵ In the meantime, however, Elder Page had lost the spirit of his appointment and had no disposition to fulfill his mission, but Orson Hyde on the receipt of this reproof set sail at once from New York for England.

A general history may not follow Elder Hyde through all his meanderings in Europe, or relate his trials or his perils in crossing the seas, and passing through states in which war was raging. He succeeded in reaching the Holy City some time in October, and early on Sunday morning, on the twenty-fourth of that month, 1841, was seated on the Mount of Olives, as he had seen himself in vision, and there wrote the prayer he had to offer in behalf of the Jews and their city, which had been for so long trodden down of the Gentiles.

In that prayer Elder Hyde referred to the prophecies of God's servants in relation to the Jews and Jerusalem, and asked that all might be fulfilled. He called for the richest blessings of heaven upon the Jews; he blessed, by virtue of his priesthood, the city, the land, and all the elements, to the end that Judah might be gathered, Jerusalem rebuilt, and become a Holy City, that the Lord's name might be glorified in all the earth.

The prayer is beautiful and soul-moving;⁶ at its close Elder

5. Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. IV, p. 274.

6. The prayer will be found complete in the Documentary History of the Church, Vol. IV, ch. XXVI. After referring to the covenants made to the fathers "concerning Judah and Jerusalem," the scattered condition of Israel and the barrenness of his lands, Elder Hyde proceeds:

"Grant, therefore, O Lord, in the name of Thy well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ, to remove the barrenness and sterility of this land, and let springs of living water break forth to water its thirsty soil. Let the vine and olive produce in their strength, and the fig-tree bloom and flourish. Let the land become abundantly fruitful when possessed by its rightful heirs; let it again flow with plenty to feed the returning prodigals who come home with a spirit of grace and supplication; upon it let the clouds distil virtue and richness, and let the fields smile with plenty. Let the flocks and the herds greatly increase and multiply upon the mountains and the hills; and let Thy great kindness conquer and subdue the unbelief of Thy people. Do Thou take from them their stony heart, and give them a heart of flesh; and may the Sun of Thy favor dispel the cold mists of darkness which have beclouded their atmosphere. Incline them to gather in upon this land according to Thy word. Let them come down like clouds and like doves to their windows. Let the large ships of the nations bring them from the distant isles; and let kings become their nursing fathers, and queens with motherly fondness wipe the tear of sorrow from their eye. See Note 1 close of the chapter.

Hyde erected a pile of stones on the Mount of Olives as an altar and a memorial of his prayer; and another on Mount Zion. Having completed his mission he returned through Europe to Nauvoo, where he arrived in December, 1842.

In the summer of 1840, John Cook Bennett came to Nauvoo, and proposed to link his fortunes with those of the Church.⁷ As Dr. Bennett may properly be regarded as the "Benedict Arnold" of "Mormon History," I think it necessary to give more than a passing notice of his advent among the Saints.

This man has been variously described by those who have written of his connections with the Church. Ex-Governor Ford of Illinois speaks of him as "probably the greatest scamp in the western country."⁸ Gregg says he was a man "of liberal education, excessively vain and pompous," but of "Good address." He also says that Bennett brought with him to Nauvoo, "if not a tainted, at least a questionable reputation."⁹ H. H. Bancroft grows positively abusive of Bennett: speaks of him as "a fraud;" "he has ability, he has brains, but no soul."¹⁰ Lynn declares him to be "a man who seems to lack moral character, but who had filled positions of importance."¹¹

It must be remembered, however, that more or less of preju-

7. John Cook Bennett was "born in Massachusetts in 1804, he practiced as a physician in Ohio, and later in Illinois, holding a professorship in Willoughby University, Ohio, and taking with him to Illinois testimonials as to his professional skill. In the latter state he showed a taste for military affairs, and, after being elected brigadier-general of the 'Invincible Dragoons', he was appointed quartermaster general of the state 1840, and held that position at the state capital when the Mormons applied to the legislature for a charter for Nauvoo." ("The Story of the Mormons," Lynn, p. 236.)

8. "History of Illinois," Ford, p. 263. Continuing from the above characterization he says: "I have made particular inquiries concerning him, and have traced him in several places in which he had lived before he joined the Mormons; in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and he was every where accounted the same debauched, unprincipled and profligate character."

9. The Prophet of Palmyra," p. 173.

10. "History of Utah," sub-division, "Story of Mormonism," p. 149.

This is Bancroft's description of Bennett: "About this time there comes to Joseph Smith a somewhat singular individual making somewhat singular advances. He is a yankee huckster of the first class, only for his merchandise, instead of patent clocks and wooden nutmegs, he offers for sale theology, medicine, and a general assortment of political and military wares. The thing is a fraud, and before long he openly announces himself as such. As his manhood is far inferior to his duplicity, so his name, the Reverend General John C. Bennett, M. D., U. S. A., president, chancellor, and master in chancery, as we may observe, is subordinate to his titles. He has ability, he has brains and fingers; but he has no soul."

11. The "Story of the Mormons," p. 236.

dice enters into these characterization of Dr. Bennett, because of his connection with "Mormonism." The Prophet speaks of him as "a man of enterprise, extensive acquirements, and of independent mind;" and as "calculated to be a great blessing to our community."¹² Notwithstanding this estimate of Dr. Bennett's abilities, there is a temptation, when the whole truth about this man is known, to regard him as an adventurer and a wicked man from the beginning. But those who had, perhaps, the best opportunity to know him held that his motives for coming to Nauvoo were honest, that his intentions in life at that time were honorable, but that he later fell into transgression and would not repent. Such were the views of the late President John Taylor, who was closely associated with Bennett in affairs at Nauvoo;¹³ and the Lord in the revelation given on the 19th of January, 1841, accepts of him and speaks approvingly of Bennett's love for the work: "And for his love he shall be great. * * * I have seen the work which he hath done, which I accept, *if he continue*, and will crown him with blessings and great glory." (Doc. and Cov. Sec. 124; 17).

It cannot be otherwise, then, but that John C. Bennett in coming to the Saints did so out of love for the work, he had a desire to work righteousness, but he was among those who failed—he did not continue in his right intentions. It is possible even for men whose lives are not above reproach to feel indignation at acts of injustice, such as was perpetrated upon the Latter-day Saints by the State of Missouri; and sure it is that John C. Bennett expressed himself very pronouncedly against the injustice suffered by the Church at the hands of the officers and people of that State; and he "proffered his military knowledge and

12. Proclamation of the First Presidency, "Documentary History of the Church," Vol. IV, p. 276.

13. Elder Taylor's testimony is as follows: "Respecting John C. Bennett: I was well acquainted with him. At one time he was a good man, but fell into adultery, and was cut off from the Church for his iniquity; and so bad was his conduct, that he was also expelled from the municipal courts, of which he was a member. He then went lecturing through the country, and commenced writing pamphlets for the sake of making money, charging so much for admittance to his lectures, and selling his slanders. His remarks, however, were so bad, and his statements so obscene and disgraceful that respectable people were disgusted." (From Public Discussion in France" Documentary History of the Church, Vol. V, p. 81, Note.)

prowess" to the Saints while the latter were yet in Missouri, but undergoing expulsion. His proposal was to go to their assistance with all the forces he could raise in Illinois, as "his bosom swelled with indignation" at the treatment the Saints were receiving at the hands of the Missourians. That proffered service, however, was not accepted, because the Saints depended for vindication of their reputation, and redress of their wrongs upon the officers of the State and nation, rather than upon incensed persons, however sincere and well meaning, who offered their service to wage war upon their enemies. But after the Saints began gathering at Commerce, Bennett again expressed a desire to connect his fortunes with them. When he contemplated removing to Commerce, he held the position of quarter-master-general in the militia of the State of Illinois, a position he did not wish to resign. Indeed he expressed a desire to hold the position for a number of years. He was also a physician with an extensive practice, and forwarded extracts to the Prophet from the *Louisville Courier-Journal* which gave evidence of high standing in his profession. Writing of these things to the Prophet, he said:

"I do not expect to resign my office of quartermaster-general of the State of Illinois, in the event of my removal to Commerce, unless you advise otherwise. I shall likewise expect to practice my profession, but at the same time your people shall have all the benefit of my speaking powers, and my untiring energies in behalf of the good and holy faith. You are aware that at the time of your most bitter persecution, I was with you in feeling, and proffered you my military knowledge and prowess."

While Joseph extended a hearty welcome to the Doctor to come to Commerce, he by no means held out any very flattering inducements to him, as may be seen by his letters in answer to Bennett's expressing his determination to join the Saints. The Prophet said:

"I have no doubt that you would be of great service to this community in practicing your profession, as well as those other abilities of which you are in possession. Though to devote your

time and abilities in the cause of truth and a suffering people, may not be the means of exalting you in the eyes of this generation, or securing you the riches of this world, yet by so doing you may rely on the approval of Jehovah, "that blessing which maketh rich and addeth no sorrow." * * * Therefore, my general invitation is, let all who will come, come and partake of the poverty of Nauvoo, freely. I should be disposed to give you a special invitation to come as early as possible, believing you will be of great service to us. However you must make your own arrangements according to your circumstances. Were it possible for you to come here this season to suffer affliction with the people of God, no one will be more pleased to give you a cordial welcome than myself."¹⁴

Surely this was frank enough, and ought to have dispelled from the Doctor's mind all thoughts of winning worldly fame, or gratifying vain ambition, by linking his fortunes with those of the Church of Jesus Christ. The whole course of the Prophet here outlined dealing with the advent of John C. Bennett, vindicates him and the Church from any complicity with the subsequent wickedness and vileness of that man.

Bennett's activities in the affairs of Nauvoo, and his final perfidy and apostasy belong to future chapters.

The summer of 1840 saw Missouri renew her attacks upon the church. Every effort had been made by the people of that State, chiefly through the State officers, to destroy the reputation of the saints as citizens in order to give color of justification to the acts of lawlessness under which they were expelled from Missouri. In this the Missourians were not successful, for the representation made by a State guilty of such outrages as those committed by Missouri against a body of her own citizens, had but little weight at this time in Illinois. Finding that their accusations against the people whom they had wronged had little or no effect, an effort was made to give coloring to their statements; and stolen goods were conveyed from Missouri to the vicinity of Commerce, so that when they were found, suspicion might rest upon the people in whose neighborhood the stolen articles were discovered.

14. Bennett's somewhat effusive letters and the Prophet's answer are published in Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. IV, Ch. IX.

Nor did their outrages stop at this. A company of men led by William Allensworth, H. M. Woodyard, Wm. Martin, J. H. Owsely, John Bain, Light T. Lait and Halsey White, crossed over the Mississippi to Illinois at a point a few miles above Quincy, and kidnapped Alson Brown, James Allred, Benjamin Boyce and Noah Rogers, and without any writ or warrant of any character whatever, they dragged them over into Missouri to a neighborhood called Tully, in Lewis county. These unfortunate men were imprisoned for a day or two in an old log cabin, during which time their lives were repeatedly threatened. At one time Brown was taken out, a rope placed around his neck, and he was hung up to a tree until he was nearly strangled to death. Boyce at the same time was tied to a tree, stripped of his clothing and inhumanly beaten. Rogers was also beaten, and Allred was stripped of every particle of clothing and tied up to a tree for the greater part of the night, and threatend frequently by a man named Monday, exclaiming: "G—d d—n you, I'll cut you to the hollow." Rogers, however, was released without being whipped.

After the brethren had received this kind of inhuman treatment, their captors performed an act purely Missourian in its character, that is, they gave them the following note of acquittal:

TULLY, Missouri, July 12, 1840.

The people of Tully having taken up Mr. Allred, with some others, and having examined into the offenses committed, find nothing to justify his detention any longer, and have released him.

By order of the committee.

H. M. WOODYARD.

As soon as the people of Commerce and vicinity were informed of this outrage, Gentiles as well as Mormons were loud in their condemnation of it; a mass meeting was promptly called, and resolutions were adopted, expressing their unqualified indignation, and calling upon the governor of Illinois to take the necessary steps to punish those who had committed the outrage, and by vindicating the law, give the Missourians to understand

there was a limit beyond which their deeds of violence must not pass.

Daniel H. Wells, not then a member of the Church, and George Miller were appointed a committee to wait upon Governor Carlin and lay the case before him. For this purpose they repaired to Quincy, the governor's place of residence, and at the recital of the cruelties practiced upon the victims of the Missourian, the governor was greatly agitated. The governor's wife was present at the interview and was moved to tears. Governor Carlin promised to counsel with the state's attorney, who by law was made his adviser, and promised to take such steps as the case seemed to require, and that the law would justify. The guilty parties, however, were never brought to justice, nor even to trial. No requisition was made for their apprehension. It may be that the love which Governor Carlin once had for the Saints, and which at last became dead, had begun even at this time to grow cold.

Scarcely had the excitement occasioned by the kidnapping of Allred and his associates subsided, when Governor Boggs of Missouri made a requisition upon Governor Carlin of Illinois, for the persons of Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, Caleb Baldwin and Alanson Brown, as fugitives from justice. Governor Carlin granted the requisition—was it another case of Herod and Pilate being made friends over the surrender of God's Prophet? When the sheriff went to Commerce with his requisition, Joseph Smith and his brethren "were not at home," and could not be found; so that the officer returned without them. These men sought by the officers were not fugitives from justice, the sheriff and judge of the court before which they had been arraigned had connived at their escape. There is even good reason to believe that Governor Boggs himself was privy to their escape, and doubtless had a hand in the planning for it. At any rate such in effect was the statement of Samuel Tillery, the jailor at Liberty, to the prisoners about the time that Sidney Rigdon was admitted to bail. He told the prisoners that Governor Boggs was heartily ashamed of the whole transaction against the "Mormons," and would be glad to set the prisoners free if only "he dared to do it." "But,"

said Tillery to the prisoners, "you need not be concerned, for the Governor has laid a plan for your release."¹⁵ Tillery also said that Judge Birch had been instructed to so fix the papers that the prisoners would be clear from any incumbrances in a very short time.¹⁶ All which is so very like what took place with respect to the escape of the prisoners; as also with what would most likely be the views of Governor Boggs when he found that the treatment of the Mormons in Missouri was bringing so much reproach upon his administration, that his connivance at the escape of Joseph Smith and his associates was very likely.¹⁷

In view of all these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at if the brethren did not feel disposed to try again "the solemn realities of mob law in Missouri."

Meantime Commerce became Nauvoo. The city was incorporated by act of the legislature of Illinois in the closing month of 1840. The charter granted on that date described the boundaries of the city, but gave to the citizens—whom it erected a body corporate and political—the right to extend the area of the city whenever any tract of land adjoining should have been laid out into town lots and recorded according to law. The city council was to consist of a mayor, four aldermen and nine councilors to be elected by the qualified voters of the city. The first Monday in the ensuing February was appointed for the first election of officers.

The charter granted to the citizens of Nauvoo the most plenary powers in the management of their local affairs. Indeed, about the only limit placed upon their powers was that they do nothing inconsistent with the constitution of the United States, and the State constitution of Illinois. But inside of those lines they were all powerful to make and execute such ordinances as in the wisdom of the city council were necessary for the peace, good order, and general welfare of the city. It afterwards became a question in the State as to whether or not powers too great had not been granted to the city government.

15. See Chapter XXXIII this History.

16. Affidavit of Hyrum Smith, Documentary Hist., Ch. Vol. III, p. 421.

17. The Documents in this case, affidavits, minutes of the public meeting of Nauvoo, memorial to Governor Carlin, etc., will be found in Documentary History of the Ch., Vol. IV, Ch. VII.

The leading men of the State, however, appeared not only willing but anxious to grant the privileges of this city government to the Saints. S. H. Little, of the upper house of the State legislature, especially stood by the Saints, and urged the passage of their charter; so also did *Messrs.* Snyder, Ralston, Moore, Ross and Stapp, while Mr. John F. Charles, the representative to the lower house from the district in which Nauvoo was located, loyally served his Nauvoo constituents by using all his energy to secure for them their city government.¹⁸

The Saints rejoiced in the prospects of liberty secured to them by their city government, and of it the Prophet said:

“I concocted it for the salvation of the Church, and on principles so broad that every honest man might dwell secure under its protecting influences, without distinction of sect or party.”

An inspection of the charter will bear out this opinion of it, for while it was “concocted for the salvation of the Church,” it by no means sought to secure that “salvation” by trespassing upon the rights of others, but by recognizing the rights of the Saints to be equal to the rights of other citizens. Nor was it intended that Nauvoo should be an exclusive city for people of the Mormon faith; on the contrary, all worthy people were invited to come and assist to build up and partake of its liberty and anticipated prosperity. An official proclamation, issued over the signatures of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith, who then constituted the First Presidency of the Church, contains the following passage:

“We wish it likewise to be distinctly understood that we claim

¹⁸. An incident connecting Abraham Lincoln with the passage of this charter may not be without interest. The State of Illinois was at that time divided into two political parties, Whigs and Democrats. Both parties were friendly to the Saints, who considered themselves equally bound to both parties for acts of kindness. Lincoln was a Whig, and in the November election his name was on the state electoral ticket as a Whig candidate for the state legislature. But many of the people of Nauvoo, wishing to divide their vote, and to show kindness to the Democrats, for the part they took in welcoming the Saints when exiles into the state, erased the name of Lincoln, and substituted that of Ralston, a Democrat. It was with no ill feeling, however, towards Mr. Lincoln that this was done, and when the vote was called on the final passage of the Nauvoo charter, he had the magnanimity to vote for it; and congratulated John C. Bennett on his success in securing its enactment. (Letter of John C. Bennett's to *Times and Seasons*, Dec. 16, 1840).

no privileges but what we feel cheerfully disposed to share with our fellow citizens of every denomination, and every sentiment of religion; and therefore say, that so far from being restricted to our own faith, let all those who desire to locate in this place (Nauvoo) or the vicinity, come and we will hail them as citizens and friends, and shall feel it not only a duty, but a privilege to reciprocate the kindness we have received from the benevolent and kind hearted citizens of the state of Illinois."

And as an earnest of the intention, so far as the Saints were concerned, of carrying out in practice these liberal sentiments and extending equal rights to people of all religious persuasions, among the first acts of the city council was the passage of the following ordinance, introduced by Joseph Smith:

"Section 1. Be it ordained by the city council of the city of Nauvoo that the Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Latter-day Saints, Quakers, Episcopalians, Universalists, Unitarians, Mohammedans, and all other religious sects and denominations, whatever, shall have free toleration and equal privileges in this city, and should any person be guilty of ridiculing and abusing, or otherwise deprecating another, in consequence of his religion, or of disturbing or interrupting any religious meeting within the limits of this city, he shall, on conviction before the mayor or municipal court, be considered a disturber of the public peace, and fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, or imprisoned not exceeding six months, or both, at the discretion of said mayor and court."

The second section made it the duty of all municipal officers to notice and report any violations of this law, and, in fact, of any other law of the city—to the mayor; and the municipal officers were authorized to arrest all violators of this law, either with or without process; so that the fullest religious liberty was secured to all sects, and all religions, and to people of no religion at all if any such there should be. Under such an ordinance, people could worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, without fear of molestation from any one; but they were restrained from interfering with the religion or mode of worship of their fellows—they were taught, in a word, that their liberties ended where those of other people commenced.

On the first of February, 1841, the first election for members of the city council took place, as provided by the city charter. John C. Bennett was chosen mayor; William Marks, Samuel H. Smith, D. H. Wells, and N. K. Whitney, aldermen; Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Chas. C. Rich, John T. Barnett, Wilson Law, Don C. Smith, John P. Greene and Vinson Knight, councilors. On the third of the month the city council was organized, by appointing the following officers: Marshal, H. G. Sherwood; recorder, James Sloan; treasurer, R. B. Thompson; asessor, James Robinson; supervisor of streets, Austin Cowles.

Mayor Bennett, the same day, delivered his inaugural address. After making several recommendations to the council relative to the establishment of educational institutions, the militia, the enactment of a temperance ordinance, and other measures affecting the manufacturing and commercial interests of the city, and further recommending that the protecting aegis of the corporation be thrown around every moral and religious institution of the day, which was in any way calculated to ennoble or ameliorate the condition of the citizens, he concluded his speech in these words:

“As the chief magistrate of your city I am determined to execute all state laws and city ordinances passed in pursuance of law, to the very letter, should it require the strong arm of military power to enable me to do so. As an officer, I know no man; the peaceful, unoffending citizen shall be protected in the full exercise of all his civil, political and religious rights, and the guilty violator of the law shall be punished without respect to persons.”

The first act of the city council, after its organization, was to express its gratitude for the privileges and powers conferred upon the city by its charter. For this purpose the following resolution was introduced by Joseph Smith, and adopted:

“Resolved, By the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the unfeigned thanks of this community be respectfully tendered to the governor, council of revision, and legislature of the State of Illinois, as a feeble testimonial of their respect and esteem of

noble, high-minded, and patriotic statesmen; and as an evidence of gratitude for the signal powers recently conferred; also that the citizens of Quincy be held in everlasting remembrance for their unparalleled liberality and marked kindness to our people, when in their greatest state of suffering and want.’”¹⁹

The next move was to pass a temperance ordinance, which practically made Nauvoo a prohibition city.

The Nauvoo charter proper really contained two other charters, *viz*: One for the establishment of a university within the limits of the city “for the teaching of the arts and sciences, and learned professions;” and another for the organization of an independent military body to be called the “Nauvoo Legion.”

An ordinance was passed on the third of February, in relation to the university, appointing a chancellor and board of regents. A site for a building was selected, and plans for the structure were drawn, but that was as far as the matter went, as the city had no funds with which to proceed with the work of construction.

An ordinance was also passed on the above date authorizing the organization of the Nauvoo Legion. The original provision in the Nauvoo charter establishing this military body provided that the city council might organize the inhabitants of the city, subject to military duty under the laws of the State, into “an independent body of militia;” and a subsequent amendment to the charter extended the privilege of joining the legion to any citizen of Hancock county, who might by voluntary enrollment desire to do so; and in that event he was to have all the privileges and immunities to be enjoyed by members of that organization. The charter provided that the officers of the legion should be commissioned by the governor; and that the members thereof be required to perform the same amount of military duty as the regular militia of the State; they were to be at the disposal of the mayor in executing the laws and ordinances of the city, and the laws of the State; and also at the disposal of the governor for the public defense, and the execution of the laws of the State and of the United States; and were entitled to their proportion

19. The several ordinances, together with the Mayor's speech in full will be found in Documentary Hist. of the Ch. Vol. IV, Ch. XV.

of the public arms; but were exempt from all military duty not specified in these provisions.

The city ordinance provided that the Legion should be divided into two cohorts, the horse troops to constitute the first cohort, and the infantry the second. The commander-in-chief of the Legion was to be known as the Lieutenant-general, who was also made the reviewing officer and president of the court-martial and Legion. His staff was to consist of two principal *aides-de-camp* with the rank of captain of infantry; and a drill officer, with the rank of colonel of dragoons, to be the chief officer of the guard.

The second officer was a major-general, to act as the secretary of the court-martial and Legion. His staff consisted of an adjutant, surgeon-in-chief, a cornet, quartermaster, paymaster, commissary, and chaplain; all to hold the rank of colonel of cavalry; besides these, there were to be in his staff a surgeon for each cohort, quartermaster sergeant, sergeant-major, and a chief musician—with the rank of captain of light infantry; and two musicians with the rank of captain of infantry. Besides these officers there were created by the ordinance an adjutant and inspector-general, and a brigadier-general to command each cohort. The staff of each brigadier-general consisted of an aide-de-camp with the rank of lieutenant-colonel of infantry, and when not otherwise in service, these brigadiers had access to the staff of the major-general.

The first selection of officers of the Legion took place on the fourth of February, and resulted in Joseph Smith being unanimously chosen lieutenant-general; John C. Bennett, major-general; Wilson Law, brigadier-general of the first cohort, and Don Carlos Smith, brigadier-general of the second cohort. The staffs of the respective generals were chosen from the leading citizens of Nauvoo, some of whom were not members of the Mormon Church. There were but six companies at the time the Legion was organized, in February, 1841, but in September following, the number of men had increased to one thousand four hundred and ninety; and at the time of the Prophet Joseph's death, some three years later, the Legion numbered about five thousand.

A natural enthusiasm for military display, characteristic of the times, and drilled by competent military officers, the Legion

became the best body of militia in the State of Illinois. It excited the jealousy and envy of the rest of the militia in the surrounding counties, and all the laudable efforts of the Legion to become an efficient military body with a view of assisting in the execution of the State and national laws, if occasion should require, were construed by their enemies to mean a preparation for rebellion, and the establishment and spread of "Mormonism" by conquest of the sword, as Mohammed established his religion. Thus the forming of an independent body of militia, enabling the citizens of Nauvoo to perform their military duty by themselves, which the Prophet fondly hoped would remove "one of the most fruitful sources of strife and collision with the world;" and which he further hoped would give the Church members, as a people, an opportunity of showing their attachment to the State and nation, whenever the public service required their aid, by the misrepresentation of their enemies was made a rock of offense, and was used to excite the apprehensions and prejudices of the people of Illinois.

The people of the United States have always been jealous of military power, and hence have been careful in forming their political institutions to subordinate the military to the civil authority, except in times of actual war; and, therefore, notwithstanding the very good intentions of the Saints at Nauvoo, it was a very easy matter for their enemies to excite the prejudice and awaken the fears of the people of Illinois by pointing to the existence of this over-elaborate and efficient military organization with its frequent musters and parades, and captained by a great religious leader, whom, notwithstanding his virtues and the uprightness of his intentions, they had come to regard as a religious enthusiast, prepared to go to what lengths they could not conjecture, in the promulgation of his religion. Hence that which was to be a bulwark to the city, and a protection to the Saints, was transformed by their enemies into an occasion of offense, and an excuse for distrusting them.

By the several acts detailed in this chapter, Nauvoo was launched upon her adventurous career; the most prosperous, but the briefest, and the saddest career of all American cities in modern times.

NOTE 1: HYDE'S MISSION TO PALESTINE: The question will be asked, has anything resulted from this mission of Elder Orson Hyde's to dedicate the land of Palestine to the return of the Jews and other tribes of Israel? The only answer is an appeal to facts, to events that have taken place since that prayer of consecration was offered up by this Apostle of the New Dispensation of the Gospel, on the 24th of October, 1841.

At the time of Elder Hyde's visit and the ceremonies of dedication he performed on the Mount of Olives, there were comparatively but few Jews at Jerusalem. As late as 1876 the "British Consul Reports" show that there were but from fifteen to twenty thousand Jews in Palestine. But twenty years later the same authority declared the number of Jews to be from sixty to seventy thousand, and what was of more importance than the numbers announced, these reports represented that the new Jewish population was turning its attention to the cultivation of the soil, which but requires the blessing of God upon it to restore it to its ancient fruitfulness, and which will make it possible for it to sustain once more a numerous population. The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* commenting on these Consular Reports of 1896 said:

"Only two decades ago there were not more than fifteen or twenty thousand Jews in Jerusalem. At that time no houses were to be found outside the city. Since then many changes have taken place and the Hebrew population—mainly on account of the increase of the Jewish immigration from Russia—now stands at between sixty and seventy thousand. Whole streets of houses have been built outside the walls on the site of the ancient suburban districts, which for hundreds of years have remained deserted. It is not, however, only in Jerusalem itself that the Jews abound, but throughout Palestine they are buying farms in a like manner. In Jerusalem they form at present a larger community than either the Christian or the Mohammedan."

Also in 1896 that racial movement among the Jews known as "Zionism" took definite form. This movement was really the federation of all the Jewish societies that have cherished the hope of seeing Israel restored to his promised possessions in Palestine. That year the first international conference of Zionists was held in Basel, Switzerland, and since then under the leadership of the late Dr. Herzl, of Austria, and since his death under the leadership of Israel Zangwill and others, and by reason of its annual conferences constantly increasing in interest and attendance, "Zionism" has taken on all the aspects of one



THE NAUVOO TEMPLE
Cornerstone laid April 6, 1841

of the world's great movements. It is not so much a religious movement as a racial one; for prominent Jews of all shades of both political and religious opinions have participated in it.

After saying through so many centuries at the feast of the Passover, "May we celebrate the next Passover in Jerusalem," the thought seems to have occurred to some Jewish minds that if that hope is ever to be realized some practical steps must be taken looking to the actual achievement of the possibility—hence the "Zionite Movement." The keynotes to that movement are heard in the following utterances of some of the Jewish leaders in explanation of it: "We want to resume the broken thread of our national existence; we want to show to the world the moral strength, the intellectual power of the Jewish people. We want a place where the race can be centralized."—(Leon Zoltokoff). "It is for these Jews [of Russia, Roumania and Galicia] that the name of their country [Palestine] spells 'Hope.' I should not be a man if I did not realize that for these persecuted Jews, Jerusalem spells reason, justice, manhood and liberty."—(Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch). "Jewish nationalism on a modern basis in Palestine, the old home of the people."—(Max Nordau). "Palestine needs a people, Israel needs a country. Give the country without a people to the people without a country."—(Israel Zangwill). In a word it is the purpose of "Zionism" to redeem Palestine, and give it back to Jewish control, create, in fact, a Jewish state in the land promised to their afthers.

The age has come when the promises of the Lord to Israel must be fulfilled; and hence an Apostle of the New Dispensation of the Gospel is sent by divine authority to dedicate the land of Palestine preparatory to the return of Israel to his promised inheritance. After which follows the strange and world-wide movement among the Jews looking to re-establishment of "Jewish nationalism on a modern basis in Palestine." What other relationship can exist between the mission of the Apostle Orson Hyde and this world-wide movement among the Jews for the re-establishment of Israel in Palestine, but the relationship of cause to effect—under, of course, the larger fact that the set time for the restoration of Israel has come? The apostle's mission to Jerusalem for the purpose of dedicating that land, preparatory to the return of Israel, was without doubt part of the general program for the restoration of Israel to their lands, and to the favor and blessing of God.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

RECONSTRUCTION OF QUORUMS IN THE CHURCH—LAYING THE
CORNER STONES OF THE NAUVOO TEMPLE—DOCTRINAL
DEVELOPMENT

In the meantime important changes in the church organization were pending. An important revelation was received on the nineteenth of January, 1841, which provided for filling the vacancies in the several quorums of the priesthood, and a re-confirmation of all the authorities of the Church. Hyrum Smith, who had stood in the position of counselor in the First Presidency, since the rejection of Frederick G. Williams by the Church, on the seventh of November, 1837—was appointed to succeed his father as Patriarch to the Church; to hold the sealing blessings of the Church, even the Holy Spirit of promise, whereby the Saints are sealed up unto the day of redemption, that they may not fall, notwithstanding the day of temptation that might come upon them. He was also appointed a prophet, seer, and revelator, as well as President Joseph Smith with whom he was to act in concert, and from whom he was to receive counsel. The Prophet was to show unto him the keys whereby he might “ask and receive,” and be crowned with the same blessing and glory and honor and priesthood, and gifts of the priesthood “that once,” said the Lord, “were put upon him that was my servant Oliver Cowdery.”¹

Joseph Smith was given to be the presiding Elder of the Church, to be a translator, a revelator, a seer and prophet. Sidney Rigdon was admonished of his neglect of duty, and his lack of faith; he was told, however, that if he would repent of his sins and stand in his place and calling, he might continue to act as counselor to President Smith, and the Lord promised to heal him, and make him powerful in testimony.

William Law, whom, it will be remembered, the Prophet first met when *en route* for Washington—Law then leading a small company of Saints to Nauvoo from Canada²—was appointed to

1. Doctrine and Covenants, Section 124.

2. This History, Ch. XXXVI.

fill the vacancy in the First Presidency made by the appointment of Hyrum Smith to the office of Patriarch. And such blessings and spiritual powers were pronounced upon him by the Lord, on condition of his faithfulness, as seldom falls to the lot of man.

Brigham Young was appointed the President of the Twelve Apostles, and liberty was given to appoint another man to fill the vacancy made in the quorum through the death of David W. Patten, who was killed at the battle of Crooked River, in Missouri. The high Council for Nauvoo was named, and a presidency given to the High Priests; the Seven Presidents of the Seventies were appointed; and all the quorums of the priesthood both in the Melchisedek and Aaronic divisions were set in order, so far as the appointments of the presidencies were concerned.

Besides setting the priesthood in order, the Lord in this revelation required that a house should be built in his name; "a house worthy of all acceptation; that the weary traveler may find health and safety while he contemplates the word of the Lord." President Smith and his family were to have right of permanent residence in it; and it was to be known as the "Nauvoo House," and built in the name of the Lord. The possession of the individual stock was to range from fifty dollars to fifteen thousand dollars; no more, no less. And it was specially provided that only those who believed in the Book of Mormon and the revelations of God were to be permitted to hold stock in the house.

In addition to this commandment to build the Nauvoo House, the Lord told the Saints that there was not a place found on the earth to which he might come and restore that which was lost, or which had been taken away, "even the fullness of the priesthood;" nor was there a baptismal font upon the earth where the Saints might be "baptized for the dead."

The doctrine of baptism for the dead had been made known to the Saints some time previous to this, and the ordinance had been performed in the Mississippi and other convenient places; but this is an ordinance of God's house, and cannot be acceptable to him when performed elsewhere, only in the days of the poverty of his people. And as more prosperous times had now dawned

upon the Church, the Saints were required to build a temple to the name of the Most High; and they were informed that they were granted sufficient time to build a temple, and if they failed to build it by the expiration of that appointed time, they should "be rejected as a Church together with their dead."

To show to the Church the importance of erecting this temple, the Lord reminded them how he had commanded Moses to build a tabernacle, that the children of Israel could bear them into the wilderness, that those ordinances might be revealed which had been hidden from before the foundation of the world. Therefore said the Lord—

"Let this house be built unto my name that I may reveal mine ordinances therein, unto my people. For I design to reveal unto my Church things which have been kept hid from before the foundation of the world, things which pertain to the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times; and I will show unto my servant Joseph all things pertaining to this house, and the priesthood thereof; * * * and ye shall build it on the place where you have contemplated building it, for that is the spot which I have chosen for you to build it."

The location which the Saints had contemplated as the site for the temple was on a bold eminence overlooking the river, the landscape on the Iowa side, and all the surrounding country for miles around. It was not only by far the noblest site in Nauvoo for a temple, but ideal in its fitness.

The sixth of April, 1841, was a memorable day in the history of Nauvoo. That day the corner stones of the great temple which God had commanded His people to build were laid. To the Prophet Joseph the day must have been a veritable gleam of sunshine amid the constantly renewing storms of his eventful career. It was a beautiful day, clear and balmy—auspicious for the exercises to take place.

Early in the morning there was a hurrying to and fro in the streets of militiamen, for the presence of sixteen uniformed companies of the Nauvoo Legion was to add brightness and interest to the imposing ceremonies. A great procession was formed and marched to the temple site. Here the Legion was formed in a

hollow square surrounding the excavations made for the foundation of the temple, and enclosing the officers of the Legion, choir, citizens and prominent Elders of the Church who were to lay the corner stones of that structure. Sidney Rigdon was the orator of the occasion; and, doubtless owing to the recent admonition he had received—to which reference has been made—he was aroused from his lethargy for the time. At any rate, on this occasion he spoke with his old fervor and eloquence. He reviewed the trials of the past, the blessings they then enjoyed, the brightening prospects of the future, and dwelt at some length upon the importance of building temples, and the labor to be performed in them.

At the conclusion of the oration, at the direction of the First Presidency, the architects lowered the southeast corner-stone to its place, and President Smith said:

“This principal corner-stone in representation of the First Presidency, is now duly laid in honor of the great God; and may it there remain until the whole fabric is completed; and may the same be accomplished speedily; that the Saints may have a place in which to worship God, and the Son of Man may have where to lay His head.”

To which Sidney Rigdon added:

“May the persons employed in the erection of this house be preserved from all harm while engaged in its construction, till the whole is completed, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Even so, amen.”

Thus was laid the chief corner-stone of the Nauvoo Temple. The ceremonies attending upon the event occupied the entire forenoon. In the afternoon the remaining cornerstones were laid amid the continued rejoicing of the Saints; and even strangers forgot their prejudices and joined with hearty good will, as interested spectators of the proceedings. “Such an almost countless multitude of people,” says one enthusiastic account of the scenes of the day, written at the time, “moving in harmony, in friendship, in dignity, told with a voice not easily misunderstood, that they were a people of intelligence, and virtue, and order;

in short, that they were Saints; and that God of love, purity and light, was their God, their exemplar and director; and that they were blessed and happy.”

While on this subject, I quote the instructions on temple building from the history of the Prophet:

“If the strict order of the Priesthood were carried out in the building of temples, the first stone will be laid at the southeast corner, by the First Presidency of the Church. The southwest corner should be laid next. The third, or northwest corner next; and the fourth or northeast corner the last.

The First Presidency should lay the southeast corner-stone, and dictate who are the proper persons to lay the other corner-stones.

If a temple is built at a distance, and the First Presidency are not present, then the quorum of the Twelve Apostles are the proper persons to dictate the order for that temple; and in the absence of the Twelve Apostles, then the presidency of the stake will lay the southeast corner-stone. The Melchisedek Priesthood laying the cornerstones on the east side of the temple, and the Lesser Priesthood those on the west side.”

During the remaining days of the conference, opened with such splendid ceremonies, the Saints were instructed in principle and doctrine, the quorums of the priesthood were arranged in their proper order and the important questions of business submitted to each quorum separately and voted upon; especially the names of those whom God had appointed and reappointed to fill the respective positions alluded to in the revelation above quoted.

Besides this, the several charters of Nauvoo, the Legion, University, Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, Nauvoo House Association, etc., were read and accepted by the people. Lyman Wight was sustained to fill the vacancy in the quorum of the Twelve. John C. Bennett was presented in connection with the First Presidency as “Assistant President” until Sidney Rigdon’s health should be restored. Everything necessary for the welfare, happiness and prosperity of the Saints was considered, and preparations made to push the work of God forward in all its departments. The conference lasted from Wednesday morning until Sunday night; and is one of the most important ever held by the Church.

Indeed the circumstances surrounding the Saints at the time were of a character to bid them hope that Nauvoo would be to them "a safe retreat." The friendship of nearly all of the leading men of the state; the universal sympathy felt by the people of Illinois for the victims of Missouri's fury; the action of the state legislature in granting the several charters noted in chapter XXXVII, all supported the hopes entertained.

Reference has been made several times in this chapter to the ordinance of baptism for the dead, in connection with laying the cornerstones of the Nauvoo Temple; this is therefore a proper place to give an account of the development of that doctrine.

The foundation for the doctrine of salvation for the dead, was laid in the very inception of the New Dispensation. On the occasion of the first visit of the angel Moroni to the Prophet, on the night of the 21st of September, 1823, among other ancient prophecies quoted by him, and which he declared was soon to be fulfilled, was the prophecy in the fourth chapter of Malachi in relation to the future coming of Elijah the prophet, "before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord." As quoted by the angel there was a slight variation in the language from King James' version, as follows:

"Behold, I will reveal unto you the Priesthood by the hand of Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he shall plant in the hearts of the children the promises made to the fathers, and the hearts of the children shall turn to their fathers; if it were not so, the whole world would be wasted at his coming."³

Here the promise is made, that in consequence of the restoration of a certain Priesthood, or special keys held by Elijah, the promises made to the fathers shall be planted in the hearts of the children, "and the hearts of the children shall turn to their fathers." Why? For a complete answer to that question the Church waited some years. Again, and still early in the history of the work, namely, March, 1830, the Lord in a revelation to Martin Harris through the Prophet Joseph, added another line or two of knowledge to this doctrine; knowledge which pushed

3. Documentary History of the Church, Vol. I, p. 12, c. f. Malachi iv, 5, 6.

out of the horizon of men's conceptions the terrible and unjust doctrine respecting the "eternal punishment" which God is supposed by orthodox, sectarian Christendom to inflict eternally upon those who fail to obey the gospel in this life, and also those who died ignorant of it. In explanation of the terms, "eternal punishment," and "everlasting punishment," sometimes found in Holy Writ, the Lord said to the Prophet: "Behold, I am endless, and the punishment which is given from my hand is endless, for endless is my name. Wherefore—

"Eternal punishment is God's punishment.
Endless punishment is God's punishment."

That is to say, the punishment takes the name of Him in whose name it is inflicted; as if it were written, "Eternal's punishment," "Endless's punishment." And also, it must be understood, that the punishment itself is endless. That is, penalties always attend upon law, and follow its violation. That is an eternal principle. Law is inconceivable without accompanying penalties. But it does not follow that those who fall into transgression of law, and therefore under sentence of the Eternal's justice, will have to endure affliction of the penalty eternally. Justice can be satisfied. Mercy must be accorded her claims, and the culprit having been brought to repentance and taught obedience to law through the things which he has suffered, must go free. But only to suffer again the penalties of the law, if he again violates it; for laws and their penalties are eternal. Hence eternal punishment; hence endless punishment, administered again and again to the violator of the law, until he learns to live in harmony with law. For, on the one hand, as "that which is governed by law is also preserved by law, and perfected and sanctified by the same,"⁴ so "that which breaketh a law and abideth not by the law, but seeketh to become a law unto itself, and willeth to abide in sin and altogether abideth in sin, cannot be sanctified by law, neither by mercy, justice, nor judgment. Therefore they must remain filthy still."⁵ Thus obedience to law becomes a savor of

4. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. lxxxviii, 34.

5. Ibid, verse 35.

life unto life; while disobedience to law equally becomes a savor of death unto death.

In February, 1832, still further light was shed upon the subject of the different states or degrees of glory in which men will live in the future, by the revelation known as "The Vision." This revelation is one of the sublimest ever given to man. It utterly discredits and displaces the dogmas about the future of man held by Christendom, or at least by Protestant Christendom. The orthodox, Protestant view of man's future is that there are two states in one or the other of which man will spend eternity—in heaven or in hell. If one shall gain heaven, even by ever so small a margin, he will enter immediately upon a complete possession of all its unspeakable joys, equally with the angels and the holiest of Saints. Not only in the "Shorter Catechisms," but in nearly all orthodox creeds the accepted doctrine was: "The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness." On the other hand, if one shall miss heaven, even by ever so small a margin, he is doomed by sectarian creeds to everlasting torment equally with the wickednest of men and vilest of devils, and there is no deliverance for him through all the countless ages of eternity!

It will be noted that I have excepted out of participating in the above view of man's future, the Catholic Church, by ascribing these views only to orthodox Protestant Christendom. This is because the Catholic Church doctrine slightly differs from the doctrine of the Protestants on this subject. That is Catholics do not believe that all Christians at death go immediately into heaven, but on the contrary "believe that a Christian who dies after the guilt and everlasting punishment of mortal sins have been forgiven him, but who, either from want of opportunity, or through his negligence has not discharged the debt of temporal punishment due to his sin, will have to discharge that debt to the justice of God in purgatory." "Purgatory is a state of suffering after this life, in which those souls are for a time detained, which depart this life after their deadly sins have been remitted as to the stain and guilt, and as to the everlasting pain that was due to them, but which souls have on account of those sins still some temporal punishment to pay; as also those souls which

leave this world guilty only of venial [that is pardonable] sins. In purgatory these souls are purified and rendered fit to enter into heaven, where nothing defiled enters.”⁶

The doctrine in relation to the future state of man as revealed to Joseph Smith in the revelation called “The Vision,”⁷ has for its central principles the justice and the mercy of God, which require that every man shall be judged according to his works, considered in the light of his intelligence, his consciousness of right and wrong, and the moral law under which he lived. If he lived in the earth when the gospel of Jesus Christ was not in the world, or if he lived at places or in circumstances where he did not learn of its existence, much less come to a knowledge of its truths, then the plain dictates of justice demand that some means must exist by which its sanctifying powers may be applied to him in the future; so also as to those who have even once rejected the truth (as in the case of the antediluvians who rejected the teaching of righteous Noah, and were disobedient,⁸ when once the long suffering of God waited in vain in those days for their repentance), having paid the just penalty of their disobedience, then justice would demand that some means must exist by which the saving principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ may be applied to them; for only by the acceptance of the principles of the gospel, and obedience to its laws and ordinances as the means by which the grace of God is applied to man, can the sons of men hope for salvation. Then as men differ in degree of intelligence; in the intensity of their faith; in the heartiness of their obedience; in the steadiness of their fidelity; and inasmuch as there is the stern fact of human freedom and responsibility, and the possibility of a brief or long resistance to the will of God, even up to eternal resistance to that will, there is an infinitude of states of glory, of so called rewards and punishments,

6. The quotations in the above are from “Catholic Belief,” by Bruno, D. D., of the Catholic Church. As all works of the Catholic Church accessible to me have nothing on the different degrees of glory in which men will spend eternity, I conclude that Catholic teaching is that they who finally attain unto heaven are all equal in glory. So that in the last analysis of the matter, Catholic doctrine falls as far below the great truth that God has revealed upon the subject of the future estate of man, as the doctrine of orthodox Protestant Christendom.

7. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. lxxvi, and History of the Church, Vol. I, 245 et seq. and chapter XX this History.

8. I Peter iii, 18-22.

in which man will live in the future. There is one glory of which the sun in heaven is spoken of as being typical; another of which the inferior light of the moon is typical; and another of which the varying light of the stars is typical. And even as one star differs from another star in glory, in light, so differ those states of existence in which men will live in the future, but each assigned to a place, to an environment, that corresponds to the status of this development, which is only the modern way of saying he shall be judged according to his works. These, in brief, are the underlying principles of this remarkable revelation.

In June, 1836, while attending to washings and anointings in the Kirtland Temple, previous to its dedication, the Prophet received still further knowledge as to the future state of man. This was by means of a vision. He says:

“The heavens were opened upon us, and I beheld the celestial kingdom of God, and the glory thereof, whether in the body or out, I cannot tell. I saw the transcendent beauty of the gate through which the heirs of that kingdom will enter, which was like unto circling flames of fire; and also the blazing throne of God, whereon was seated the Father and Son. I saw the beautiful streets of that kingdom, which had the appearance of being paved with gold. I saw Fathers Adam and Abraham, and my father and mother, my brother, Alvin, that has long since slept, and marveled how it was that he had obtained an inheritance in that kingdom, seeing that he had departed this life before the Lord had set His hand to gather Israel the second time, and had not been baptized for the remission of sins. Thus came the voice of the Lord unto me saying—

“All who have died without a knowledge of this gospel, who would have received it if they had been permitted to tarry, shall be heirs of the celestial kingdom of God; also all that shall die henceforth without receiving a knowledge of it, who would have received it with all their hearts, shall be heirs of that kingdom, for I, the Lord, will judge all men according to their works, according to the desire of their hearts.”

“And I also beheld that all children who die before they arrive at the years of accountability, are saved in the celestial kingdom of heaven.”

The next step in the development of this doctrine of salvation for the dead was the coming of Elijah to “turn the heart of the

fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to the fathers," according to Malachi; to restore the priesthood and "plant in the hearts of the children the promises made to the fathers," by which "the hearts of the children shall be turned to the fathers," according to Moroni. Elijah committed the keys of this dispensation of turning the hearts of the fathers and children towards each other to Joseph Smith and to Oliver Cowdery. This took place in the Kirtland Temple on the 3rd of April, 1836,⁹ as related in a previous chapter.

It was not, however, until the Nauvoo period that the doctrine of salvation for the dead was fully developed and active steps taken looking to the actual performance of ordinances in their behalf.

After the revelation commanding the Saints to build a temple, and prepare to proceed with baptisms for their dead, the subject was frequently expounded in Nauvoo, both by the Prophet and other leading elders. It was a theme upon which the Twelve Apostles dwelt in their Epistles to the Church both in America and in Great Britain. Baptisms for the dead were performed for some time in the Mississippi river, and later, November, 1841, in the baptismal font erected in the basement of the Temple, and dedicated for that sacred purpose. For a time some irregularities obtained in relation to this ordinance owing to the over zeal and impatience of the Saints, and the fact that the perfect knowledge of the order of it had not then been obtained, but it was developed later in this Nauvoo period of the History of the Church.

It was a mighty stride forward in the doctrinal development of the Church, this idea of the possibility of salvation for the dead through the administration of the ordinances of the gospel for and in their behalf by their kindred on earth. It greatly enlarged the views of the Saints in relation to the importance and wide-spread effects of their work. The ends of the earth indeed converged in the labors of the Saints henceforth, for their activities in the administrations of the holy ordinances of the gospel would affect all past generations as well as affect all generations

9. "Documentary History of the Church," Vol. II, p. 435-436. Also Doc. and Cov. Sec. CX.

to come. It was a bringing into view the full half of the work which up to this time had lain hidden behind the horizon of men's conceptions of that "great and marvelous work" which God from the beginning declared was about to be brought forth among the children of men.¹²

12. See Doc. and Cov. the opening paragraph of Sections iv, vi, xi, xii, xiv, all given in the year 1829.

HERALDIC CONSIDERATIONS

BY THE VISCOUNT DE FRONSAC

British Blasonry and Nobility

THE Saxons who had driven the Britons out of England and who dominated there from the IV Century to the X, created neither a civilization, nor a standard of ethics. Under the Romans, it may readily be believed that the Britons were more civilized than were the Saxons who replaced them.

The Saxons themselves, though a part of the same great Gothic, Germanic, Aryan race that had produced the noble Franks and the alliance of the Norman-vikings was not a pure race. In it were inferior factors—the escaped slaves who joined the renegades and lawless men who hid in the marshes along the shores of the German Ocean and banded together for rapine and plunder.

Driven from Europe they had occupied Britain in such numbers that the Britons were crowded out of their own domain. The Saxon occupation of England was so lawless that no one except one of themselves was safe from robbery and oppression. Even in the Reign of King Alfred, whom the Christian monks glorify because he was a “Christian,” it was considered a marvellous thing that a man might traverse his domain without being robbed, while on the continent of Europe at the same time the reverse was equally rare.

Charlemagne had been obliged to destroy the Saxon nations on the continent of Europe because they respected no treaty which they had made and plundered during peace in the same manner that they did during war. The Frankish court censured their merchants for exporting into Frankish territory, wool of

inferior quality and short measure. The Heralds of the V Century, in acknowledging the claim of England to the sovereignty of the North Seas, declared that she exercised that claim solely to rob the merchant ships of other nations. The Scots of Strathclyde exclaimed at the vulgarity and brutality of the Saxons that they were "dogs from the kennels of barbarism, hateful to God and man." These well-known quotations and references make it plain what were the dominant characteristics of the Saxons as a people. Added to these, their suspicion of strangers, their lack of hospitality as a consequence, and their regard for wealth as the only standard of excellence among them (gained no matter how) and it will be understood that, when such qualities predominate in Britain or her colonies of the present day, what race is in control. Their "nobility," if such it may be called, was derived after this manner;—if a man in the VI Century among them made a foreign voyage in his own ship, he was declared to be a thane.

The government of this people was of a democratic pattern, in which the dog that growled the loudest and showed the most teeth got the greatest bone. The wittenagemot, or parliament, was the means by which their government was indicated, and was the best method which could have been invented for the suppression of individual liberty and the prevention of the manifestation of merit.

But all these things were ended for a time and thrust aside when the Franco-Normans landed under Duke William from France in the year 1066 and imposed on the country the feudal system with its aristocratic rulership, heraldry and the executive form of government. Since that day Britain may be said to have received a definite and constitutional form of administration.

The Normans who started in the IX Century from Scandinavia and Denmark, were the noblesse of their section of the Gothic race, even as the Franks had been of theirs in an earlier century. Instead of being mounted on horse as were the Frankish chivalry of the Saal and Meuse, these Normans were mounted on ship-board. When they landed in France in hostile array for booty and adventure, a treaty was made with their leader by

the King of France, by which the Northwestern corner of France was allotted them for a settlement. This became the Province of Normandy and their Prince the Duke thereof.

The descendant of Prince Rollo, first Duke of Normandy, had been recognized as the heir of the last Saxon King of England by some agreement made between the two. When by trickery on the part of the Saxons, they attempted to cheat William, Duke of Normandy of this heirship, the Duke prepared to contest his claim to the throne of England and to use the sword as the only convincing argument that would be likely to appeal to the Saxon love of justice. He called for assistance, not only on his own nobles, knights and followers, but on the free-barons of entire Gothic Europe who might desire the adventure. These free-barons and cavaliers, who rallied to the standard of Duke William in 1066 were sprung from the ancient imperially commissioned Franco-Gothic Empire. Their only superior in rank had been the Emperor. In this expedition, William, was their general only, and they had been promised a share in his heirship to aid him to win it.

William overthrew the Saxon power in the Battle of Sanlac in 1066, and he fulfilled his promise by bestowing on those who had aided him, a portion of the baronies and seigneuries of his kingdom to be held as they had been won—by the sword.

Now these Frankish nobles did not abdicate a superior rank for an inferior one by this enterprise. They were the equals of William before in luster of ancestry, and they held their estates in copartnership with William in the British sovereignty—as feudal vassals and as councillors of state. The line of William passed away in the person of his grandson, Henry. With the exception of the reign of Stephen de Blois, a Norman noble, the throne was continued in the female-line to the family of Martel-Plantagenet, Counts of Anjou in France, commencing with Henry II, son of Geoffrey, Count of Anjou.

Many of the great barons of England, Scotland and Ireland, which kingdoms were all dominated by this Franco-Norman Noblesse, still held their estates in France, or acquired others there, and they kept up the style of semi-independent princes at home and abroad.

At the same time the English Kings began to be surrounded by a body of churchmen and attorneys, whose office was to magnify the splendor and power of the Crown for their own special advantage,—they being its servants and beneficiaries. They imported with them from Rome the doctrine of the imperial majesty, which belonged alone to the old Roman Emperors, and they engirt therewith the person of the British king so as to secure for him greater veneration in the eyes of the vulgar and superstitious people of the great cities of the kingdom.

These attorneys attributed to the king right of interference in the affairs of the Baronage and the Barons were required to obtain deeds of their estates and titles by a writ of creation from the Crown. This was done to show that the Baronage derived its existence from the Crown, when the truth is that the Crown had been created solely by the Baronage.

Acting under the advice of these attorneys, Henry II proceeded to gather a standing army of foreign mercenaries and enrolled the burghers of all the cities in the ranks of his regiments. He established civil courts and judges in the country districts to dispossess the Barons of their local magistracy. But in the next reign, that of John, the Barons completely cowed the king. They formed a council of twenty-four of their number for the government of the Realm and put the king in tutelage. "They have given me four and twenty over-kings," shrieked John, as he rolled in the dust in fury.

From this time, the Barons were the sole defenders of their own feudal liberties and of those of their tenants against the intrigues of the Pope's emissaries, [who sought by influencing the king, to make England tributary to the Holy See] and against the pretention of the court attorneys [who sought to establish an absolute and tyrannical authority.]

Edward I decided to put in operation against the Barons, an inquiry regarding the writ by which they held their estates. At the instance of his attorneys, he issued writs of "Quo Warren-to," requiring each baron to show by what title he held his land. One of the Kings threatened to "reap the fields" of a Baron if he did not comply with the Royal requirement. "And I will send you the heads of your reapers" replied the Baron.

The court-lawyers were obliged to recede before the force of these statements, especially when they were backed by the might of independence. They tried another means—that of exhausting the military strength of the Barons in foreign wars. But the Barons saw through the ruse as the following demonstrates: The King summoned de Bohun, Earl of Hereford to follow him in war-array into Flanders. de Bohun refused. “By God, Sir Earl, shrieked the wrathful king, you shall go or hang.” “By God, replied the dauntless Earl, I will neither go nor hang.” Then the Barons by a preconcerted arrangement, assembled and forced the King to sign a charter at Westminster for his own good behavior.

Edward II in his turn attempted to carry things with a high hand, with the aid of bishops, attorneys, clerks, valets and town politicians. But the free-barons put a curb to his bit, appointed from themselves a council of Lords-Ordainers for the management of the Kingdom, and compelled the King, in 1310, to sign the “Articles of Reform.”

Finding that the king’s lawyers had been engaged in trickery, the Barons took and hung the king’s favorites who had robbed the Kingdom, and, in 1327, dethroned the king, himself. In the Council assembled at Kenilworth, Sir William Trussel addressed the king in the following words:

“I, William Trussel, proctor for the Earls, Barons and others having for this full and sufficient power, do render and give back to you, Edward, once king of England, the homage and fealty of the persons named in my procuracy—that they will account you hereafter as a private person without any manner of Royal dignity.” Then in the name of the Barons of England, he proclaimed Edward III as king.

Immediately after this occurred the “Wars of the Roses,” a civil strife between one branch of the Royal Family supported by the Baronage and another branch of the Royal Family relying on court lawyers and favorites and sustained by the multitudinous democracy (Anglo-Saxon) of the great towns.

After varying successes the Baronage, much fewer in number and resources, was weakened and the House of Lancaster, at the head of which was Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, came to the

Throne. With the success of this family terminated the power and independence of the free-barons, or Barons of Tenure. In the meantime there was growing up an inferior, mongrelized sort of baronage, corresponding in many respects to the *annobli* of France. Any man who possessed a great estate by any means whatsoever, whether of Franco-Norman (noble) origin or of Anglo-Saxon (plebian) blood, if summoned to Council by writ by the king, was termed by the court lawyers a "Baron-by-writ." This species of baronage was instituted by the court to degrade the real Baronage-by-tenure who were the noblesse de race. Into this new baronage were emptied all the slops of the king's court, the drink-mixer, the butler, the baker, the court-shyster and the bastards, born of serving court women. The relics of the real noblesse, however, receded further from the court and became the rural aristocracy, many of whose descendants, in after years, refusing with contempt titles "by writs" as derogation of their own noblesse-de-race.

The free-barons had held authority co-extensively with the king, to whom collectively they were superior, and they were the guardians of the constitution. The "Golden Age" of England was during their régime—when it was "merrie England," when laborers were better paid, housed and fed (see Rogers "Five Centuries of English Labor.") To this real nobility the king himself could not add. But since then the noblesse-de-race is no longer recognized at court. The possessor of baronies, to be "recognized" must obtain a writ from the court. In other words the English nobility has become one of those famous "fictions" of the English law. The creation of this "nobility" has been handed over with the king's prerogative to the demagogues of the Anglo-Saxon parliamentary régime of modern times, so that in a new sense, he who has money enough to make a voyage in his own ship is made a thane.

But representation of the nobility solely by the wealthy is not according to the constitution. Bounty-fed substitutes are not the genuine articles.

In Scotland the free-barons were a force in that country down to 1745. The chiefs of the Highland Clans were feudal as well as patriarchal princes holding their land by race-law and the sword.

From the time of the Revolution of 1688 to the Usurpation of 1745, the cavaliers and free-barons of Scotland, as well as of England and Ireland, had rallied to the cause of the Stuarts and Legitimacy. Deprived of the treasury the army and the navy by the demagogues of the parliamentary usurpation, the Stuart kings had only the swords of the feudal aristocracy to rely on to maintain the rights of the Crown and the fundamental laws of the Realm. Nobly did this feudal aristocracy respond. Not only did its members mortgage their estates, but they led their relatives and tenants to the Royal Standard and to the field of strife. Against great odds they hurled back the multitudinous foe, until with means exhausted in the last battle, at Collodun, the flag of legitimate and constitutional government went down forever in Britain. Although accorded by international law the rights of belligerents, on account of the recognition by foreign courts of the legitimacy of their cause, the criminal and outrageous action of the Anglo-Saxon parliament recalls the early peculiarities of that race (noticed at the beginning of this chapter), by an indiscriminate proscription and slaughter of the Royalist prisoners, and the illegal confiscation of their estates. So great was the indignation in Europe at this lawless and criminal action, that King Charles XII of Sweden offered to lead a crusade in the name of European civilization against the parliamentary usurpation in Britain in his day—at the time of the Earl of Marr's uprising in 1715-1717.

After 1745, this parliamentary régime, to which the Treaty of Limerick of 1691 had been waste-paper, took away the tenure of Scottish law and substituted the present illegal and oppressive manner of administering the land-laws.

A barony created by writ, decends to the line of heirs mentioned in the writ, proving on the face of it that the honor attaches to the possession of the barony and not to the race. Hence the possessor of barony by writ may or may not be of the aristocracy.

The court attorneys, whose quibbles had separated the Baronage from the Noblesse, were admitted to a share of its tarnished splendor. It was provided that judges of a certain rank in the

majestarcy shall be "Barons for life." This life-title was often made hereditary by letters-patent, or by annoblissement.

There are therefore three classes, or rather one race and two classes among the Baronage:—I Barons who are noble-de-race, II Barons who hold by writs of estate-creation, III Barons who are "raised" to such rank by letters-patent. This latter class is recruited by the Prime-minister whenever "political necessity" suggests it, or the urgent wealth of the needy indicate it. Thus has been added of late years (long with "successful politicians,") brewers, cotton-brokers, contractors, bankers, note-shavers, distillers and exploiters of provinces with a foundation of great wealth and greater vulgarity—not one of whom possesses the slightest indication of race-nobility.

In the sense of its composition, the modern "Peerage" of Great Britain may have forfeited its political existence (according to the meaning of the law) since representation belongs by law to the nobility of race, and this representation has been transferred to the "plutocracy" pure and simple, whose sole existence in a political sense rests on the validity of parliamentary usurpation. These vulgarian "Peerages," however, have not affected Scottish titles, since the "Articles of Union" between England and Scotland of 1707 have declared that no new Scottish titles shall be created.

To understand the difference between the three nobilities that everywhere existed throughout Europe (as well as in England) it is needful to state again what they are:—

I. Noblesse de race, or families descended from the Aryan-Gothic chieftains of the Middle-Ages who founded the states of Europe, whose heraldry has been determined and whose race-affiliation has been maintained. These alone have right of representation as a constitutional entity.

II. The possessors of rich estates which have been erected into baronies, or manors by writ, and who have been summoned to parliament to represent the land which they hold and the tenants who dwell thereon.

III. Civil officers, judges, lawyers, clerks and *nouveaux riches*, made hereditary titled members of parliament by letters-patent.

About one of the earliest semi-humorous accounts of a creation of nobility of this sort, comes from Scotland and relates to "The days of Bruce." Its relation has all the charm of romance with a touch of comedy. It leads one also to demand; Would not a person of the race of Sprott's wife have been just as well pleased with the money-value of a noble-tenure, as with the tenure itself—which tenure to such a person was a derogation to nobility.

SPROTT'S WIFE.

"About the year 1309, when Robert the Bruce, although now crowned king of Scotland, was obliged to wander about from place to place with a small band of devoted followers, he was attacked in the wilds of Galloway by a troop of English, of about equal numbers, under the command of Sir Walter Selby."

"The combat took place near the cottage of a soldier-herdsman named Sprott, and all of the two parties, with the exception of the commanders, were soon stretched on the ground, dead or wounded."

"Bruce and Selby, however, continued to hew at each other with their swords so furiously that wood and water rang; the noise excited the attention of Sprott's wife, a bold and shrewd woman, and on going out of her cottage she was a witness of the encounter."

"Aware that one of the two knights must be her countryman, she was naturally desirous to assist him; but as the visors of both knights were down, she of course was unable to distinguish between them."

"However, at last Bruce dealt Selby a blow which staggered but did not fell him, so that, uttering an imprecation in the choicest Anglo-Norman, that gentleman prepared to return the compliment. This, however, was enough for Mrs. Sprott—although Bruce, most probably, like Selby, spoke French, yet the accent at once betrayed the Southron, and, springing at him, she seized him by a lock of hair which hung from his helmet, and pulled him down on his back."

"He was obliged to yield, and in the dialogue which ensued be-

tween himself and his captor, the heroine of the cottage discovered that she was in the presence of her king."

"She accordingly invited him to her dwelling, and offered him some butter brose for breakfast, of which he appears to have been much in need, as he had fasted for three days. At the same time she intimated to Selby, in terms by no means complimentary, that he should have none of her brose, which she informed him she would, but for the king's presence, have applied to him externally."

"Resisting the entreaties of Bruce, she persevered in this resolution until the good humored monarch, partly to prevent his captive from going without his breakfast, but chiefly to reward her loyalty and daring, thus addressed her: 'All this land, both hill and vale, is mine, and I make thee lady of as much of it as thou canst run round while I am eating my breakfast. The brose is hot and the bowl is large, so kilt thy coats and run.' "

"She accordingly tucked up her coats and started off at full speed. Quickly did she run round the hill, quickly round the holm, cogitating on the probability that in her absence the generous Bruce would not fail to impart a portion of his breakfast to the hated Southron."

"Comforting herself, however, with the consideration that no two men could possibly empty the bowl, she completed the circle which she had proposed to herself, but kept exclaiming somewhat loudly: 'No doubt we shall be called the Sprotts of Mount Urr while Dalbeatie wood grows and Urr water runs; and the tenure by which our lands shall be held will be the presenting of butter brose to the kings of Scotland when they chance to pass the Urr.' "

"King Robert, overhearing her, said: 'On thine own terms, my brave dame, shall the Sprotts of Urr hold this heritage.' "

"And King Robert's bowl, as it is called, is to this day preserved in the Sprott family; and in their arms is a royal crown—a bearing conferred upon them by the grateful monarch."

[FAMILIES IN SEIGNEURIAL SUCCESSION OF COLLEGE OF ARMS OF CANADA]

MOREL DE LA DURANTAYE

Arms:—Argent, a leopard gules. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Olivier Morel, the first in Canada of this family acquired Seigneurial rights and distinction with the lordship of La Durantaye. He was son of Thomas Morel by wife Alliesse Du Houssaye, of Gaure, Nantes, France. He was born in 1644 and married at Quebec in 1670 Frances, daughter of Denis Duguet. He had a son:—

Olivier Morel de La Durantaye, Seigneur Du Houssaye, lieutenant, who married at Montreal in 1696 Marie F. Guyon.

NAU DE FOSSAMBAULT

Arms:—Azure, a lion argent, armed and langued gules, crowned d'or holding in dexter paw a sword of the field. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Jean Nau, came to Canada and became Seigneur de Fossambault. He was born in 1642, son of Jacques Nau and Perinne Clavier, of Trinite, Moscon, Brittany, France, and he married at Quebec in 1661 Marie, daughter of Nicolas Bonhomme.

NEPVEU DE NORAYE

Arms:—Gules, 6 billets argent, a chief of the same. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Jean Nepveu was Colonel of militia in Canada and became Seigneur de Noraye. He was born in 1676 son of Philippe Nepveu and Denyse Sylvestre and married 1st in 1702 at Montreal, Marie J., daughter of Jacques Passard and 2ndly in 1704, Frances, daughter of Jean Legros.

NORMAND DE REPENTIGNY

Arms:—Argent, a cheveron vert between 2 crescents in chief and a Moor's head in base, argent. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Pierre Normand had a son Joseph whose son Charles was father of:—

Jean B. Normand, made Seigneur de Repentigny in Canada who was born in 1717 and married in 1786 Marie, daughter of J. B. Richaume.

ABBERGATTI, MARQUIS DE VEZZA

Arms:—(Not recorded).

History:—Of an ancient family of the Italian nobility several of whom were renowned in France for their services to the state was descended:—

Fabio Abbergatti, Marquis de Vezza who married Anne Rony at N. D. Del Maratelle, Bologna, Italy, who son:—

Francis M. L. d'Abbergatti, Marquis de Vezza was one of the military officers sent into Canada about 1745 and registered with Seigneurial ranks. He married Charlotte daughter of Ignace Aubert at Quebec in 1757 and left a daughter, Anne d'Abbergatti, Marchesa de Vezza.

COUNT DE BERMOND

Arms:—D'Or, a bear rampant gules, accolé of a bend, argent, sustaining a sword in scabbard of the same. Count's Coronet over Seigneurial one.

History:—The family of Bermond is one of the most ancient of Provence. It descends from that of the Counts of Anduse, one of the most illustrious of Landocque. Since the XII Century it has not ceased to occupy a distinguished position, and to figure among the most notable of the city of Cisteron, where in every epoch and without interruption it has filled the highest offices of the country. In the Archives of the city of Cisteron the different members of this family have been qualified as lords of Beaume, of Rousset, of Vaulx, of St. Martins, etc.

The name Bermond is several times mentioned among the knights who took part in the Crusades. Among the principal ones of this family were Bermundus de Andusia elected Bishop of Cisteron in 1174. Longerus Bermundus, his brother, who

signed in 1202 a charter between the Count of Provence and the Count of Forcalquier. Guillaume Bermundus who in 1284 was one of the Barons of the "Bailliage" of Cisteron in the homage given to King Robert. Barthelemy and Nicolas de Bermond who were received as Knights of Malta in 1534 and 1550. Claude de Bermond who married in 1550 Lucrèce de Vault, daughter of the Lord of Vallavoire and Frances de Bermond, who founded the Order of Ursulines in France—she died in 1641.

Claude de Bermond, Seigneur de La Martinière, knight, judge, councillor, and lieutenant-general civil and criminal in Canada was the first of this family in America. He was born in 1638, son of Louis de Bermond (Berman erroneously written) and Frances Juchereau, of St. Nicholas de La Ferté, vidame de Châtres, France. He married 1st Anne Després, 2ndly Marie A., daughter of Jacques Cailteau, Seigneur de Champfleury in Canada.

GOURDEAU DE BOILEAU

Arms:—Argent, an eagle sable, beaked and armed d'or Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Jacques Gourdeau was Seigneur de Boileau in Canada, born in 1624, son of Nicholas Gourdeau, King's attorney at Niort, Poitou, France. He married at Quebec in 1652 Eleanor de Grandmaison, widow of Francis de Chavigny and had a son:—Jacques Gourdeau, Seigneur de Grosardière who married at Quebec in 1691 Marie, daughter of Francis Bissot.

LECOMPTE DE LA VIMAUDIERE.

Arms:—Argent, a chevron gules between 3 owls, sable, Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Samuel Lecompte, Seigneur de La Vimaudiere in Canada was a surgeon and was born in 1667, son of Noel Lecompte and Frances Letellier, of St. George, St. Lo, Contance, France. He married at Chateau Richer, Canada, in 1695, Anne, daughter of Louis Jobidon.

LECOMPTE DUPRE

Arms:—Gules, a chevron d'or between 2 stars of the same in chief, and a lions head in base, argent. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Louis, Seigneur Lecompte Dupre in Canada was born in 1654, son of Charles Lecompte and Anne Dufosse. He married in 1683, Mary C., daughter of Adrian St. George, from whom descended the valiant royalist, the Seigneur, Col. St. George Dupre, who, when the country was invaded in 1775, in spite of the disaffection of the inhabitants, led a few of his armed tenants to the relief of Quebec. It was through his efforts in defense of the St. John Gate that the enemy were beaten back and out of revenge they destroyed his chateau and grounds which were in the neighboring suburbs. After this successful termination of the struggle, the governor, Lord Dorchester, invited him to bring in a bill for his losses. But he, disdaining any mercenary concept replied that what he had lost was merely a “proof of his Loyalty to the Crown.”

LEFEVBRE DUPLESSIS FABER

Arms:—Azure, a cheveron d’or surmounted by a tower argent between 2 stars of the first in chief and an ancolic of the same in base. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Francis Lefevbre came to Canada where he became Captain of Marines and Seigneur Duplessis-Faber. He was the son of Pierre Lefevbre, maitre-d’hotel of the King and his wife, Marguerite Bassade, of St. Jean en Greve, Paris and he married at Champlain in 1689 Marie M., daughter of Francis Chosel. From him descends the noble family in Canada of Lefevbre de Bellefeuille.

FOURNIER DE ST. CHARLES

Arms:—Azure, a cheveron d’or between 3 human busts of the same. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Guillaume Fournier who obtained the lordship of St. Charles in Canada, was born in 1619, son of Guillaume Fournier and Noelle Gaynon, of Coulne, Normandie. He married at Quebec in 1651, Frances, daughter of Guillaume Hebert of the Seigneurial family of Hebert of L’Espinau.

GIFFARD DE BEAUPORT

Arms:—Argent, a cross gules charged with 5 escallops d'or and cantoned by 4 lions of the first armed, langued and crowned d'or. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—This family is ancient and noble and in Normandy in the IX Century reckoned among its members companions of William, the Conqueror. The first to come to Canada was:

Robert Giffard, Seigneur de Beauport who was a physician, born in 1587 and married Marie Renouard, leaving issue. One of his sons was Joseph Giffard, Seigneur de Targy, who married at Quebec in 1663, Michelle F., daughter of Jacques Nau of the lordly family of Fossambault and again in 1700, Denyse, daughter of Jean de Peiras.

DELACROIX DE MAUFOIES

Arms:—Quarterly, 1st and 4th gules, a cross voided d'or; 2d and 3d, argent, an anille sable. Crest:—an anille, sable. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Herbert Delacroix, Seigneur de Maufoies came to Canada already with noble rank, son of Dominique Delacroix, Seigneur de Maufoies and Catherine Clement, of Liege. He was a surgeon and married at Quebec in 1732, Anne, daughter of Jacques Dontaille.

DE ROY DE LA BARRE

Arms:—Azure, a cheveron between 3 crowns d'or. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Jean M. de Roy became Seigneur de La Barre in Canada and married at Montreal in 1726, Mary A., daughter of Joseph Bénéoit. He was a son of Claude De Roy and Jeanne Dariveau, of Angers, France.

EURY DE LA PERELLE

Arms:—Gules, a lion passant in chief and a star in base, the whole within two cottises argent. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Francis Eury, Seigneur de La Perelle was the first of this family in America. He was Major commandant at Isle Royale and married in 1721 Charlotte, daughter of Charles Aubert, Seigneur de La Chenaye.

FAUCHER DE ST. MAURICE

Arms:—Gules, Tiercé in fesse in the 1st and 4th three chausse traps argent; in the 2nd three mullete d'or; in the 3d three annulets of the same. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Leonard Faucher became Seigneur de St. Maurice in Canada. He was born in 1646 son of Barthelemé Faucher and Sybelle Briant, of St. Maurice, Limoges, France. He married at Quebec in 1669, Mary, daughter of Pierre Damoys and was ancestor of the celebrated soldier and author, Col. Faucher de St. Maurice, of Quebec, Knight of the Legion of Honor, Col. in the Empire of Napoleon III, officer in the expeditionary army of France in support of the Emperor Maximillian in Mexico, etc.

DESCAILHAUT DE LA TESSERIE

Arms:—D'or, a lion sable. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Jacques Des Cailhaut came to Canada where he received a feudal fief and jurisdiction, and became Seigneur de La Tesserie. He was born in 1624, son of Samuel Descailhaut and Louise de Texier, of St. Herbelain, near Naintes, France. He was a Sovereign Councillor of Canada in the Council at Quebec where he married Eleanor de Grandmaison.

DESCHAMPS DE LA BOUTEILLERIE

Arms:—Azure, 3 roses argent. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Jean B. F. Deschamps belonged to the old noblesse of France before coming to Canada where he became Seigneur de La Bouteillerie. He was born in 1646, son of Jean Deschamps, Seigneur des Landes and Elizabeth de Brin, of Clipponville, Rouen, France. He married in Canada 1st Catherine, daughter of Nicolas Macard, 2ndly Jeanne, daughter of Jean Chevalier.

SABREVOIS DE BLEURY

Arms:—Argent, a fesse between 3 roses, gules. Also, quarterly, 1st and 4th, d'or, a cheveron azure between 2 cock's heads and a leopard's face, ppr. 2nd and 3d argent, 3 cinquefoils within a bordure indented gules. Seigneurial coronet.

History:—Jacques de Sabrevois was of the old noblesse before coming to Canada where he became Seigneur de Bleury. He was born in 1667, son of Henry Sabrevois de Bleury, Seigneur de Sermonville, by wife, Gabrielle Martin, of Châlons, France. He married at Boucherville, Canada, in 1695, Jeannie, daughter of Pierre Boucher, Seigneur de Boucherville. A street in Montreal (Bleury) is named for this family as well as the Sabrevois School.

AUDET DE BAYEUL

Arms:—Azure, 3 swords argent points in base. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—From the ancient family of Odet, or Audet of Brittany, France was derived: Louis Audet, Seigneur de Bayeul in Canada who was the first of his line in America. He married at Contrecoeur in 1702 Madaleine, daughter of Toussaint Chretien from the Isle of Jersey; 2ndly Mary A., daughter of Antoine Trottier.

D'AMOURS DE CHAUFOURS

Arms:—Argent, 3 cloughs in fesse and a boar in chief sable. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Mathieu D'Amours, Seigneur de Chauffours was one of the Grand Seigneurs of Canada. He was born in 1618 and married at Quebec in 1652 Mary, daughter of Nicolas Marsolet. His parents were Louis D'Amours, Councillor for the King, at Paris, and Elizabeth Tessier, of St. Paul Parish of the same city. Louis D'Amours was fifth in descent from Francis D'Amours, Seigneur Du Serin (1490) master of the household of His Majesty, Louis XII. One of the sons of Louis and brother of Mathew, of Canada, was Confessor to the King, Louis XIV in

1664 and another, Pierre, was knighted and an officer of distinction (Maréchal des Champs). Of the sons of Mathew, in Canada, were Louis, Seigneur de Jemseg in Acadia, born in 1655 and married at Quebec in 1685 Marguerite, daughter of Simon Guyon: Réné, who was Seigneur de Clignancour, born in 1660 and married Frances, daughter of Charles Le Gardeur; Mathew, Seigneur de Frêneuse, born in 1657 and married Louise, daughter of Simon Guyon; Charles, Seigneur de Louvrière, born in 1662 in Acadia, married in 1698 Marie A., daughter of the Seigneur Francis Genaple, and 2ndly at Port Royal, Acadia, Mary A., daughter of Pierre Thihadeau by his wife Jeanne Terio, and Bernard, Seigneur de Plaine, officer at Port Royal, Acadia, married a daughter of Le Borgre, Seigneur de Belle Isle.

ADHEMAR DE ST. MARTIN AND LANTAGNAC

Arms:—D'or, 3 bendlets azure. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Antoine Adhemar, Seigneur de St. Martin in Canada was descended from an ancient family of Province. He was Notary Royal in Canada, born in 1640, son of Michael Adhemar and Cecil D'Albe, of St. Salve, D'Alby, Haut Laudocque, France. He married Geneviève, daughter of Antoine Segeot by wife Marguerite Ruffel, of St. André des Arts, Paris. Of the same family was also Gaspard Adhemar, Seigneur de Lantagnac in Canada, son of Antoine Ademar, Governor of Menton, in Provence, by his wife Jeanne de Truck. Gaspard was a knight and lieutenant in Canada and married at Quebec in 1720 Genevieve, daughter of Mathew Martin Seigneur de Lino.

BOURGONNIERE DE HAUTEVILLE

Arms:—Gules, a cheveron d'or, between 3 crescents argent. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Yoes Bourgonnière was Royal Notary for Bayeux, France, and his wife was Frances Testu. Their son, the first of the name in Canada was:—Barthelemé Bourgonnière, Seigneur de Hauteville and Secretary to the King's Governor of Canada. He was born in 1666 and married at Quebec in 1696 Mary A., daughter of Jean Livrard.

BEAUSACQUE DE BOUILLEMONT

Arms:—Azure, a chateau flanked by 2 towers surmounted by a third tower over which floats a banner, argent; the chateaux masoned, sable, a lion d'or, holding a sword argent which is posed on the sill of the upper castle door. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Michael H. Beausacque was the first of this family in Canada where he became Seigneur de Bouillemont. He was born in 1705, son of Louis Beausacque, Comptroller and Director of Picardy, France, by his wife Geneviève Michel, of St. Firmin, Castillon, and he married at Montreal in 1729, Catherine, daughter of Etienne di l' Argenterie.

BRASSARD-DUCHENEUX DE NEUVILLE

Arms:—Sable, a cheveron between 3 fleurs-de-lys d'or. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Joseph Brassard, who obtained in Canada the seigneurial fiefs and jurisdictions of Newville, St. Michel and Livaudière, was born in 1722, son of Charles Brassard by his wife, Frances Mary, a descendant of Antoine Brassard of France of 1609. He was secretary of the Intendant's Department in Canada and he married at Quebec in 1752, Mary A., daughter of J. B. Vallée.

CHESNAY DE LOTHAINVILLE

Arms:—D'or, an oak erased azure, the trunk charged with 2 swords in saltire, gules. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Bertrand Chesnay was the first of his family in America. He was Seigneur de Lothainville in Canada. He was born in 1621 son of Nicolas Chesnay and Catherine La Ringue, of St. Brieux, Brittany, France. He married at Quebec in 1656, Mary M., daughter of Francis Belanger, and 2ndly Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Aubert.

FLEURY D'ESCHAMBEAULT

Arms:—Azure, a rose-tree argent, flowered with the 3 branch-

es gules. Also, empaled 1st azure, a cinqfoil over a crescent d'or; 2nd per fesse d'or and vert a cheveron with a wolf above, gules, and lozeng below argent and gules. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Jacques de Fleury, Seigneur D'Eschambeault in Canada was born in 1642, son of Jacques de Fleury and Perinne Gaber, of St. Jean de Montague, Luçon, Portou, France. He was King's Councillor, judge in ordinary for justice royal in the District of Montreal. He married 1st Marguerite, daughter of Francis de Chavigny, 2ndly Marguerite R., daughter of Pierre Denys, Seigneur de La Ronde.

SOREL DE SOREL

Arms:—Azure, a cross argent. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—This family of the ancient noblesse de race has borne the same bison since 1427. Of the direct line was Matheu de Sorel, who by his wife Jeanne de Giraud, of N. D. de Grenoble, France, had a son who was the first to come to America, this son was: Pierre de Sorel whose seigneurial fief on the St. Lawrence was named for his family and is now known as a flourishing town of Quebec Province. He was born in 1628, an officer in the military of the country and married at Quebec in 1668, Catherine, daughter of Charles LeGardeur.

LA MOTHE DE CADILLAC

Arms:—Gules, a lion d'or, the dexter-paw surmounted by a star of the same. Motto: "Hinc lucet hinc dimicat." Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—The family of La Mothe is very ancient and noble in Viverais. It establishes its filiation by authentic documents since 1371. Up to 1545, it bore the name of Chalander from whom the Scottish Earls of Calander are presumed to descend. At this epoch it took the name of LaMothe. Since the verifications of its titles of noblesse by two recognizances in 1668 and 1669, this name was confirmed in the Provinces of Landocque and Dauphinay. Almost all the members of this family have served successively as pages in the Chamber of the Kings of France, in the "Ecurie" and as officer in the Army and Navy. The first of the family in America was:

Antoine de La Mothe, Seigneur de Cadillac who obtained seigneurial jurisdiction and commanded in 1699 at Pontchatrain in Louisiana of which Province he became governor in 1714. He was born in 1661, son of Jean de La Mothe whose brother was the Marquis de Jourdis. His mother was Jeanne de Malenfant, of Toulouse. He married at Quebec in 1687, Marie T., daughter of Denis Guyon. He was the principal founder of Detroit, Michigan.

AMYOT DE STE CROIX

Arms:—Azure, a bend argent charged with 5 ermine spots sable, posed bend-ways. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—This noble family has given several illustrious names to literature and art in France. Of Norman origin, it was long seated at Moyencourt, Normandy.

Mathieu Amyot, born at Châtres, Normandy and married at Quebec in 1650 to Mary, daughter of Pierre Miville, was the first of his name and race in Canada. He acquired the Seigneurie of Ste. Croix in Acadia. His parents were Phillippe Amyot, of Châtres and Anne, daughter of Guillaume Convent and Antoinette de Longval of the Bishopric of Soissons. By recommendation of Minister Talon, Count d'Orsanville in Canada, the King granted Amyot a brief of Nobility. His son Charles Amyot, merchant, born in 1650, became Seigneur of Vincelotte and married Genevieve, daughter of Francis de Chavigny, Seigneur de Berchereau by his wife, Eleanor de Grandmaison. In his turn, he had a son, Charles Amyot, who became Seigneur du Cap St. Ignace and married in 1691 Mary Gabrielle, daughter of Jean Hautmonay from whom descended Gabriel Arniot, Seigneur du Hautmonay, who married at Quebec in 1741, Mary, daughter of J. B. de Coudray.

AVICE DE LA GARDE

Arms:—Azure, 3 diamonds in triangle posed on their points. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—Of an ancient and noble family of Poitou was Charles A. Avice, Sieur de Mougou, Col. of Cavalry of the King's Guard, who married Blanche Colombe de Razilli, of the

family of Count de Razilli the viceroy of Acadia in 1632. His son: Michel M. Avice, first of the name in Canada where he was Seigneur de La Garde, was born at N. D. de Nivet, Poitiers, France. He married at Montreal in 1760 Mary A., daughter of Louis Prudhomme.

AUBERT DE GASPE

Arms:—Argent, 3 pine-trees vert: in base a crescent azure: on a chief of the same a star of the field. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—The noble family of Aubert of ancient Norman origin, furnished several of the early explorers to America immediately after the time of Columbus. But the first to abide in America was.

Charles Aubert, Seigneur de La Chesnaye in Canada in 1663 where he was one of the three first to have his nobility put on a firm basis by recommendations of the minister Talon, to the King Louis XIV. His relative Jacques Aubert was already of noble rank by transcription from French records. He was descended among other noble origins from Phillippe de Villiers, Count of Isle Adam, who was Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, who defended the Isle of Rhodes for five months with a few knights against the whole array of the Turkish Empire commanded by the Sultan, Solomon the Magnificent. Descended from Charles Aubert, Seigneur de La Chesnaye was Pierre Aubert, Seigneur de Gaspi, who was progenitor of the celebrated author Aubert de Gaspé, whose anecdotes of the "Ancient Canadians" will ever remain a model of home-like classics.

VERON DE GRANDMESNIL

Arms:—Azure, a lion argent. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—This ancient and noble family was first represented in America by:

Jean Etienne Veron who obtained the seigneurial fief and distinctions of Grandmesnil in Canada where he married at Three Rivers in 1677, Mary Morel. His son, Etienne Veron, who succeeded him in the lordship of Grandmesnil, was a merchant and Receiver for His Royal Highness, the Count of Toulouse, Ad-

miral of France. He married Madeleine Hertel and 2ndly in 1713 Catherine Picard. The same family later obtained the noble fief of Monteindre.

RIOU DES TROIS PISTOLES

Arms:—Azure, 3 epis d'or. Seigneurial Coronet.

History:—"One of the most ancient and noble of the families of Brittany" says Poplimont in his *France Heraldique*. It establishes its filiation to the time of Alain de Rieux who accompanied the Duke of Brittany to the capture of the Castle of Cambant in 1064. The name has had various spellings in the course of time, Rieu, Rieux, Riou Rioult and Rioux, each change originating a family stem.

Jean Riou by his wife, Marguerite Guinguen, of Ploujas, Diocese of Treguier, Brittany gave birth to:

Jean Riou who was the first in Canada. He married at Ste Famille, Canada, in 1687, Catherine, daughter of Nicholas Leblond, and had one son, Nicholas, from whom in the third generation was Etienne Riou, born in 1726, who obtained the Seigneurie of Trois Pistoles and married Veronique, daughter of Pierre Lepage. He was succeeded in his lordship by his son, Etienne, who was born in 1750 and married Rosalie, daughter of Gabriel Côté from whom descended the late Dr. Riou and judge Riou of Sherbrooke, P. Q., the former of whom recipient of a foreign order of knighthood. The Seigneuria of Trois Pistoles had been conceded the family with the consent of the King in 1751 by the governor, the Marquis de La Jonquière.

PAPINEAU DE MONTEBELLO

Arms:—Not recorded.

History:—The first of this family in Canada was of the "Burgess" rank.

The Hon. Louis Papineau was Seigneur of Montebello when he led the revolt in Canada against the government in 1837-40. His father had come into possession of the lordship of Montebello immediately after 1763, when King George III had succeeded Louis XV as "Seigneur of Seigneurs" which function the

King allowed to lapse to the usurping parliamentary ministry, which was playing havoc with the Royal Prerogative in Canada. Although the French Assembly in Canada, of which the Seigneur of Montebello was President, was democratic and equally opposed to the ancient constitution, Papineau did not think that in the event of the success of the revolution, the Catholic French democracy would cut their own throats in opposing Seigneurial rights afterwards, since the same Treaty of 1763 which guaranteed the rights of the Church also guaranteed the rights of the Seigneurs. But that popular Hog, Democracy, has neither sense nor honor.

The Papineaus were originally of Burgess Rank in the country and came to the Seigneurial degree only in the days of Seigneurial feebleness in Canada. The Seigneurie is yet in the possession of the family whose first ancestor in Canada was Samuel, born in 1670, son of Samuel Papineau, of Montigny, Poitou, France and Catherine Quevillon.

(To be continued.)

HISTORIC VIEWS AND REVIEWS

REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS

MRS. PHOEBE M. PALMETER, 89 years old, of Brookfield, N. Y., pensioned by a special act of Congress as the daughter of Jonathan Wooley, who served in a New Hampshire company, is the only pensioner on account of the Revolutionary War remaining on the rolls, according to a statement made in the annual report of the Commissioner of Pensions. The last "widow pensioner" of the Revolutionary War was Esther S. Damon of Plymouth Union, Vt., who died on November 11, 1906, at the age of 92 years. The last survivor of the Revolutionary War was Daniel F. Bakeman, who died at Freedom, Cattaraugus county, N. Y., April 5, 1869, aged 103 years 6 months and 8 days.

The last surviving pensioned soldier of the War of 1812 was Hiram Cronk of Ava, N. Y., who died May 13, 1905, aged 105 years. The names of 338 widows of the War of 1812 were on the pension roll June 30 last, according to the Pension Commissioner.

A RARE DUCHE WORK

A rare first edition of a work by the Rev. Jacob Duché, the Philadelphia clergyman of the American Revolution, notorious for his letter to George Washington, trying to induce him to abandon the cause of the Colonists in their struggle against Great Britain for their freedom, was recently sold at Anderson's. The work is called "Observations on a Variety of Subjects, Literary, Moral and Religious; in a Series of Original Letters." These letters were written by Duché under the pseudonym of "Tamoc Caspipina." It was Duché who offered the

first prayer in the Continental Congress, which he sought afterward to have Washington overthrow. "While the wretch," says Tuckerman, "was praying to Almighty God for the success of the Revolution, his heart was black with treason."

NEW WASHINGTON LETTER

The following important historical letter of George Washington, written while he was Commander in Chief of the Continental Army, dated headquarters, near White Marsh, Oct. 21, 1777, and addressed to Brig. Gen. Foreman, was sold at Philadelphia a few weeks ago.

"The enemy yesterday morning threw a body of troops across the Delaware, with intentions no doubt either to storm or invest Red Bank. As the Works there are strong, it is impossible they will hazard the loss of men, that would be likely to attend an assault, but will, I imagine, endeavor by a Blockade, to Oblige the garrison to surrender. On this supposition, I am to request, in the most earnest manner, that you will use your utmost exertions, immediately to collect as large a body of Militia as you possibly can, and hasten them to the relief of that post. It is to be apprehended its supply of stores and provisions may not be as ample as could be wished, this makes it necessary you should lose not a moment's time to give it all the succour you can. I have written to General Newcomb on the same subject. You need not be told that should that post fall into the enemy's hands we not only suffer the immediate loss of the garrison, its Cannon and Stores, but all our endeavors, after that should happen, to defend the Obstructions on the River would be fruitless. To you no arguments need be used either to explain the importance of their Objects or to Stimulate your zeal for its preservation. What I have here said is in the supposition that the Danger to the Salt Works, which induced you to go down that way, is not so great as to require the whole force you may be able to get together to guard against it.

"I do not mean to neglect the precautions necessary for their security; they are too important, but as the Defense of Red Bank is an object of the greatest moment I wish you would do as much as you possibly can toward it consistent with a proper degree of attention to the salt works. If circumstances are not such as to make your presence essentially necessary there, I would wish you to command the Body of Militia you may be able to spare for Red Bank."

By order of Gen. Howe, the British commander, Count Donop, with about 2,500 picked Hessian soldiers, attacked Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, N. J., the day after this letter of Washington's was written. The fort was defended by Col. Christopher Greene with 600 men. Donop threatened that unless the fort was instantly surrendered no quarter would be given. Col. Greene's reply was: "We ask no quarter, nor will we give any." The Hessians were defeated with a loss of 200 men. The Americans lost 37 killed and wounded. Donop himself was wounded and died three days after the battle. He is reported to have declared: "I die a victim to my ambition and the avarice of my sovereign."

LOUISE BAKER, U. S. MARINE

At least one woman has served in the United States navy. But according to Edgar Stanton Maclay, writing in the *Bluejacket*, she has the roll to herself. Her real name was Louise Baker, and having enlisted as a marine she served throughout the War of 1812 on the famous frigate *Constitution*.

"For nearly three years," she says, "I passed for and performed the duties of a marine, during which time I was in three severe engagements and never absented myself from my post in time of danger. I have, like others of the ship's crew, freely associated with my shipmates, both at sea and on shore.

"And yet, as extraordinary as it may appear, I have not the most distant idea that a single soul on board ever had the slightest suspicion of my sex. I have thoroughly studied the memoirs of Miss Deborah Sampson (who, disguised as a man, served in the Continental army during the Revolution without her identity being discovered) and by strict adherence to the precautionary means by which she was enabled to avoid an exposure of her sex I also was enabled to conceal mine."

The *Constitution* engaged in three of the more important single ship actions of the nineteenth century. That with the *Guerrière*, the *Java* and the double action with the *Cyane* and *Levant*.

Speaking of the action with the *Guerrière*, Miss Baker says:



EZRA CORNELL

(See Cornell Farm at Newport)

"I was all this time in the top plying my faithful musket with the best success whenever the smoke would permit me to see a bluejacket of the enemy. In the heat of the action a grapeshot struck and splintered the butt of my musket. It was noticed by one of my comrades who stood within a few feet of me, who, patting me on the shoulder, exclaimed:

" 'Never mind it, George! You have won laurels sufficient to recommend you to the pretty girls when you return to port.' "

THE PERRY CENTENARY

The United States is preparing to hold the most ambitious purely historical celebration that has ever been carried out in this country. The centenary of Perry's battle of Lake Erie will be the occasion for it. Eight states bordering on the Great Lakes and two others that, for particular reasons, claim part credit for the naval victory that saved the Northwest Territory to the United States will take part in the project. All but two of them already have appointed official state commissions to lay plans for the part they will take in the general program.

Appropriations amounting to considerably more than \$500,000 will be sought from the various state legislatures and from Congress. Part of this sum will be used to defray the expenses of gigantic military and naval pageants. The greater portion will be devoted to the erection of a big memorial building and shaft on Middle Bass Island, where Put-in-Bay is located. The celebration will open at Put-in-Bay on July 1, 1913, and will continue throughout the summer. In its large outlines it will include the following:

The raising and restoration of Commodore Perry's flagship, the Niagara, which is now sunk in the harbor of Erie, Penn.

The reproduction of other vessels engaged in the encounter and the re-enactment of the battle of Lake Erie each day of the celebration.

Flotillas of modern warships brought into the Great Lakes for purposes of comparison with those of a century ago.

Encampments and exhibition drills of militia from the ten states participating in the celebration.

Exhibition drills of federal troops.

Regatta and parade of the merchant marine of the Great Lakes, bringing together the largest number of vessels floating the American flag that have ever been assembled.

Meetings at Put-in-Bay of world congresses of all descriptions and conventions of the various historical and patriotic societies.

Erection of a memorial building at the cost of at least \$500,000. The shaft will be 345 feet high and will contain the most complete wireless station that has been constructed, capable of receiving messages from any point on the Great Lakes. The building will be turned over to the federal government and will house all the government stations now in the vicinity.

The states which have appointed commissions to co-operate in the celebration of the centennial are Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois, for the lake states, and Rhode Island and Kentucky. Rhode Island demanded a share in the observance by right of being the birthplace of Oliver Hazard Perry, and Kentucky insisted on coming in because it furnished most of the soldiers who, under William Henry Harrison, invaded Canada and, in the battle of the Thames, clinched on land the victory Perry had won on the water.

The various commissions have organized into an Interstate Board of Perry Victory Centennial Commissioners, with George W. Worthington, a Cleveland banker, as president, and Colonel Henry Watterson, of Kentucky, first vice-president.

TO PRESERVE WEBSTER'S BIRTHPLACE

Former Senator William E. Chandler of Concord, and Chief Justice Frank M. Parsons of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, head an association formed to-day for the purchase and preservation of the farm-house in which Daniel Webster was born 128 years ago.

The house is four miles from the centre of Franklin on the Salisbury road and of recent years has been owned by a building and loan association, and by them rented to whomever wished to hire it. The house was built by Webster's father, and is more than 150 years old.

The Webster Birthplace Association is the name of the organization formed to-day. Ex-Senator Chandler is president, Judge Parsons, vice-president; Judge O. A. Towne of Franklin,

secretary, and Dr. J. W. Staples of Franklin, treasurer. Four others are associated with them in the incorporation of the association.

A LONG-DELAYED GIFT

The New York Historical Society has just received a copy of a rare Indian prayer book which was presented to it in 1840. During these seventy years the volume has been buried among the old records of the War Department at Washington. A few days ago in overhauling one of the department rooms the book was discovered, and on one of the fly leaves was this inscription:

Presented to the New York Historical Society by Lieutenant Colonel James Harvey Hook of the United States Army. 1840.

With the book came a letter of explanation from Gen. Henry G. Sharpe stating that through some inadvertance the volume had been laid aside and forgotten. He calls attention to an interesting note on the fly leaf which adds to the historical value of the book. It says:

This book belonging to Joseph, a chief of the Oneida tribe of the Five Nations. He was stabbed by Nicholas Jourdainne, the interpreter, the ——— of June, and died the 24th of July, 1788, after which the Oneida chiefs presented the book to Gen. Richard Butler, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern District of Pittsburg, the 26th of July, 1788.

Following this is another inscription, saying:

Col. Hook will please accept this book as a mark of respect of his obedient servant, James R. Butler, Alleghany Arsenal, Pittsburgh, Pa., 4th Nov., 1838.

Apart from its interesting Indian and war associations, the volume is valuable from the fact that it was printed in New York in 1769 by Hugh Gaine, one of the most famous of the Colonial printers. He published for many years *The New York Weekly Mercury*, but at the outbreak of the Revolution he supported the British cause.

The book was prepared for the use of missionaries among the

Indians by the Rev. Dr. Henry Barclay, rector of Trinity Church, and the Rev. John Ogilvie, an assistant minister at Trinity, who in his early life was a missionary to the Mohawk tribe. Comparatively few copies of the book are known, and they always bring a good price. The book contains 204 pages, and in it the Lord's Prayer is rendered in Mohawk as follows:

Raodereanaynt ne Roayner, Songgwaniha ne Karongyage tighsideron, wasaghseanadongeaghtine. Sayanertsa iewe, tag-serra Eighniawarn siniyoyght Karongyagough oni oghwansi-age niyadewighniserage taggwanadaranondaghsik nonwi; Neoni tondagwarighwigoughston siniyught oni Jakwadaderighwigoughsteani: Neoni togsha daggwaghshariheght dewaddatdennager-aghtongge nesane sadjadoggwaghs ne Kondighseroheonse, ikea sayanertsera ne naah. Neoni he kaeshatste. Neoni ne Onwe-seaghtak ne siniyeheinwe. Neoni Siniyeheinwe. Amen.

HISTORIC INDIAN CAMP GROUND

Logan Grove, for years the camping ground of tribes of Kansas Indians, and a place of historical interest, will soon be a corn field. This grove is ninety-nine acres in extent, and is a mile and a half south of Junction City.

The grove is on the bank of the Smoky Hill River and was a favorite camping ground for Indians from the north and south parts of the State. They would come for pow-wows, and would often leave their families in camp there while they went out on buffalo hunts. Many Indian relics are still to be found there.

In 1855 a soldier from Capt. Henderson's company, then stationed at Fort Riley, went out to the site of the grove and built a small cabin. The next year Capt. Henderson bought the ground and cabin, later homesteading the entire grove. For many years he had a sawmill there and many of the houses in Junction City are constructed of lumber from Logan Grove.

The cabin, which is still standing, was the first schoolhouse in Geary county. The place was then named Logan Grove by Capt. Henderson, who was a great admirer of Gen. Logan, who was then stationed at Fort Riley. Mrs. Logan presented to Capt. Henderson a large flag, which still flies on legal holidays from a flagstaff near the grove.

A few years before he died Capt. Henderson erected a granite monument to the explorer Coronado, who followed the Smoky Hill River and camped at the grove, which was then the site of an Indian village, Quivera. It was the original intention to keep the grove in its present beautiful condition, but the high values of bottom land have made it too expensive to maintain in that condition. Robert Henderson, a son of the Captain and the present owner of the land, will have it cleared.

A HERKIMER AUTOGRAPH SOLD

One of the rarest of American autographs is that of Nicholas Herkimer, who commanded the Tryon County (N. Y.) Militia in the battle at Oriskany on Aug. 6, 1777, was severely wounded in the leg by a bullet, and bled to death Aug. 16 in consequence of defective surgery. An autograph document, dated Sept. 14, 1765, covering three and a quarter pages folio, and signed by Herkimer and fifteen other men of the Mohawk Valley, was sold at Merwin-Clayton's on Dec. 7. The signatures are all on one side of the sheet, and are perfectly plain and legible.

Three of the signers are members of the Herkimer family, viz., Johan Joost Herkimer, the father, and his two sons, Johan Joost, Jr., and Nicholas. An interesting feature is the variation in spelling their name by themselves. The father writes "hercheimer," with a small "h," while the sons spell it "herchmer."

The document, which is an indenture, forming a division of the second Staley patent, granted in 1755, is also witnessed and signed by William Cunningham, who gave evidence before the Tryon County Committee regarding the attempt of Guy Johnson to influence the Indians against the American cause. During the Revolution Cunningham was a soldier in Col. Klock's regiment. The signature of Daniel Horsmanden, Chief Justice of the Province of New York, is also attached to the document in his official capacity. Horsmanden is best remembered as one of the Justices who figured in the senseless negro scare of 1741, and afterward wrote a book to defend his action.

Johan Joost Herkimer, Sr., was a palatine, who settled in that region in the time of Queen Anne, and was one of the original

patentees of Burnet's Field. Nicholas Herkimer was made a Lieutenant of Provincials in 1758, commanded at Fort Herkimer during the French and Indian War, was Chairman of the Tryon County Committee of Safety in 1775, and in 1776 was made Brigadier General by the Provincial Convention of New York.

MARCH, 1911

AMERICANA

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JOSIAH C. PUMPELLY, A. M., LL. B.

AMERICANA

March, 1911

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE HAMPTON SETTLEMENTS ON LONG ISLAND

BY JOSIAH C. PUMPELLY, A. M., LL.B.

Historian of the Empire State Society, Sons of the American Revolution

IT was religious persecution that peopled America with the best blood of Europe a hundred years in advance of her time.

The savage assaults of Philip II of Spain forced the thrifty Hollanders to settle on Manhattan Island. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes forced many of the flower of the French nation to self-exile, and many settled in the Carolinas. Also, it was the intolerant demands of Charles I of England, the high-handed methods of the Court of High Commission, the cruelties of Archbishop Laud and the schemes of Buckingham and Strafford that drove many noble spirits from England. And oppression did not quench, but only inflamed the love of liberty, and when the storm gathered Buckingham was assassinated, Strafford and Laud executed and Charles, the king, was beheaded.

This vision of freedom, civic and spiritual, was followed by the Burghers of the Netherlands, the Huguenots of France, the Covenanters of Scotland and the Puritan founders of New England, and it was under this latter influence Long Island had its beginnings, for there the first town was settled by Puritans or Separatists from Lynn, Massachusetts.

In her history of Long Island Martha Flint says, "It is doubtful whether there has been in America any greater center of

dispersion than this same island, and certainly none to which can be more directly traced the best elements of our American character." And of these beginnings Captain Edward Johnson says in his famous book, "The Wonder Working Providence of Zion's Saviour on New England." "*The Lord Christ intends to achieve greater matters by this little handful than the world is aware of.*"

And wonderfully have his words come true.

Such thoughts as these came naturally to my mind while summing under the shade of the Howell oaks at Westhampton Beach, for there the very atmosphere seemed pervaded with old time memories.

One old residenter being asked what his people lived on in the winter replied, "*Clams, sand and ancestry.*"

And it was this last element that interested me. I loved the breeze-swept sand dunes, the old fashioned gardens, the sparkling bays and sea scented table lands, but more than all else it was the old historic memories and the more than a century old homesteads that made upon me the most lasting impression.

Although inanimate, each old weather-stained homestead had its story to tell of the perilous times when the builders of these homes, or their fathers, came here and established for the first time the power of England upon Long Island soil.

I deem it a privilege to have known the old Sayre House, built in 1648 by Thomas Sayre and still occupied by his descendants. The home of the Pelletrians, built in 1686, and now owned by the historian, W. S. Pelletreau, who told me this house in the Revolution was the headquarters of the British General Lord Erskine. These are in Southampton, while at Westhampton Beach there are the Howell and Jessup Houses, built about 1740, and the Raynor Houses, not so old. The last two are now occupied by a direct descendant of the original owners.

And now, what is there to be told about these original settlers? And how came they to leave the town of Lynn and seek out this isle of the sea, then only an unexplored wilderness?

Edward Johnson in his "Wonder Working Providence," Chap. 17, says:

"This year 1640 came over divers godly and sincere servants of Christ as I suppose, among whom came over the reverend godly Mr. Pierson. This people finding no place in any of the former erected colonies to settle into their present content, repaired to an island severed from the continent of New Haven with about 16 miles off the salt sea, and called Long Island, being about 120 miles in length and yet but narrow. Here this people erected a town and called it South Hampton. There are many Indians on the greatest part of this island who at first settling of the English there did much to annoy their cattle with the multitude of dogs they kept which ordinarily are young wolves brought up tame, continuing of a very ravening nature."

The names of these twelve first settlers or "Undertakers," as they called themselves, were Edward Howell (who put £15 into the venture, more than any of the others), John Gosmer, Edmund Farrington, Daniel Howe, Thomas Halsey, Henry Walton, George Wells, William Harker, Job Sayre, Allen Breed, Edward Needham and Thomas Sayre. (And soon after there was added the names of George Welbee, Thomas Newell, Philip Kirkland, Nathaniel Kirkland, Thomas Terry, John Cooper and John Farrington).

Sailing up the Peconec Bay this brave company landed at what is now North Sea, a little hamlet three miles from Southampton, whence they marched through the forest to find a place for their new homes.

"It was a perilous undertaking," says Howell in his history, "to venture with their wives and little ones into a wilderness hemmed in on two sides by water and the other two by savage tribes. Like their brethren of Plymouth, however, they were brave men and Christians resolved on doing their part toward forming an empire for freedom and Christianity. The Indians proved to be friendly and released to the settlers sufficient land for their necessities in "Consideration of the sixteen coats already received, and also three score bushels of Indian corn to be paid upon lawful demand, the last of September, which shall be in the year 1641, and further in consideration that they, above

named English, shall defend us, the said Indians, from the unjust violence of whatever Indians shall illegally assail us."

And now as to their title thus obtained. I may say just here: In 1620 King James had granted a patent to a corporation known as the Plymouth Company for all the lands between parallels 40 and 48 degrees north latitude and extending from sea to sea, their charter being called the New England Patent. This Company then issued patents to various colonies and by the request of King Charles I (which was equivalent to a command) this Company, in 1636, granted Long Island and islands adjacent to Wm. Alexander, Earl of Sterling. And through the Earl's agent, James Ferret, these "Undertakers" purchased from the Earl a tract containing eight square miles of land extending between the Easthampton line and Canoe Place for the sum of £64.

In the MSS. book marked "Court of Assizes," Vol. 2, page 439, in Secretary of State's office at Albany, N. Y., "is recorded the first deed to the Southampton settlers of date, April 17, 1640, under which they were to take up eight square miles of land when they should select on Long Island. This date, 1640, and not 1639 is in harmony with the Dutch records." (Howell's History of Long Island, page 24).

By articles duly drawn up and signed, these Undertakers having put £80 into the venture, agreed to transport their people from Lynn and settle them on these forest lands, they to have a "house lot" of four acres and 12 acres as a "planting lot," only one house to be built on the former and the latter never to be used for building purposes. "Whereby"—so the old document reads—more inhabitants might be received into our said Plantation to the over charging of Commons and the impoverishing of the town."

A *probation* of from three to six months was required of any one proposing to settle among this people, and if the newcomer proved unsatisfactory he was duly notified and had to depart.

W. S. Prime, in his history of Long Island calls these men "strict Puritans," but Mr. Pelletreau says they were really "Separatists." The Puritans wished to reform the Church of England, while the Separatists went out and established a separate church of their own.

And it was as an organized church body that they sailed away from Lynn and their pastor, the Rev. Mr. Pierson "was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, England, and his son—Abraham, born in Southampton, was the first president of Yale College." Of this able divine Cotton Mather says in his *Magnolia Christi*, "It is reported by Pliny that there is a fish called *Lucerna* whose tongue doth shine like a torch. If it be a fable yet let the tongue of a minister be the moral of that fable and how such an illuminating tongue was that of our Pierson."

The worthy doctor deserved the highest praise, but for his admirer, Cotton Mather, the bigot, we cannot say so much, for it was he, as stated in an old newspaper, who in 1682 planned to capture William Penn and the Quakers on their way to New England and sell them as slaves. In a letter to "Ye aged and beloved John Higginson" he writes as follows:

"There be at sea a shippe called "Ye Welcome," R. Greenaway, Master, which has aboard 100 or more of ye *heretics* and *malignants* called Quakers, with W. Penn, who is ye *scampe* at the head of them. Ye General Court has accordingly given secret orders to Master Malachi Huxett of ye brig Proposes to walaye sed Welcome as near the coast of Codde as may be and make captive ye said Penn and his ungodly crewe so that ye Lord may be glorified and not mocked on ye soil of this new countrie with ye *heathen* worships of these people. Much spolye may be made by selling ye whole lot in Barbadoes where slaves fetch goode prices in rumme and sugar and shall not only do ye Lord great service in punishing the wicked but we shall make great goode for his ministers and people. Master Huxett feels hopeful and I will set down ye news when his shippe comes back. Yours in ye bowels of Christ, Cotton Mather."*

These early settlers were well educated and sensible men; they had sustained a good standing in society and left reputable con-

*The "Cotton Mather" letter, concerning the authenticity of which there has been some dispute, was originally printed on the authority of George A. Reynolds of Hartford, Conn. Mr. Reynolds claimed to have found the letter among the records of his family at East Greenwich, R. I.

nections in England, and the early town records and public documents show that their leading men there had a correct knowledge of the laws and constitution of England and were well acquainted with public business. They had fled from tyranny and oppression because ardently devoted to the cause of civil liberty and zealous for the purity and simplicity of the Protestant religion, and they were resolute in defence of their rights as free-men. In an ode written by Miss Cornelia Huntington and sung at the 250th anniversary of the founding of East Hampton occur these lines:

"Highhearts of old trod these wave-washed shores,
Strong men of giant minds and stalwart mould,
By goading wrongs to daring deeds impelled,
Patient of toil, in danger calm and bold,
Wise, wary, watchful, weighing all things well,
Men whose stern will oppression could not quell."

And all these qualities were needed in the accomplishment of the work that awaited these men, for in the more than 250 years of the existence of Southampton, the town has been under the dominance of several rulers, and has passed through severe trials.

George Rogers Howell, in his "Early History of Southampton, L. I.," (p. 50) says, "For the first four years these 30 or 40 families formed a *little republic* by themselves. And then in one sense it was a democracy and a democracy without a parallel, save in the short lived republics of ancient Greece. And yet again there was in the community an element of the oligarchy for state and church were united and slavery existed. Nevertheless they reversed the maxim of Louis XIV, "*I am the State,*" *for with them the state was the people and for the people and not the people for the state.*

A town meeting or General Court, as it was called, was held half yearly, composed of the *adult males* who were obliged to attend regularly under penalty of a fine. *The Court exercised the extraordinary powers of a legislature and a judiciary; defined the limits and powers of the magistrates Court; received and decided appeals from the same; was the proper tribunal for*



WESTHAMPTON BEACH, L. I.
Howell Homestead, 250 years old



THE JESSUP HOMESTEAD
Westhampton Beach, L. I.

trying crimes punishable with death; settled civil cases; allotted lands and elected officers; enacted a code of laws founded on those given by *Moses to the Jewish nation*; made by-laws and regulations necessary to the safety and well being of the community and had general supervision over the interests of the body politic. These powers are defined in an act of the General Court passed January 2nd, 1641.

Social distinctions were as plainly marked as they were in Old England. The original settlers, or "*Undertakers*" of the plantation, were the Town, and formed the original General Court. To these were added such newcomers as they permitted to join the new settlement. From among these, certain ones who merited it, were made "Freemen," and became members of the General Court. But even among these there was a distinction. The term "Mr." and "Gentleman" only belonged to three or four persons. The others were mentioned as "Goodman;" his wife would be "Goodwoman," shortened into "Goody." The French have no term which expresses the meaning of our phrase, "a good man," in a moral sense. Their "Bon Homme" means exactly what it did in the earliest days of Southampton, a plain everyday man, and nothing else. Paul Jones' famous ship, "Bon Homme Richard," was intended to be a translation of Franklin's "Poor Richard." In addition to the classes named above there were indentured servants who had no social position and were only mentioned incidently. Edward Howell had a man servant, George Wood, and in 1670 Richard Howell gives to Robert Vovvis, "5 acres of land, in consideration of his faithful service of 11 years."

The General Court did not include all the *adult males* by any means, but only such as had been chosen Freemen by the said Court.

These settlers guided by a reverence for divine law followed in their government the old Hebrew Commonwealth of ten centuries B. C., their government was in fact the *Puritan child of a Hebrew ancestry*. We have had two democracies born in America about a century and a half apart, one of Hebrew and one of Latin ancestry, the principle of the one being government as derived from and dependent upon the consent of the governed, and the

other *more Anglo Saxon in idea*—that man *individually* possesses certain *inalienable rights* which no agreement by him or on his behalf can take from him.

They placed first and foremost the *interests* of the whole *community*. They possessed a standard of life and the immigrant had to conform to it or go elsewhere. Here we have a good example to guide us in our battle for a properly restricted immigration system.

The slanderer was fined and unto him that was done which he had intended to do unto his abused neighbor, whether it was the taking away of a limb or a chattel. As to public worship:

They were more strict than were the Hebrews Commonwealth, which while carefully defining forms of worship, did not make attendance upon the same compulsory. These townmakers made it a part of this code that anyone neglecting to attend public worship without a reasonable excuse had to pay a fine, for a first offence five shillings, a second 20 shillings and for farther non-attendance he was to be punished physically or banished.

Sad would have been the fate of our gay Sabbath breakers down there at Westhampton last summer if any such ordinance had been in existence then. Drunkards, liars and all disorderly persons were put in the stocks and here they follow Proverbs 26.3: "A whip for a horse and a rod for a fool's back." Punished he must be for so "transforming God's image into a beast." He who reviled the religion and worship of God or blasphemed Him was to be publicly whipped or banished or to have his tongue bored through with a red hot iron, as in the words of the code, "He hath bored and pierced God's name."

They abhorred a spendthrift and for the good of all concerned they seized his property and preserved it for his livelihood and that as the law reads "the town might not be damnified."

For atheism and wicked denying of the Almighty and for the punishment of rebellious children they obeyed the teachings in Deuteronomy and Leviticus.

Personal safety was carefully looked after and anyone striking another was fined 10 shillings, and if he wounded him he had to pay for his medical care and the time lost by inability to work.

Also the welfare of home and householder were cared for by

a law forbidding the sale of liquor by any but certain deputed persons and then not to minors and servants in greater amount than one-half pint liquor among four persons. And yet, as an authority has it, wine was liberally distributed at funerals with cakes and mourning scarfs and gloves.

If a woman died in childbirth a white sheet instead of a black pall was laid over the coffin. The school children were instructed in the Book of Common Prayer and Catechism, and the teacher had among his many duties to ring and toll the church bell for services and funerals, read the Bible between the ringings, read a sermon in the absence of the minister and give out notices for funerals and for all this take pay in wampum, i. e.: shell money, wheat and use of dwelling and pasturage. Every farmer was his own mason, carpenter, tanner, shoemaker, wheelwright and blacksmith; and the women manufactured homespun cloth from flax and wool, and generally, to economize time took along their spinning wheels when making an afternoon call.

This independent, God-fearing, industrious people, greatly feared that the Dutch claim to the whole island might at any time be enforced or the native tribes massacre them, and so they entered into an alliance with Connecticut and a book of laws much like their own was obtained from Hartford, the seat of government.

And yet little was gained thereby, but the *assurance of aid* in case of need and the estimable privilege “*of paying taxes which they and their descendants have never since failed to enjoy through all changes of government.*”

These people had a rather odd sort of industry and important source of revenue, derived from the dead whales that drifted upon the shores, and these coming as they did without their care or labor, were looked upon as a direct gift from Providence.

In 1658 John Ogden fitted out a small vessel and began the business of catching whales along the shore, he having the privilege of landing and trying out the oil at any part of the coast; all dead whales bearing marks of his harpoons to be considered his. Here began an enterprise which in after years Long Island whalers carried to every port of the known world. In 1662 the

tract of land lying between Canoe Place and the Seatuck River was purchased from the Indians by 40 citizens and added to the town of Southampton, but it was not until 1735 that the first house was built in the wilderness where now we see only the beautiful homes, farms and gardens of Quogue and Westhampton.

And now came a change in the political situation. The Earl of Sterling died in 1640 and his title to Long Island descended to his grandson who transferred it to King Charles II for the sum of £300, who in 1664 granted to his brother James, Duke of York, and Albany, a patent for all the tract of country between the Connecticut River and Delaware Bay including Long Island and the islands adjacent.

Of course, what the Dutch were then in possession of had to be taken by conquest, and so Colonel Richard Nicoll on August 27, 1664, took the city of New Amsterdam and its name was changed to New York in honor of the Duke *and the country became an English province*. Then Gov. Winthrop told the towns on the East End of Long Island that Connecticut had done the best it could for them and they must now be subjects of the Duke of York, and so, after 20 years, ended the second form of government for Southampton.

To a convention of the towns called by Gov. Nichols in 1665, which met at Hemstead, came *as deputies from Southampton*, Capt. Thomas Topping and Major John Howell, both men of wise head and brave heart, and they aided in enacting the code called the *Dukes Laws* which held power up to 1683. Staten Island and Long Island were erected into a Shire called *Yorkshire*, and divided into two districts called "ridings," and after this in deeds and bargains Southampton was mentioned as being the "*East Riding of Yorkshire*."

At this time an application for funds to repair the fort at New York precipitated an acrid discussion as to taxation without representation, and protests and declarations of such a spicy nature were forwarded to the authorities at New York that they were declared by the Court of Sessions "*to be scandalous, illegal and seditious*," *and were ordered burned before the Town House at the next Mayors Court*. (Flints Early Long Island," p. 305).



OLD SAYRE HOUSE, SOUTHAMPTON, L. I.
The Oldest English Frame House in the United States still standing

To all this Gov. Lovelace in 1668 declared the only way to *keep the people quiet was to lay such taxes upon them as would give them no time to think of anything else than how to discharge them.*

And so continued Southampton's *third form of government* under English rule till terminated by the very sudden reconquest of New York by the *Dutch in 1673.*

And now there was still more dissatisfaction and it was at this time that we read of certain protests coming from Southampton in which the names of Raynor and Jessup appear prominently as signers. Also one John Cooper who wrote the Dutch high councillor "*to have a care and not appear in Southampton with that thing,*" (*meaning the flag of the Prince of Orange*). "*Rest satisfied,*" he said, "*That I warn you not to come within range of shot from our village.*" And the Councillor very wisely stayed away.

This *fourth form of government* only existed in name and was ended by the treaty of peace of 1674 by which New York was again *restored to England.* The Duke of York obtained a new patent and appointed Edmont Andross as Governor of the province.

The people of Southampton resented this state of affairs, but the Duke's laws were again confirmed and in 1676 they were compelled to acknowledge the right of the Duke of York to their lands. They protested strongly, but being notified they must take out a new title or lose their lands, they had to accept the situation and to-day you may see in the Town Clerk's office at Southampton the parchment *deed signed "E. Andross," granting to the town what they had owned by indisputable right for more than 30 years.*

In 1685, Charles II died and now this tyrannical proprietor of Long Island appears no longer as His Royal Highness, James, the Duke of York and Albany, but His Majesty James II, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland and Defender of the Faith.

In 1686 the town received a new Patent from Gov. Dongan and in it the boundaries are described at length. Twelve individuals are mentioned as the *Trustees of the Patentees* for and in

behalf of themselves and the freeman *freeholders and commonality of the town*.

The inhabitants under this Patent were to meet on the first Tuesday of April annually forever and elect 12 trustees, two assessors and two constables, the quit rent to be 40 shillings payable to the town on the 25th of March of each year. Under this Patent Town Meetings were held and officers elected. The abdication of the throne by James II, concluded Southampton's *fifth form of government*.

In 1689 the Royal Commission to Gov. Sloughter introduced the Colonial form of government and here commenced Southampton's sixth form of government, an improvement on all the other five and under it the Hamptons had no reasons for complaint, and the questions that brought on the Revolution concerned not the town but the Provinces.

This system ended in 1776 and thereafter came that seventh change which meant liberty, peace and prosperity to the Hamptons as an integral part of the State of New York.

The number of inhabitants, which was about 100 at the time of settlement, had by 1776 become 2,798.

Now, having given this needful historic data, permit me to say something about the many and courageous efforts made by these settlers before and during the Revolution to obtain their just rights and liberties.

As early as July, 1682, at a general training, the people of Easthampton drew up and signed a petition to Anthony Brockholst, the then Governor of New York, claiming the *right of representation in a General* and "Free Assembly" and that the imposition of laws unathorized *by such an Assembly was a deprivation* "of a fundamental *privilege of our English nation*."

Thus 90 years before the Declaration of Independence Southampton town voiced substantially the principle that *representation was a right of the people under the British constitution* and *taxation without it was a violation of the fundamental law*. (See the Centennial Celebration, p. 94).

From the very start the Howell family contributed largely to make this Hampton Country flourishing and famous. Edward Howell, the first of the Undertakers who owned 500 acres at Lynn,

Massachusetts and headed with £15 the list of Undertakers, was prominent always as legislator and magistrate and died leaving a fine property and large family. So, too, Capt. Stephen Howell was an ardent patriot and influential citizen in Sag Harbor where he built the first storehouse. He fought bravely at the fatal battle of Long Island and he was not only successful in his whaling ventures, but he established the first sperm candle factory on Long Island.

In 1701 Colonel Matthew Howell, a representative in the Colonial Legislation, *was honored with expulsion* by the governor for presenting a paper considered disloyal to his majesty, and thereafter, very naturally, his constituents duly re-elected him and sent him back to his seat in the assembly and there he remained to the end of his term, an able defender of the rights and liberty of the colonists.

The motto of this interesting family whose coat of arms is to be seen on a tombstone in the old Southampton churchyard, is "Tenax Propositi"—Tenacious of Purpose—and surely the motto has been well adhered to through all these 271 years.

Only two doors from the Howell House Inn is the old Howell Homestead, the main part of which was built in 1735.

The Declaration of Rights and Pledge, not to submit to British Rule, drawn up in New York, April 29, 1775, and distributed, was by July 6, signed by every man capable of bearing arms in the town of Easthampton, to the number of 280.

Thereafter, during the whole seven years of the Revolution, from 1776 to 1783 while the British had full control of Long Island, its people suffered more than did any one of the colonies. They were oppressed by both friend and foe and seemed ever to be between the upper and nether millstone.

In 1776, Dr. Buell, the able and patriotic Southampton clergyman, writes that "the people are as a torch on fire at both ends which will speedily be consumed for the Continental Whigs carry off their stock and produce and the British punish them for letting it go."

Henry P. Hedges in his Bicentenary address said, "The history of that seven years of suffering will never be told, left to the mercies of the foe, plundered by countrymen and stranger,

slandered by suspicious brethren, scoffed at by their necessary victors, yet they never wavered. Their hearts were in their country's cause; they were unterrified, unalterable, devoted Americans." To them "The commandment was a lamp and the law was light."—Proverbs vi, 23.

Mrs. Clara M. Lyons, Southampton, writes me that when her great-grand parents, John Howell and Elizabeth Brewster Howell were living at Canoe Place where the Indians used to carry their canoes from Shinnecock Bay over to the Big Paconic Bay and so go from the ocean to Long Island Sound.

Lord Erskine and his men were quartered at the old Inn and an officer waxing bold and saucy threw something at my grandmother at which her husband promptly knocked the man down. Rising, the officer drew his sword and was about to cut my ancestor down when Lord Erskine commanded him to sheath his weapon, saying "he served you right."

Lord Erskine was much esteemed in Southampton and his good will toward the citizens cost him his removal.

His honesty of spirit was shown in this incident.

He had ordered his soldiers to build certain earthworks on Sunday and the Rev. Dr. Buell opposed this order saying, "I, myself, am commander in chief on the Sabbath day" at which General Erskine replied, "I will revoke the order," and he did so, and thereafter no work of the sort was done on that day.

Referring to the worthy minister, I noted in the New York Historical Society an interesting pamphlet labelled thus:

"The best New Years Gift for Young People, or The Bloom of Youth Immortal, by Piety and Glory. A sermon preached (summarily) at East Hampton on the Lord's Day, January 1st, 1775. Wherein the real glory and Felicity of the Inhabitants of Heaven is described, to which is affixed Youth's Triumph, a poem; a vision, by Samuel Buell, A. M., New London, printed and sold by T. Green."

It is said that when Sir William used to ride over the Shinnecock hills and the pleasant uplands where now are so many beautiful homes, he was accustomed to often say to those with him: "This is the garden of America and to this place I expect to return after this revolt is put down."

At this date he had his headquarters in the old Pelletreau homestead, now owned by the writer I have before referred to.

The money which enabled Gen. W. Floyd to go to Philadelphia to attend Congress and immortalize his name as signer of the Declaration of Independence, was loaned to him by Capt. Elias Pelletreau. Some years later his little grandson stood by his grandmother's side while she sewed some gold pieces into the lining of his waist coat, and sent him off on horseback with a negro slave as an escort to go to Southampton and repay the loan.

Another interesting incident told of these times was that about a place called Pudding Hill, a slight elevation in the south side of the road to Bridgehampton as we enter the main street of Easthampton. Miss Fannie Elkins, of Brooklyn, wrote a little ballad which tells the tale with such spirit that I give it here in full:

i

Scorn not the simple tale I tell
Of humble sacrifice
Souls true in little things are true
When great occasions rise.

ii

Full many a village picturesque
On green Long Island's shore
Recalls the English Yoeman free
That settled it of yore.

iii

Homesick they gave their new found homes
Familiar English names,
East Hampton mid the rest such sires
And such baptism claims.

iv

Here lived in days of '76
A certain stirring dame,
Whose name and lineage have been lost
From off the rolls of fame.

v

It happened that one summer day,
Like England's "Goodly king,"
She made a *pudding*, but for plums
She put fresh berries in.

vi

That day along the quiet road
From old *Southampton town*,
Some British soldiers foraging,
To this same house came down.

vii

The door was closed that faced the sun
Because the day was hot,
And O'er the blazing fire intent,
The good dame heard them not.

viii

"Hurrah, boys!" said the leader bold,
"We're just in time! Come on!"
The tableau was a charming one
For any looker on!

ix

The astonished dame in homespun clad,
With eyes that flamed with ire,
Her cheeks in part with anger flushed,
In part burned by the fire,

x

A group in tarnished uniform
Of scarlet and gold lace,
Blue sky through the open door,
Green trees that shade the place.

xi

"Oh no you're not," she made reply,
Then seized the boiling pot,
Ran with it through another door,
And threw it blazing hot.

xii

Pudding and all adown the hill,
And left it in the sand,
Amid the curses loud and deep
Of all that hungry band.

xiii

The thing was naught, perhaps, beside
What patriots daily do,
And yet, the spirit that inspired
Was freedom's spirit, too.

xiv

The place and tale are widely known,
Fresh is the legend still;
And all East Hampton villagers
Are proud of Pudding Hill."

(See History of Suffolk County, N. Y., by W. W. Munsell, 36 Vesey St., 1882, in N. Y. Historical Society).

When in Westhampton I had several interesting interviews with Mrs. Jessup, a lady 85 years of age and a relative of the late Morris Jessup. She still lives in the old Jessup House, just a little out of the town and in the midst of as pretty a landscape as can be seen anywhere. She showed me the rooms in which British soldiers were billeted in 1777. Also some beautiful linen fabrics woven by her grandmother. Henry Onderdonk, Jr., of Jamaica, says: "During the summer British troops were off the island on active service, and the few remaining were in tents; but in winter they were huddled on the sunny side of a hill or else distributed in farmers houses."

A British officer accompanied by a justice of the peace or some prominent loyalist as a guide rode round, and from actual inspection decided how many soldiers each house could receive, and this number was chalked on the door. The only notification was, "Madam, we have come to take a billet on your house." If a house had but one fireplace it was passed by, as the soldiers were not intended to form part of the family. A double house for the officers or a single house with a kitchen for privates was just the thing, and the kitchen inner door was nailed up so the soldiers could not intrude on the household.

They, however, often became intimate with the family and sometimes intermarried. The Hessians, being more sociable than the British, often making toys for the children not only amusing them but teaching them German and corrupting them, too, with their vile language and manners. As the soldiers received their pay in coin, they paid liberally for what they bought, and could not draw with their rations. These soldiers were a safeguard against robbers and whaleboat men, and some had their wives with them, who acted as washerwomen and sometimes in meaner capacities.

As to the habits and customs of this people, many interesting incidents may be told.

A century ago people about to journey to New York asked the prayers of the Church for their safe return.

The first fanning mill made in 1800 by a negro met with opposition because it was going contrary to the wishes of Providence by making the wind blow when he intended it to be calm.

The first horse rake made by Elias Pelletreau was sneered at because it did not rake as clean as the hand rake, while the first iron plows brought there by Major Josiah Foster and John Pelletreau were opposed from a notion that they made the weeds grow.

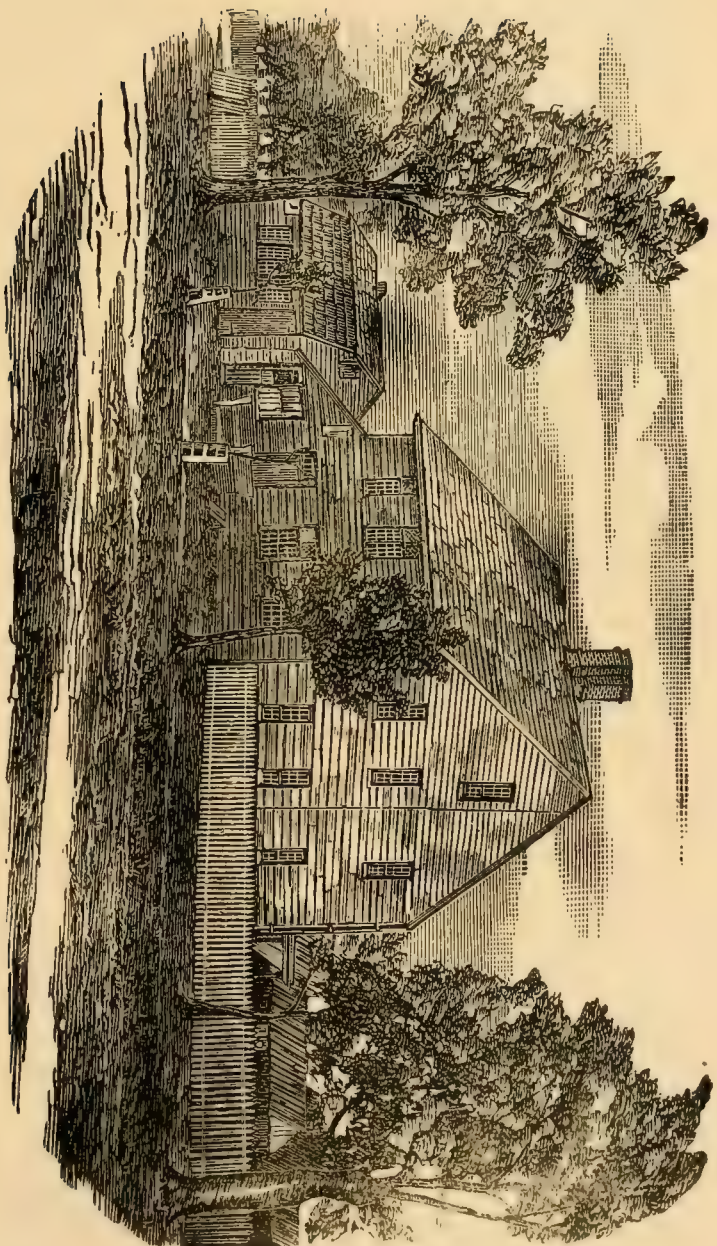
Along this vein of humor we are reminded of an incident connected with the sale of liquors. John Halsey, born in Wickapagne in 1796, rather a wag and sport, being requested by a tavern keeper to compose a divide for his sign, wrote the following:

"Rum, whiskey, brandy, cordial, porter, beer,
Ale, applejack and gin are dealt out here,
Diluted, raw, or mixed in any measure,
To all consumers; come, and act your pleasure,
The above specific will in time, God knows,
Put a period to all your earthy woes,
Or would you bring life to a splendid close,
Take cargo, repeating dose on dose,
A panacea this for every ail,
It will use you up—'twas never known to fail,
Use your property, ere scarce you know it,
Use up your character, or sadly blow it,
Use up your health and strength, and mind repose,
And leave mayhap your carcass to the crows.

During the Revolution the King of England when speaking of the revolt of the Colonies and of Rev. John Witherspoon the president of Princeton College who was a most active patriot said: "A Presbyterian minister has run aawy with the Atlantic States."

And so was it with these men of the Hamptons whose ministers, could fight as well as pray.

Their town meeting was the "primordial cell of the body politic," and was a fundamental step in the great process of polit-



THE OLD PELLETREAU HOUSE.
BUILT, 1686.

ical evolution from the village assemblies of the early Aryans and the leagues of Greek cities down to the present time; and the problem we are thus far, as we hope, successfully solving, is the very same problem upon which all civilized peoples have been working over since civilization began. How to insure peaceful concerted action throughout the whole without infringing upon local and industrial freedom in the parts, this has been the chief aim viewed on the political side, and we rate the future success of nations politically according to their failure or success in attaining this supreme end. Herein how valuable is our American history, especially when we consider it does not begin with the Declaration of Independence, or the settlements of Jamestown or Plymouth, but descends in unbroken continuity from the days when Arminius in the forests of northern Germany defied the might of Imperial Rome.

The good fight, began at Lewes in 1264, when Simeon de Montfort and the barons defeated Henry III, was continued at Naseby and Quebec and was fitly crowned at Yorktown and Appamattox.

Realizing all this we can see how the two great branches of the English race have the common mission of establishing throughout the larger part of the earth a higher civilization and a more permanent political order than any that has gone before.

The work the English race began when it colonized North America is destined to go on until every land on the globe, not already the seat of an old civilization, shall become English in its language and political habits.

In its course, no doubt, Europe will, as John Fiske predicts, "find it worth while to adopt the lesson of federalism." And not far off in the days to come may not the world expect to have, not only the United States of North and South America, but the United Nations of the world.

And noting our growth since the founding of Southampton, we have reason to be optimistic.

"The feeble communities of two and one-half centuries ago," says Rev. Dr. Starrs, "have been steadily at length victoriously changed into the magnificent national organism which now faces mankind upon these shores. The little town has become a thousand and the small one a strong nation; the Lord has hastened

it in His time, and imagination fails to prefigure what hereafter is to follow." ("The Puritan Spirit." Oration by K. S. Storrs, D. D., LL.D., in Congregational Club, Boston, December 18, 1889).

All honor to these rugged path finders and fighters of the past, who rung from tyrant hands our civil and religious liberty; who laid the broad foundation of this Great Republic, and founded Harvard and Yale and Princeton and Dartmouth in the forests of America.

The story of it all is replete with lessons to us, the descendants of an ancestry who believed that "happy is that people whose God is the Lord." From them we have received a Priceless Inheritance. May we revere it always and transmit it to our posterity untarnished.

CORONADO'S MARCH ACROSS THE HIGH PLAINS

BY L. D. SCISCO

THE famous journey of Coronado across the great plains on his way to Quivira in 1541 has usually been interpreted in recent years on lines marked out by Mr. Hodge, who developed a narrative of the famous expedition based upon the view that the explorer penetrated into Central Texas.¹ It must not be forgotten, however, that another interpretation of Coronado's route exists, which carries him across the plains into modern Oklahoma rather than into Texas. Mr. Bandelier favored this latter route many years ago but seems never to have offered to the public a thorough presentation of his views, and since the article² in which he outlined his thoughts is little known its suggestions have not received due recognition. The existence of such divergent interpretations is due to geographic ambiguity in those parts of the sources where the initial steps of the outward journey are stated. The sources say that early in the march the Spaniards crossed a considerable river. Whether it was the modern Pecos or the modern Canadian is the question, and according to the interpreter's choice of a river must the later route be laid down. Mr. Hodge found in one of the sources a statement evidently referring to the Pecos and identifying it with the river crossed on the outward journey. His subsequent interpretation was fitted to this stated identity of the stream, and were there no contrary evidence in the sources this would necessarily be the only possible interpretation. It is an overlooked fact, however, that contradictory statements do appear in the sources, and that these statements seem to throw the balance of evidence toward the interpretation suggested by Mr. Bandelier. The central feature of this opposing evidence is the unquestionable identity of a considerable

1. Brower, *Memoirs of Exploration*, Vol. II, pages 59-73, 1899.

2. *Amer. Cath. Quar. Review*, Vol. XV, pp. 556-557, 1890.

part of the outward route of the expedition with a part of the route used by Coronado's scouting party on its return from Quivira. Such coincidence of routes cannot reasonably find place in the itinerary laid out by Mr. Hodge and he does not attempt to assert it.³ Such a coincidence can easily exist in the route as suggested by Mr. Bandelier.

Leaving this matter of coincident routes to be taken up at its proper place later we may now trace the course of Coronado's reconnaissance from its starting point. The story of the expedition starts inauspiciously for the student with a discrepancy as to dates. The commander says that he started from Tiguex on April 23,⁴ while the chronicler Castaneda seems to say that the army set out from Tiguex on May 5.⁵ The dates would harmonize, indeed, if it could be assumed that the earlier one refers merely to an advance guard of the main body, but as the chronology of the journey develops it becomes possible to reckon only from a start on April 23, and Castaneda's date must be put aside. Interpretation begins, then, with the start on April 23 from a pueblo of the Tiguex district, near the site of modern Bernalillo, New Mexico. Four days later,⁶ probably by the night of April 26, they had covered the 25 leagues⁷ that lay between Tiguex and the pueblo of Cicuye, located at about the site of modern Pecos.⁸ Thus far modern students agree as to the route. From Cicuye the Spaniards pressed on across the mountains. But in what direction? One witness somewhat uncertainly states, "If I remember rightly it seems to me that we went rather toward the northeast."⁹ Other witnesses are silent as to direction but agree that the forces marched three or four days¹⁰ and stopped on the banks of a river with a deep, swift current before which they were obliged to pause until it could be bridged. The modern map shows that, hemmed in by steep slopes, the Spaniards must cer-

3. Compare map based on Mr. Hodge's view, in Winship's *Journey of Coronado*.

4. Coronado's letter, p. 214, in Winship's *Journey of Coronado*, 1904, to which work all source references in this article are made, unless otherwise stated.

5. Castaneda, p. 63.

6. Jaramillo, p. 229.

7. Castaneda, pp. 63-64.

8. For location of Tiguex and Cicuye see Bandelier, *Gilded Man*, 1893.

9. Jaramillo, p. 229.

10. Jaramillo, p. 229; Castaneda, p. 64; *Traslado*, p. 193.

tainly have followed the Pecos River to modern San Miguel or possibly even to Anton Chico, but that from either point it was possible to cross the mesas in a direction between north and east and to find their way to the Canadian, the only considerable stream lying northeasterly from Pecos. Possibly the tortuous route followed may explain the failure of the chroniclers to give their marching directions more clearly. Despite the sources Mr. Hodge rejects the evidence that declares for a northeasterly trend and instead carries the Spaniards down the west bank of the Pecos River to make a bridge at about modern Puerto de Luna, such an interpretation being made necessary by his theory.

For four days the army rested while the stream was being bridged¹¹ and about May 5 the march was resumed. From Tiguex to the river there had been seven or eight days of marching; when nine days were done¹² the great plains lay before them. The distance from Cicuye to the plains was reckoned at 30 leagues or more.¹³ After crossing the river the expedition turned more to the left hand, shaping its course more northeasterly than before.¹⁴ The Spaniards apparently had crossed the Canadian some distance below its exit from the foothills of the Rockies. East of the river the outer edge of those foothills swings northeasterly in a great curve toward the north, and the Indian guide probably was following a line across the plains parallel with the foothills, gradually turning with them toward the north. After four or five days¹⁵ the travelers began to see the outcast bulls of the buffalo herds. Some days later, apparently more than the two or three days which Jaramillo reports,¹⁶ they found themselves among the main herds where the cows were. Here they found a fixed camp (*rancheria*) of plains Indians, called Querechos,¹⁷ of whom they inquired eagerly about Quivira. Two days more they went on in the same direction, "between north and east but more toward the north,"¹⁸ and

11. Castaneda, p. 65.

12. Coronado, p. 214.

13. Castaneda, p. 110; *Traslado*, p. 195.

14. Jaramillo, p. 229.

15. Jaramillo, p. 230.

16. Jaramillo, p. 230.

17. Jaramillo, p. 230; Castaneda, p. 65.

18. Castaneda, p. 66.

then the guide began to lead them easterly. As far as the Querecho camp the Spaniards had marched 17 days in all,¹⁹ of which nine days had passed since crossing the bridge. Two days added to the nine gives a date of May 15 for the turn easterly. Furthermore, since the average day's march was six or seven leagues²⁰ one may reckon about 70 Spanish leagues covered since leaving the bridge and a position attained somewhere about the more central portion of Beaver County, Oklahoma, after crossing the extreme corner of Texas. The length of their march must certainly have carried them about as far north as this. They could hardly have been more westerly without seeing something of the foothills that advance within the limits of Beaver County on its western border.²¹ Their location is more definitely fixed, however, not by these considerations, but by others to be noted later on, in connection with Coronado's return march.

Two days after the Querechos were met²² the Indian guides swerved easterly from the road to Quivira. The soldier chroniclers of events declare that the guides misled the Spaniards purposely.²³ Coronado, who surely had the best reasons for casting blame upon the guides, and who does in fact complain bitterly of their overdrawn tales about Quivira,²⁴ says nothing against them on this point, but implies that guides as well as men went astray naturally.²⁵ We may perhaps believe, charitably, that the guides essayed an eastward turn toward the Arkansas River ford too soon, though with the best of intent. Three days later, it being five days after meeting with the Querechos,²⁶ it became known to the Spaniards that they were lost on the boundless plains, with not a landmark of any sort breaking the expanse around them. The date now was apparently May 18 and their location was very probably in the more eastern part of Beaver County.²⁷ In this

19. Coronado, p. 214.

20. Castaneda, p. 72.

21. For the topography of this region see *Journal of Geography*, Vol. II, pp 63-82; also map with U. S. Geological Survey Topographic Folio No. 3.

22. Castaneda, p. 66.

23. Jaramillo, p. 231; *Rel. del Suceso*, p. 208.

24. Coronado, pp. 216, 220.

25. Coronado, p. 215.

26. Coronado, p. 215.

27. For the topography of the high plains see U. S. Geological Survey, 21st Annual Report, Vol. IV.

new bewilderment the Spaniards remembered that the Querechos had reported a populated district of Haxa as lying away to the east of them.²⁸ It was decided to continue easterly in search of it. Diego Lopez with a mounted party rode at full speed twenty leagues toward the sunrise scouting for signs of settlement, but he found nothing. On his way back he even lost his own trail and wandered so far to one side that Coronado had to send out some of his men to locate the pathfinders.²⁹ Thereafter, for two weeks, the army went plodding onward across the prairies, ever easterly, and seemingly southerly as well, for they were following the courses of the streams as they marched.³⁰ One day certain horsemen, while hunting buffalos, discovered some Indians of the Teyas tribes,³¹ and the army turned toward the Teyas camping place. An advance guard under Maldonado went ahead, setting up piles of stones at intervals to mark the route. Four days away the Teyas tepees were discovered in a steep-sided valley (barranca grande) like those of Colima in Mexico.³² It was probably here that a council of officers was held on May 27, Ascension Day,³³ at which it was decided that Coronado with a picked party should go toward Quivira, while the army should return to Tiguex. From this valley the force seems to have gone on farther to another valley (barranca) which was a league wide,³⁴ and here the tired invaders camped upon the meadows that stretched along the stream. We are twice told by one narrator that up to this point the Spaniards had done 37 days' marching,³⁵ which would mean 20 days since meeting the Querechos. Another thinks it might have been more than 20 days after the easterly turn,³⁶ but admits an uncertain recollection. Our best authority, however, must be Coronado, who says that he traveled 77 days to Quivira, of which 42 days were done after

28. Castaneda, p. 65.

29. Castaneda, pp. 66-67.

30. Jaramillo, p. 230.

31. Coronado, p. 215.

32. Castaneda, p. 67.

33. Mota-Padilla, Bureau of Ethnol., 14th Ann. Report, p. 506.

34. Castaneda, p. 70.

35. Castaneda, pp. 72, 76.

36. Jaramillo, p. 231.

leaving his army,³⁷ thus giving a tally of 35 days from Tiguex to the valley camp and a date of probably May 31 for arrival there.

While the army rested at the valley and made friends with Teyas neighbors,³⁸ Coronado set out with thirty companions and new guides to seek Quivira. His course lay toward the north. Traveling with short marches across open plains,³⁹ he reached on June 29, the day of St. Peter and St. Paul,⁴⁰ a river ford, and after 42 days he found Quivira, the end of his search. Two of the sources declare that it took thirty days to cover the route from the valley camp to the ford.⁴¹ If Castaneda's date for the start from Tiguex be accepted this space of time would be impossible. Even with the data at hand our chronology, in order to compass the 30 days must refuse Coronado any pause at the valley camp, which is perhaps contrary to some of the implications of the sources. It may be that Coronado's 35 days from Tiguex includes the four days' pause at the Canadian River. If so the arrival at the valley camp falls on May 27, the day of the council of officers, and leaves the commander about four days of preparation for his northern ride. However this may be, the sources indicate that Coronado's party left the valley camp on May 31, moving northerly, that he crossed the San Pedro y San Pablo river ford on June 29, and reached Quivira about July 11. The geography of this northern journey has been explained by Mr. Richey.⁴² The river ford is to be located on the Arkansas River near modern Dodge City, Kansas, from which point the Spaniards followed the trend of the stream northeasterly, continuing past Great Bend to find their goal in the region about Dickinson County, Kansas. Some time later Coronado, with his aim achieved, started homeward, led by Indian guides who knew a route to Tiguex more direct than that by which he had come.⁴⁴ The return route is thus described: "They brought us back by the same road as far as where I said before that we came to a river called San Pedro y San Pablo, and here we left that by

37. Coronado, p. 217.

38. Castaneda, p. 70.

39. Jaramillo, p. 233; Coronado, p. 217.

40. Jaramillo, p. 233.

41. Jaramillo, p. 233; Rel. del Suceso, p. 209.

42. Kansas Hist. Socy. Transactions, Vol. VIII, p. 154-158.

44. Rel. del Suceso, p. 210.

which we had come, and taking the right hand they led us along by watering places and among cows and by a good road, although there are none either one way or the other except those of the cows, as I have said. At last we came to where we recognized the country where I said we *found the first settlement, where the Turk led us astray from the route we should have followed.*'⁴⁵ Putting this statement in other words, it says that Coronado retraced his route from northeastern Kansas to the ford near Dodge City, then turned more westerly and after some days, having all the time kept well out on the plains among the buffalo herds, he found himself at the region where he had come upon the Querechos during the outward journey, and where the Indian guides had turned away to the east and become lost upon the prairie. Jaramillo is the giver of this testimony, but Coronado himself seems to say something of similar import. Writing to the emperor about the buffalo herds he says: "For while I was journeying through these plains, until I returned to where I first found them (the buffaloes) there was not a day that I lost them."⁴⁶ Jaramillo's story of the return journey may be used to supplement the evidence derived from the incidents of the outward journey and therewith fix the site of the Querecho camp. Remembering that the Spaniards were moving north-northeast,⁴⁷ when they found the camp it becomes clear that it lay far enough west to permit of an easterly turn of their route somewhere near the head waters of the Cimarron; far enough east to be well away from the foothills of the mountains; far enough north to permit of a march of about seventy Spanish leagues from the Canadian before reaching it; and so far south that the Spanish army on moving easterly therefrom quite failed to learn aught of the Arkansas River. These considerations indicate that the camp was probably in Beaver County, Oklahoma. Very differently Mr. Hodge's interpretation regards the Querecho camp as somewhere about Hockley County, Texas.⁴⁸ It is obvious that no reasonably direct route from the Arkansas River to Pecos would deviate to Hockley County.

45. Jaramillo, p. 237.

46. Coronado, p. 214.

47. Castaneda, p. 66.

48. See map in Winship's Journey of Coronado.

While Coronado's party was picking its way across the prairies northward from the valley camp his army, Tristan de Arellano in command, remained at the camp a fortnight⁴⁹ resting and drying buffalo meat for the homeward march. About June 15, presumably, it set forth westerly across the plains, led by Teyas guides.⁵⁰ Of the days that immediately followed nothing significant is told except that the guides led the force by a more direct route than that by which it had come and that on the way it passed some salt ponds.⁵¹ After a time the army reached the same great river passed on its outward journey. Following the stream thirty leagues the site of the bridge was discovered, and from here the route to Tiguex was retraced.⁵² The homeward march occupied 25 days, making the arrival at Tiguex about July 10, or as is chronicled "about the middle of July," Coronado, on his part, remained at Quivira 25 days⁵³ or until about August 5 before taking the homeward trail, so that his return was still later.

It is important to fix the location of the valley camp from whence Coronado and his army set forth on their separate ways. Little direct information on this point is to be found in the sources. From the day the army turned easterly after meeting with the Querechos it continued easterly as far at least as the Teyas camps.⁵⁴ Its course must have been also more or less southerly at the same time as otherwise the chord of its arc would not permit the return of the army to Tiguex in nearly one-half the time occupied in coming. The references to the valleys and salt ponds hint also a probability that the valley camp lay somewhere in the gypsum hills region of western Oklahoma.⁵⁵ From this meager array of direct fact we turn to indirect suggestions. Coronado writes to the emperor that he has explored 200 leagues around Tiguex, and that he has traveled 300 leagues over the plains.⁵⁶ This in itself is not particularly illuminative, but it leads

49. Castaneda, p. 73.

50. Castaneda, p. 75-76.

51. Castaneda, pp. 75-76.

52. Castaneda, pp. 76-77.

53. Coronado, p. 219.

54. Castaneda, p. 66; Jaramillo, p. 231.

55. For the topography of Oklahoma see U. S. Geological Survey, Water Supply Papers, No. 148.

56. Coronado, pp. 214, 220.

us to give special consideration to another narrator who seems to re-state Coronado's figures in more explicit terms. Of the return from Quivira he says, "We went back by a more direct route, because in going by the way we went we traveled 330 leagues, and it is not more than 200 by that by which we returned."⁵⁷ With the aid of the sources and a modern map we factor the 200 leagues of direct route into 40 leagues from Quivira camp to Rio San Pedro y San Pablo, 40 leagues from the river to the point where the guides went astray on the outward journey, 65 leagues from the straying point to the edge of the plains near the bridge, 30 leagues from the plains to Cicuye, and 25 leagues from Cicuye to Tiguex. Of these various distances all but the 40 leagues between the river ford and the straying point were traveled on both the outward and the return journeys, and we learn therefrom that of the 330 leagues of outward journey about 170 leagues belong to the detour from the straying point to the valley camp and thence to the river ford. Therefore the valley camp must be so located that the sum of the route distances from the easterly turn in Beaver County and from the Arkansas River ford must be about 170 leagues. Leaving this conclusion for the moment there may be recalled the army's journey from the valley camp to Tiguex, made in 25 days. Of this time we are entitled to suppose that the last eight days were occupied, as on the outward journey, in marching from the great river to Tiguex, leaving seventeen preceding days for the march between the valley camp and the river. At the recorded rate of six or seven leagues to a day's march this supposition would place the valley camp at somewhere about 110 leagues easterly from the bridge across the great river, of which distance 30 leagues would lie along the river's course. It is very obvious that neither of these two calculations can pretend to be otherwise than loosely approximate, and that on the basis of such data it is impossible to assign any specific site for the valley camp. On the other hand, despite the looseness of the estimates, it is evident that they fix in a rough way the geographic district in which the camp site must be placed. To meet the greatest number of text requirements and to permit of the above calculations the

57. Rel. del Suceso, p. 210.

camp must be located at somewhere about the present-day Caddo County, Oklahoma. On his outward journey Coronado with his army must have moved eastward from Beaver County and then swung southerly far enough to reach this part of the plains, from whence later on he moved northerly again toward the Arkansas River. One of the sources says that Coronado in his outward march went 100 leagues east and 50 leagues south.⁵⁸ Very probably this refers to that portion of the journey from the entrance upon the great plains to the valley camp, in which case the statement has a certain value as showing that the southerly movement of the Spaniards began about the time they found the Teyas and that it covered the last fifty leagues of the outward march. Since, however, the text of the source is far from clear in its references it would seem rather unsafe to build any theory therefrom. The army, in setting off westward from the valley camp probably passed the salt springs of Roger Mills county and moved along the watershed south of the Canadian until it traversed the Texas Panhandle and found the Canadian at some place near the present New Mexico line, where the river curves toward the south, from that point following it 30 leagues and then turning westerly across the mountain toward Pecos.

In this connection comes Castaneda's assurance, thrice given,⁵⁹ that up to the valley camp the Spaniards had marched 250 leagues, carefully recorded by a man appointed to register each day's march. By Castaneda's own figures this would imply an aggregate march of about 120 or 130 leagues after straying from the direct route to Quivira, and it would carry the army apparently either into the hill country of eastern Oklahoma—a location which cannot harmonize with the implications of the text—or so far southerly as to create discord with certain other implications. It will be recalled that while some extent of southerly march seems necessary to an interpretation of the text not one among the sources clearly recognizes any southerly movement. Castaneda's figures, then, seem to be in opposition to more weighty facts of the text and may be set aside, as far as they apply to the eastern or southern limits of the army's march. At

58. *Rel. del Suceso*, pp. 207-208.

59. Castaneda, pp. 72, 111, 145.

the same time it may be said that very possibly the army's route embraced turnings and windings not indicated in the descriptive text and that Castaneda's 250 leagues may be wholly correct as to the aggregate amount of marching.

With the return of Coronado's scouting party to Tiguex the story of the famous journey ends, but to the puzzling uncertainty that clings about the identification of the great river crossed by the army on its outgoing and return march some further reference is due. Jaramillo's text seems to identify it with the Canadian: the text of Castaneda seems to identify it with the Pecos.⁶⁰ As between the texts of these two writers there is little ground for favoring one more than the other. Both men were members of the expedition, and each was blest, apparently, with good observation and lasting memory. They probably penned their respective narratives at about the same time, some 25 years after the march took place.⁶¹ Castaneda is not exempt from slips in accuracy, as his errors of date prove, but Jaramillo may also have his errors. Neither tells the route from Pecos pueblo across the mountains in phrasing that is clear geographically. So, while they are apparently discordant upon this matter of the great river their texts afford no very good reason for a choice between them. The argument that would prefer Jaramillo to Castaneda must really be based upon the modern map, rather than upon any authoritative superiority of one text over the other. If Coronado's outgoing army, led by Indian guides who knew something of the country, really followed a reasonably direct route from Pecos toward Quivira, in modern Kansas, as the sources seem to imply, it must necessarily have first followed the Pecos River for a space, leaving it at some point far below

60. Jaramillo, p. 229; Castaneda, pp. 64, 76.

61. Pedro Menendez de Aviles, the famous adelantado of Florida, was planning in 1565 an overland route from Florida to the Mexican mines of Zacatecas and San Martin, and he was at this time somewhat acquainted with the earlier explorations of Coronado (Ruidiaz y Caravia, *La Florida*, II, 95, 98.) At about this same time Menendez' brother-in-law, Gonzalo Solis de Meras, was writing an account of the adelantado's exploits (Ruidiaz, I.) Jaramillo's statement that he has given an account to Gonzalo Solis de Meras (Winship, p. 240), together with Castaneda's statement that he writes more than 20 years after the march (Winship, p. xxx), seem to indicate some connection with Menendez and his projects. The adelantado never lost sight of his plan for overland communication, and as late as 1573 secured a royal grant of the whole region from Florida westward to the frontier of northern Mexico (Ruidiaz, II, 368-373).

the pueblo town, and then, turning toward the northeast it must certainly have crossed the Canadian, at that time of the year swollen by the spring floods.⁶² In their references to the outgoing march both Castaneda and Jaramillo use phraseology that may be harmonized with this view. It is only when Castaneda comes to describe the homeward march that he antagonizes this interpretation. It seems fair to suppose then, in the light of what is known as to the general plan of the march, that Castaneda, after the lapse of twenty odd years, confused his recollections of the two rivers and, believing that only one existed, ascribed to that one the facts that should have been divided between two. This of course is conjecture, but conjecture has its legitimate use when historical sources are to be interpreted.

62. The upper Canadian during April and May is a fluctuating stream that for days may keep a depth of six to ten feet and a width sometimes reaching 300 feet in places. At times, however, it is easily forded even at this season.

LITTLE WARS OF THE REPUBLIC

BY JOHN R. MEADER

PART VII.—THE TREASON SOCIETIES IN THE REBELLION

IT was early in 1863, at the very hour when the men who were fighting to preserve the Union stood most in need of sympathy and support, that the friends of freedom suddenly made the discovery that, instead of being upheld by a practically united North, the efforts of the Federal Army were being seriously handicapped by a number of treasonable organizations which had come into existence in several of the loyal States since the outbreak of the war. That treason existed in the North had been a foregone conclusion for some time. That the Confederate Government had its agents everywhere, and that they were successful in keeping the Southern commanders informed as to the plans of the Union Army was no longer a secret in official circles. That the treasonable sentiments which had found expression in Congress were uttered for the purpose of arousing Northern sympathy for the cause of secession, and that the United States mails were being used to give such utterances wider publicity than they could hope to obtain through the columns of a generally loyal press, were facts that were apparent, even to the most conservative citizens. With "rebel agents" in the halls of Congress, therefore; when there were outspoken traitors even among the men who had personally pledged themselves to uphold the Constitution of the country, it was but reasonable to imagine that a similar sentiment might exist among persons who were not supposed to be so conspicuously loyal in their services to the Government, and yet there was no one who dreamed that this spirit

of treason had spread so widely throughout the country that the hearts of hundreds of thousands of supposedly patriotic citizens had become polluted by its influence.

It was the convention of the Anti-War Peace Democrats, held at Springfield, Ill., in 1863, which was largely responsible for the discovery of the conspiracy of which the Federal Government was to have been the victim, for while rumors of the institution of a wide-spread organization of "treason societies" had reached the ears of the authorities the first official information of the existence of such a plot came from the secret service agents who were assigned to attend this gathering of peace-democrats. Composed of nearly one hundred thousand men, the enthusiasm of this great vast assemblage finally became so great that the members not only adopted resolutions protesting against "the further offensive prosecution of the war," but, in their speeches of sympathy for the outlawed traitor, Clement L. Vallandigham, they gave expression to sentiments which plainly indicated the existence of a secret treason organization with which most, if not all of the delegates, were associated.

Fortified with the knowledge that the rumors which the Government had been scarcely willing to credit were actually founded upon fact, it was but a short time before the secret service had accumulated such a vast quantity of evidence that, when the matter was finally brought to the attention of President Lincoln and his cabinet, and Judge Advocate General Holt was immediately assigned to undertake the exposure of all such societies and see that the members of such associations were speedily brought to justice. On October 8, 1864, therefore, Judge Holt filed with the Secretary of War a report in which he presented a mass of charges against hundreds of prominent men in various parts of the country—many of whom were either State officials, members of Congress, or other employes of the Government—and these charges were such definite arraignments, and so well established by the evidence which he presented, that the treasonable scandal would unquestionably have been followed by the execution or severe punishment of scores of the leaders of the peace-democracy, if, at about that time, the conflict of arms had not been brought to such a happy ending, for in the joy

of reestablished peace and in a prospect of a speedy reunion everything was forgiven and forgotten—forgotten so thoroughly that the story of the great conspiracy is, to-day, almost an unremembered page in history. Tucked away among the archives of the War Department, however, Judge Holt's terrible arraignment still remains, an unanswered and unanswerable exposure of a plot that for its unrelenting malignity is probably unparalleled in the world's history.

It is not known in what year the organization called the "Knights of the Golden Circle" came into existence, but there seems to be little doubt that the institution of this society and the election of President Buchanan occurred at about the same time. For several years it maintained the secrecy of its organization so perfectly that no one but its members knew that it existed, and yet it was constantly at work, from its headquarters in Havana, preparing for the establishment of an empire that should include all the territory within a radius of 1,200 miles of the capital of Cuba—the Southern States as far north as Baltimore, a part of Mexico, all of Central America, and much of the coast along the Caribbean Sea—making a nation that would indeed have been bounded by a "golden circle," for by its control over the four great staples—cotton, sugar, tobacco and rice—it would have been able to have exerted a commanding influence in the commercial world.

Just what part this subject played in the movement for secession is a secret which will probably never be told. That many of the leaders in the establishment of the Confederacy were prominently identified with its purposes has long been established as a fact, and it is, of course, known that, immediately after the declaration of war between the North and the South, its lodges were instituted in all sections of the Southern territory, and both the officers and the enlisted men in the Confederate Army hastened to become Knights of the Golden Circle.

It was during the year 1862 that this secret association first made its appearance within the borders of the loyal States. In the early days of the war the belief that the struggle would be of brief duration was so general that such an organization seemed unnecessary, but, upon the first announcement of the conscrip-

tion of troops the disloyal spirit, which had been kept somewhat under control, began to exert its influence and numerous secret societies, organized expressly to obstruct and resist the draft, came into existence among the disaffected. In different localities these associations were known by different names, and the "Circle of Honor," the "Mutual Protective Society," the "Knights of the Mighty Host," were among the titles beneath which the leaders concealed their treasonable purpose. Among those who were prominently identified with this movement, however, it was generally understood that each and all of these apparently insignificant associations were in affiliation with and organized under the direction of the Knights of the Golden Circle.

Owing to the exigencies which presented themselves several modifications were made in the organization of the order as early as 1863. In St. Louis the Belgian consul, Charles L. Hunt, who was at heart one of the most enthusiastic of secession sympathizers, organized a society which he called the "Corps de Belgique," for the purpose of affording aid to the Confederate general, Sterling Price, when he should undertake the invasion of Missouri, an enterprise for which he was then making plans. In fact, soldiers were being recruited; arms and ammunition were being purchased, and men were being drilled that they might be prepared to join forces with the rebel invaders, when a partial exposure of the plot resulted in the arrest of some of the leading spirits of the society, including the Belgian consul, whose exequatur was immediately revoked by the President. As it was plainly impossible that, under such circumstances, the association should maintain the purpose for which it was organized, the headquarters of the society was removed to the South, where it became the Southern section of another organization, the "Order of American Knights," which was founded for the express purpose of affording Vollandigham and his associates—chief among whom was P. C. Wright, the editor of the New York News—an opportunity of performing some useful service for the cause of secession.

Among all the men who were prominently identified with the anti-war movement in the North not one was more conspicuous

for his outspoken opposition to the acts of the Administration than Clement L. Vallandigham. A member of Congress from Ohio, at the outbreak of the war he had strenuously opposed every military move made by the Government on the ground that its action was both unconstitutional and unnecessary. Failing to secure a reelection in 1863, he returned to Ohio where he held a series of public meetings in which he denounced the federal war policy in such vigorous terms that finally, in May, he was arrested at Dayton by General Burnside, then commander of the military department of the Ohio. Tried before a military tribunal at Cincinnati, he was quickly found guilty of treasonable utterances and conduct and was sentenced to close confinement during the continuance of the war. A few days later President Lincoln commuted this sentence to banishment beyond the Federal borders and Vallandigham immediately went into the Confederate lines through Rosecrans' camp at Murfreesboro.

Although a traitor in the opinion of all loyal citizens, there were so many men, especially throughout the West, who held similar views that he left many friends and sympathizers in various parts of the North. In fact, so strong was the sentiment in his favor that he was nominated for Governor by the Democrats of Ohio during his period of banishment, but, while he was supported by many prominent citizens, including several members of Congress, he was overwhelmingly defeated at the polls.

The Governorship of Ohio, however, was not the place which Vallandigham was most anxious to fill. Knowing that he had many friends in the so-called loyal States, he conceived the idea of binding these individuals together in one oath-bound organization by means of which they might be able, working as a unit, to accomplish great achievements for the cause of "peace and disunion." Arriving at Richmond, therefore, he held several conferences with President Jefferson Davis, and, having fully outlined the situation, the organization of the "Order of American Knights," of which Vallandigham was appointed Northern commander, was effected. The ritual for the order was composed by President Davis himself, and the ex-Congressman, his mission accomplished, hastened to Windsor, Canada, from which

point he directed the institution of lodges in various parts of the North, a labor which was attended with such satisfactory results that, at the time of Judge Holt's exposure of the Order, in 1864, more than a thousand branches had been established in Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, and Kentucky, while there were many scattered lodges "in Michigan, and the other Western States, as well as in New York, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware and Tennessee." Moreover, the new amendments to the Constitution to provide for the seating of a representation from the Territories in the Supreme Council, indicated very clearly that a still wider extension of the Order was contemplated.

If a more malignant plot was ever laid, if a more insidious conspiracy was ever conceived against a civilized government, history presents no record of such a crime. Even to-day, when the question of the right or the wrong of the secession controversy has been buried for all time, and the citizens of the reconstructed nation are again bound by the bonds of brotherly affection, one shrinks with horror at the idea that America could ever have harbored such a widespread spirit of debasement. It was not war, for warfare makes itself respected, whereas this deliberate attempt to pollute the minds of a nation's people by a scientifically planned course of instruction in the principles of treason is far beyond the pale of legitimate conflict.

The organization of the American Knights was designed to follow strictly military lines. Between Vallandigham, the commander in the North, and General Price, who commanded in the South, there was an unbroken chain of communication, while the lodges which they controlled were practically nothing more or less than a string of armories in which the troops were constantly being drilled in preparation for the final blow, which, it was fondly anticipated, would result in the complete overthrow of the Union policy. By the use of a general system of signs and passwords members from the Northern States were enabled to pass without risk into the Southern lines, and, besides these signals of recognition, there was a complete code of signs of warning and danger by means of which it was not only possible to give announcement of the approach of an enemy—by day as

well as by night—but members in the field were able to maintain communication with the Southern forces, to keep them posted as to the plans of the Union Army, or to save themselves from personal injury or capture if at the front. In order to accomplish such a definite purpose it was necessary that the military significance of the Order should predominate so thoroughly that its members should recognize the fact that their officers occupied a dual position: That they held their offices as civilians in the society which met in the lodge room, and yet, at the same time, they were officers of a military force and in full command of the troops in their respective territory. Thus, this order was able to comprise within itself an army of hundreds of thousands of well-armed men, men who, constantly drilled and exercised as soldiers, stood ready at any moment to resist with force the action of the Federal military authorities. In March, 1864, it was stated that the troops capable of being mobilized for effective service at short notice comprised scarcely less than three hundred and fifty thousand men, all of whom were completely armed with weapons furnished by private individuals, or purchased by means of a tax levied upon all members who had taken the obligations of the high degrees. Successfully smuggled into the hands of the local commanders, the arms and ammunition were either concealed in the lodge rooms, or at the homes of the most trustworthy members.

As the ritual of the order provided for five separate degrees of membership, and forbade the advancement of any member from a lower degree to a higher one until he had shown strong proof that he was worthy of such confidence; and as, in the lower degrees no reference was made to the actual purposes of the society, it was found that a large proportion of its members had applied for admission upon the supposition that they were joining a perfectly loyal Democratic political association. Sworn to yield prompt and implicit obedience to their chiefs, "without remonstrance, hesitation or delay," by an oath which prescribed a most shameful death for those who violated their obligations, or who failed to hold their pledge paramount to any oath which might be administered by any court of law, or other authority, it was not infrequent that a considerable period elapsed before

the newly-initiated member discovered the true character of the institution with which he had associated himself. In the meantime, however, by a systematic method of discipline and instruction he was trained to accept without question the principles of treason held by the founders of the order. While it is known that a few loyal citizens, concerned by the crimes which were contemplated, withdrew from the society as soon as they recognized its character, the majority of those who joined the order in ignorance of its purposes did not appear to have been troubled by any such qualms of conscience.

While posing as a purely political organization, however, its written principles alone were sufficient to stamp it as a treasonable association. At the very beginning of its "Declaration of Principles," for example, it taught the necessity of slavery in the following bold language:

"In the Divine Economy no individual of the human race must be permitted to encumber the earth, to mar its aspect of transcendent beauty, nor to impede the progress of the physical or intellectual man, neither in himself nor in the race to which he belongs. Hence, a People upon whatever plane they may be found in the ascending scale of humanity, whom neither the divinity within them, nor the inspiration of divine and beautiful nature around them can impel to virtuous action and progress onward and upward, should be subjected to a just and humane servitude and tutelage to the superior race until they shall be able to appreciate the benefits and advantages of civilization."

Another section of the Constitution taught the doctrine of State Sovereignty, carrying the theory to the last possible conclusion by teaching that it was incompatible with the history and nature of the American system of government that Federal authority should attempt to "coerce by arms a Sovereign State," and all members of the higher degrees of the order not only solemnly pledged themselves to resist, and, if necessary, expel by force of arms any attempt on the part of Government functionaries to violate this principle, but promised that:

"I will, at all times, if need be, take up arms in the cause of the oppressed—in my own Country first of all—against any power or government usurper, which may be found in arms and

waging war against a people, or peoples, who are endeavoring to establish, or have inaugurated a government for themselves, of their own free choice."

If treason appeared in the written principles of the order, however; if it permeated its creed, and was set forth in every oath and obligation which it required of its members, what can be said of its unwritten purposes, the specific objects which were inculcated by word of mouth alone! From beginning to end they spelled disloyalty to the Federal Government and co-operation with the Confederate cause. To those who had taken the oaths of the higher degrees these principles of the order foreshadowed duties that could not be shirked, for there was no lack of opportunity for those who desired to aid the rebels.

In the very beginning of its history the members of these societies began their work of secret and silent opposition to the efforts of the government at Washington. As oppositionists to the war policy of the administration their first object was to attempt to undermine the army. By agents who were sent into the various camps, the Knights placed themselves in close touch with the soldiers, and, as many as were approachable were urged to desert—the food, money, and clothing necessary for the purpose being supplied from the treasury of the society. To those who balked at the idea of desertion they sent lawyers, who found some legal pretext by which they might obtain a release from their contract of enlistment. In fact, so successfully were these purposes carried out that one attorney in Indiana boasted that he himself had enabled more than five hundred enlisted men to escape service, while the total number of deserters and absentees returned to the army through the post of Indianapolis alone during the month of December, 1862, was more than twenty-six hundred.

If the deserter chanced to be arrested, the Order of American Knights stood ready with ample funds and able legal aid to defend him. Disloyal judges, themselves members of the order, promptly issued the necessary writs of *habeas corpus*, while such officials as might refuse to obey these writs, on the ground that they had been suspended by the President, were quickly arrested, some on the charge of kidnapping and others for contempt of

court, and were held in confinement until their prisoners had been given time to conceal themselves. Again and again military detachments sent to arrest deserters were forcibly resisted by armed bodies of men, and those who were not shot were frequently driven back to camp by the sheer force of superior numbers. In such cases the bands of obstructionists were almost invariably composed of members of one of the secret orders.

One the chief objects which led to the introduction of the Knights of the Golden Circle into Northern territory was the desire to obstruct the draft, and this purpose remained one of the most important principles of all the secret societies which succeeded the original order. Whenever possible men were discouraged from enlisting, and, wherever the order was sufficiently powerful, the draft was forcibly resisted. In Indiana and Illinois, during 1862 and 1863, several enrollment officers were shot; in Blackford county, Indiana, an attack was made on the court house, during which all the books and papers relating to the draft were destroyed, and, in both States, large military force was constantly maintained for the express purpose of protecting those who were engaged in the work of enlistment. As the result of these uprisings, for nearly all of which the treasonable societies were responsible, fully two hundred persons were indicted for conspiracy in Indiana alone. Of these more than sixty were convicted.

So far as the members themselves were concerned their position, in view of the possibility of conscription, was clearly defined by the order. A member who volunteered to serve in the Union army, was promptly expelled; if he was drafted, he was instructed to make his escape at the first opportunity, and, if he should be driven to the field of battle, it became his duty to use his arms against his fellow-soldiers until such time as he might safely desert to "the enemy," by whom he would instantly be recognized as a friend.

If the leaders of the order were assiduous in their efforts to interfere with the Federal enlistment, however, they had no such objections to the reinforcement of the Confederate troops, for they not only furnished arms and ammunition in large quantities to their Southern allies, but they recruited for them and assisted

them in carrying out their own work of recruiting within the Northern lines. One of the most important permanent funds of the order, a fund which was established in the early days of its organization, was applied to this purpose alone, and all who were ready to signify their willingness to battle for the Confederate cause were supplied with horses, arms, equipments, and money before they were guided across the border. It was estimated by the secret service men engaged in the investigation of the workings of these societies, that, during a few weeks in April and May, 1864, more than two thousand men were sent South by this agency through Louisville alone, a fact which clearly indicates the important nature of the service which the treason associations must have performed for the enemies of their country during the several years of the war.

These acts of sympathy, valuable as they must have been, do not begin to represent the efforts which were made by the members of this order in favor of the Confederacy. Through their agency all kinds of disloyal and treasonable literature was circulated—books like Pollard's "History of the War," "Abraham Africanus; or the Mysteries of the White House," and the "Lincoln Catechism," while interdicted by the Government, were procurable in large or small quantities by requisition drawn upon any of the grand commanders. If rebel spies appeared they were assured of protection and assistance in their work, and the organization missed no opportunity to keep the Southern officials well informed as to any item of intelligence that might be of interest to them. The particular value of this service was shown by the aid which the disloyalists were able to give to the guerilla bands and other small bodies of troops which might be employed in making incursions into the border States. That one of the primary objects of the society was to co-operate with the rebel forces by means of a general uprising, in the midst of which the Southern army would be able to obtain a safe and sure foothold in the North, was never a secret to those who were in the confidence of the order. The matter had been discussed at lodge meetings, and, on several occasions, preparations had been made to carry the plot into effect. In each case, however, some victory of the Union arms made such an attempt at invasion seem

impracticable. Between the order and the various bands of guerillas, however, there had always been a firm bond of sympathy. They had aided the latter in many of their expeditions; they had given them support and assistance when they were most sorely in need of it, and they had furnished them with United States Treasury notes for use within the Northern lines. In co-operation with them they had inaugurated a reign of terror among the loyal residents of Indiana and Missouri, assaulting them and openly threatening their lives; burning their barns and grain-houses, and sometimes even driving them from their homes under penalty of physical injury if they remained. Together they plotted the destruction of government property in different localities, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that the cold-blooded assassination of Union officers and loyal citizens in the Military district of Northern Missouri was the work of the same conspirators, just as they were responsible for the secret killing of pickets at Memphis, and for the wholesale slaughter of soldiers at Charleston, Ill., in May, 1864. As Judge Holt says in his report:

“This concerted murderous assault upon a scattered body of men, mostly unarmed—apparently designed for the mere purpose of destroying as many lives of Union soldiers as possible—is a forcible illustration of the utter malignity and depravity which characterize the members of this Order in their zeal to commend themselves as allies to their fellow-conspirators at the South.”

Eager as one might be to remove the stain of murder from an order composed so largely of presumably respectable American citizens, many of them men of affairs and officials of the Government, the task is one which no honest historian would care to undertake. According to their own testimony—the evidence given by the most prominent members of the order after their arrest—murder had long been included in their scheme of operation. Green B. Smith, Grand Secretary of the order in Missouri, confessed that secret assassination had not only been discussed in the councils but had been recommended, while, at a meeting of the Grand Council of Indiana, held on June 14, 1864, the murder of a Government detective named Coffin was determined upon,

and H. H. Dodd, the grand commander of the State, volunteered to go to Ohio, where Coffin was supposed to be, and "there dispose of the latter." Unsavory as this exposure was, these incidents represent but a few of the crimes, which, according to their own confessions, the members of this order either contemplated or carried into execution, and, in the face of such testimony, there seems to be no logical reason why one should attempt to paint this organization in any but its true colors, for it unquestionably stands as one of the blackest blots upon the pages of American history.

Back of it all, however, there was an ulterior motive, known to most of its members and openly proclaimed at many of its assemblies. This motive was the creation of another Republic. In other words, if the Southern army had been victorious it was the boasted purpose of this order to establish immediately a Western Confederacy in close alliance with that of the South. Realizing that, at the end of a disastrous war, with all its resources exhausted, its currency hopelessly depreciated, and the confidence of all its friends shaken, the Federal Government would be in no position to resist the secession of the Western States, the leaders of the order saw nothing impossible in their scheme. To secure an easy victory all that was required was the continued success of the Southern army, and so, to this object the order plotted, ever seeking by the incitement of disorder and discontent to discourage the partisans of the North. It has even been stated that the new confederacy had actually been organized and that its provisional government, with all its officers and departments was in active but secret operation at the very moment when the Government struck its fatal blow at the root of the society's existence. The evidence in support of this statement, however, is too incomplete to be accepted as trustworthy.

Planned with absolute deliberation and fortified with evidence that could not be controverted, the order could not stand in the face of the Government's exposure of its most vital secrets. At the exact moment the spies of the society had considered themselves unobserved, others had been calmly spying upon them; in the midst of their most secret plots, members of Congress and other public officials had taken the Government's agents into

their confidence. To these agents the order had no secrets. They knew whose desks and safes contained the most treasonable documents; they knew whose mattresses concealed the traitorous rituals, and, although the order sought to save itself by assuming a new name, they were soon able to prove that the "Order of the Sons of Liberty" was but another title for the "Order of American Knights," now everywhere known as the ally of the Knights of the Golden Circle.

Too deeply implicated to recant, with no time left in which to withdraw from the dangerous position in which they were placed, and with little opportunity to save themselves by flight, the only course left for the members of the order was to remain and accept arrest. And arrests there were—by the hundreds—arrests of judges, lawyers, business and professional men, men of wealth and men of poverty, politicians and office-holders, some of them high in the confidence of the Government. In New York, Editor Wright was arrested and lodged in Fort Lafayette. In Indiana, Missouri, Illinois and Kentucky, the most prominent officers were arrested for conspiracy, violation of the laws of war, or other charges. Several women, too, were taken in the coils, women who, while outwardly professing to be loyal, had been actively engaged in receiving and forwarding mails and contraband stores between the order and the Southern army.

In the beginning the prisoners were inclined to be defiant, and they began to deny the charges against them, but, finally, when they commenced to realize the absolute futility of further denial, the majority of them broke down and confessed, fully admitting their own connection with the affairs of the order and convicting scores of others of having been equally guilty participants in the crimes of the conspirators.



RESIDENCE OF DR. WM. SMITH, SOUTHAMPTON, L. I.
(Built, 1759.) This house was rebuilt in 1878 by Wm. S. Pelletreau, the present owner, and the small picture shows it as it looks to-day

THOMAS WORTHINGTON*

BY PAUL PHILIP ROVER

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THERE have been, and are, men industrious in the public welfare who have been content to work out the good as they saw it from the immediate circumstances patiently and with consideration. A man of this character who combined within himself the antithesis of established Order and progress was Thomas Worthington of Ohio.

The early history of the two great political parties in the United States for the period 1815 to 1830 is generally well known. Just prior to, and at the beginning of the period, the war of 1812 had been carried on rather reluctantly, and in the main, unsuccessfully, by the adherents of the old Federal party forced to act because of the nature of circumstances in opposition to their dearest traditions and political beliefs. It was just as apparent however, that the Republican Democrat party under Jefferson had proven its political beliefs not entirely defensible in the light of the Louisiana Purchase and other matters of great political significance. Hence a new alignment of men and parties caused the inevitable confusion in political beliefs and their relation to political parties.

Because of this confusion the period is a difficult one to study. And if it is difficult to study from the national point of view—recalling the dualism in the governmental powers of the United States—it is still more difficult to grasp from the aspect of State government. The people elect the president and are guided by his political belief but it was the political belief of the majority of the people which made the president powerful. The people

*From an address before the Colonial Dames of Ohio.

live in the States and each State is supposed to have an individuality of its own.

The people of Ohio are the object of my study. Since the State of Ohio was a comparatively recent State in the year 1815 the study concerns itself with State political parties in the making. The object of the research is to show, therefore, how the people of early Ohio were influenced by national politics—how the national politics of the years 1815-1830 reflected itself on the government of their own State; the mechanism—townhall meetings, caucuses, methods of voting, newspapers and addresses—by which the political beliefs of the citizens of Ohio expressed themselves in growing political parties.

From the private Memoir written by Mrs. Sarah Peter King,—of which there is a manuscript copy in the library of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio,—much may be learned about the ancestry as well as the intimate life of Governor Thomas Worthington. "*Dignus virtute avorum*" is the motto of the book and the opening paragraph is couched in the following language:

"If the glory of children be in their fathers the ancient family of Worthington, of Lancashire, England, must have been rich in virtues, since it could be maintained without contradiction that they continued to practice the virtues of their ancestors. What noble motives are transmitted to their posterity in this chosen motto of their forefathers! May their descendants for whom these pages are prepared, cherish and perpetuate to future generations this true nobility of olden times!"

The Worthington family probably derived its name from an established manor in the time of James II. As loyalists under Charles First their estates were sequestered by order of Cromwell's government. Two brothers came to America about the year 1683 or 1684. One of the brothers, Robert, settled in Maryland and his grandson, Thomas, the subject of this paper, was born in Berkely, now Jefferson county, near Charleston, Virginia, July 16, 1773. Thomas Worthington's father died while preparing to join Washington with a troop of cavalry at Bath Springs, and, as a mere boy of fourteen, Thomas accepted as

his guardian General Darke, a gentleman who had served as colonel in the War of the Revolution. Determining the location of warrants which General Darke held in the Virginia Military Lands of Ohio in the year 1796 gave Worthington his first sight of the New West. This led him to purchase lands in the territory from General Darke. With his brother-in-law Dr. Tiffin he set out for Chillicothe May 1, 1797, with the avowed purpose of manumitting his slaves. Now he concluded to settle in the new country. Accordingly in April, 1798, at the head of a large party including a small army of slaves Worthington and Tiffin arrived in Chillicothe. The next year both Worthington and Tiffin were elected to the territorial legislature.

My purpose in the foregoing has been to show the nobility in the origin and character of Thomas Worthington in so far as the world grants that nobility lies in lineage, in so far as the statesman *Dignus virtute avorum* is a correct one. His was a mind which appreciated the value of past things, the power of settled interests of property interests, of established Order and centralized government. He was a Federalist in the same sense that George Washington "The Father of his Country" was a Federalist. Yet Worthington had come to a country where the very name "Federalist" was repugnant to venturesome, self-reliant men determined to work out their own destiny. For a long time after Ohio became a State, Ohio newspapers almost without exception, continued to inveigh against the candidate who might be suspected of Federalistic affiliations. Undoubtedly, the great underlying cause was that of Progress opposed to Order. Specifically, however, the anti-federalistic sentiment was the reply of the people of the North West Territory to the domineering arbitrary rule of Governor St. Clair. St. Clair repeatedly attempted to change the plan recognized by the Ordinance of 1787 to form States from the Territory and urged such a division of the Territory as to secure a Federalist population for his proposed new State. Both branches of the Territorial legislature, it seems, unwittingly, had concurred in the Governor's desire when Thomas Worthington appeared in the arena.

Not as the champion of the Republican Democrat party but

as the opponent of St. Clair's arbitrary rule, Worthington went to Philadelphia early in the year 1802 and induced Congress to set aside the view of the majority of the North West Territorial Legislature. On the third of April Congress passed the Enabling Act by which Ohio with its present boundaries was admitted into the Union. In a letter characteristic of the man Worthington wrote to Colonel Massie that day:

"I do myself the pleasure to enclose you a copy of the act for the admission of the Territory into the Union as a State. I leave this place in an hour."

After thus aiding the Territory of Ohio to secure the Enabling Act, the second great service in Worthington's public life was the part which he took in the formation of the Constitution of Ohio. He was a member of the committee on the preamble, on the first article of the Constitution, on the second article dealing with the judiciary, on the article dealing with sheriffs, coroners, etc., and chairman of the committee on the fifth article dealing with the organization of the militia. As a member of the committee on the third article dealing with the executive, he was directly responsible for the remarkable limitation in the power of the Chief Executive by which until very recently, November, 1903, the Governor of the State of Ohio has been unable to veto any Act of the Legislature of Ohio. This provision of the Constitution of 1802 was, of course, due to the experience which the Territory had had with the arbitrary rule of Governor St. Clair. Further than this, it emphasizes the endeavor of the people of a new community to exalt the direct representatives of the people—the legislative branch—as opposed to centralized authority. The most striking thing, however, germane to this discussion, is that Worthington, the upholder of settled interests and centralized authority should impose such a condition upon the Chief Executive. But the greatness of Worthington lay in the profound antithesis of Order as opposed to Progress—set forth as the theme of this discussion—the antithesis found throughout the movements and growth of Worthington's public life.

The proceedings of the Convention were approved by Con-

gress February 19, 1803, and Ohio became a State—the seventeenth admitted into the Union. It might well have been predicated that upon the meeting of the legislature in Chillicothe, March 1, 1803, Worthington was to be elected one of the first two senators from the new State to the United States senate.

In his career of twice-chosen senator, Worthington rendered his third great service to his country and to the State in the formation of which he had taken such a prominent part. He made few speeches but as the member, or, the chairman, of various committees he was able to initiate or formulate legislative measures characteristic of his day. Neglecting minor matters, three phases of legislative activity stand out as most important in an estimate of Thomas Worthington.

First, his advocacy of Internal Improvements. He introduced or furthered the building of the Cumberland Road, the construction of turnpikes throughout the Atlantic States, the digging of canals. All these were to be surveyed and owned if not operated by the federal government. Obviously, Worthington was of a Federal persuasion. Strangely enough, this coincided with the pronounced views of the democratic New West seeking immediate self-development. In this particular then, the West, which Worthington justly represented, was a Federal rather than a Republican Democrat country.

The second phase of Worthington's activity in the senate was his steady opposition to the policy of war against Great Britain. Not only did he vote against the declaration of war but even previous to the war he counselled against impetuosity and precipitancy in the reply which a wrathful senate had resolved to make anent the British aggressions. One of his few long speeches at that time was for the purpose of striking out the word "insist" from a senate resolution requesting the President of the United States,

"to demand and insist upon the restoration of the property of their citizens captured and condemned on the pretext of its being employed in a trade with the enemies of Great Britain."

Worthington wrote to his wife June 7, 1812:

"The measure alluded to in my last letter [declaration of war] has been decided. I have done my duty and satisfied my conscience. Thousands of innocents will suffer but I have born my testimony against it. And I thank God my mind is tranquil. What comfort there is in having done one's duty conscientiously! I care not for popularity and I only desire to know that I have acted for the best. Now that the step is taken I am bound to submit to the will of the majority and use my best exertions to stay my country from ruin."

Therefore as the head of what was probably the busiest and most important committee just previous to and during the War of 1812, Worthington consistently voted for the war party for all revenue measures military and economic, incident to the war.

Those men are the greatest men who typify most nearly the nature of Historic Growth. And, it seems to me, the greatest men are those whose conciliatory though firm spirit views the inevitable. Such men must indeed predominate in a people whose government is carried on through political parties. Only thus can a people achieve industrial talent and peaceful welfare. For if we regard the instability of the Spanish American republics we are aware at the same time of a woeful lack of the development of the natural resources of these countries, which should be the present aim of the inhabitants, because every change in the dominant political party government means an attempt, more or less successful, to exterminate all other political parties. The result is lack of material development coupled with a series of distressing revolutionary conflicts.

The third and possibly the greatest of the three most important phases of Worthington's activity in the senate was his work in connection with the actual opening of the New West.

"He was without question the authority in the senate on all questions concerning Public Domain, being always a member of the Committee on Public Lands and most of the time its chairman."

Gallatin wrote to Jefferson, November 25, 1806:

"Whatever relates to lands cannot be too closely watched.

Worthington is the only one in the Senate, since Breckenridge left who understands the subject. He has been perfectly faithful in that respect, trying to relieve the purchaser generally from being too hard pressed for payment."

Again Worthington showed his wisdom by his charity. He secured a definite trend of legislation by which the sections and quarter sections of the Ohio country were cut up into smaller increments allowing the poorer settlers to come in, thus preventing men with great capital from easily taking up or speculating in the vast tracts of Ohio lands which the United States had to offer. Here finally in the interest of Democracy, in the interest of personal rights based upon certain limited property qualifications, Thomas Worthington's labors in the United States senate seemed most important to me. This has been his most important work since concrete representation even to this day.

As in the philosophy of Worthington's bowing to the will of the majority while yet privately opposing the War of 1812, I tried to compare his actions found necessary to the success of the government by parties in the United States with the unsuccessful outcome of the same system in the Spanish American republics, so here I wish to again indicate the almost divine antithesis of Progress against Order, of personal rights against property rights, manifested in Worthington's comprehensive view of public domain in Ohio and the result of this view on the extraordinary prosperity of Ohio compared with a somewhat different system of public domain as originally planned in the great State of Kentucky which later caused the greatest confusion and disorder and conflict between personal and property rights in that State sufficient to abolish even the authority of the courts and to promote anarchy during a part of the period 1815-1830, where the typical figure in Ohio was Thomas Worthington.

I am now contending that the extraordinary prosperity of the State of Ohio has been due not so much to her natural resources as to the well defined recognition of persons and property rights, to the presence of men in the early history of Ohio approximating to the figure of Thomas Worthington. He came to the North

West Territory, a gentleman, in contest the equal of the territorial Governor St. Clair; he guided the Territory into Statehood, and he was among the first to represent the new State in the federal government.

He resigned his seat in the senate at the close of his second term to become the third governor of Ohio. In the inaugural address of December 8, 1814, he pleaded for united efforts in support of the Government within and without the State saying:

“If party division had not deeply affected the energies of the nation can any one believe—that with a proper management of its affairs, three campaigns would have passed by with so little effect on the enemy.”

Manifestly Worthington's mind transcended the evils of the party spirit in its extreme form. There was work to do while passions were abated and the chatter of party spirit made to wait. And these were some of the measures which Governor Worthington successfully urged upon the people of Ohio during his two terms, (1814-1816, 1816-1818). He was the first governor of Ohio to insist on free schools for the poor; the first governor to restrict the liquor traffic in favor of temperance; the man who built the Governor's Mansion at Columbus and who initiated the State library through an irregular though judicious use of the contingent fund allowed him by the legislature. He who secured the revision of the criminal laws and granted to the prisoner a portion of the net income of his labor and made efforts to reform instead of to punish the felon; he who established county infirmaries and more humane treatment for the poor; and, finally, he who steadily, consistently and all the time, advocated internal improvements,—roads and canals, such a man stands with the first of State governors not only in point of time but also in capacity and breadth of judgment.

Worthington's labors for his State did not cease with his second term in the executive office. The slow waters of the Miami and Erie canal winding within the environs of the City of Cincinnati bear witness to Worthington's fifth and final service to Ohio as representative in the House of Assembly from Ross County and chairman of the first Canal Commission in the

State of Ohio. We hardly realize the significance of canal transportation in the early history of the State. But if the thesis assumed by this discussion is correct, then the subject of Internal Improvements is seen to emphasize the fundamental need of humanity for cooperation which is indeed the aim of historical growth. Men need to be fully acquainted with each other in order to completely realize themselves, nay, even to realize their very existence. The manner of growth is intermittent but the end of growth is cooperation. So Thomas Worthington may well have believed himself to have reached the end of his peculiar labors for his people when, following the invited guest, Governor Clinton of New York, he turned the second shovelful of ground from out the projected diggings of the Miami Erie canal near Newark, Ohio, July 4, 1825.

Two years later he died in New York City June 20, 1827, whither he had gone to attend a meeting of certain canal commissioners. The *National Intelligencer* called him

“the father of the American System of Public Improvements.”

And later added:

“In laying the foundation for that prosperity for which Ohio has since become celebrated, the credit is due in no higher degree to any man than Thomas Worthington.”

Mr. Cole writes in his short biography:

“He [Worthington] inherited wealth and he spent it freely with his time and strength, dying at the early age of fifty-four worn out in the service of the State he helped to found and built to greatness. He was clearly the greatest man of the first generation of Ohio statesmen.”

With this quotation I conclude an essay to interpret the life of Thomas Worthington in itself and in the light of the particular time and conditions in which he found himself. These conditions exhibited confusion in political beliefs and political parties. Worthington's conception of the work he had to do trans-

cended the antithesis of Order versus Progress characteristic of the intermittent historic growth. The duty of great men and of leaders of men is, of course, to predict and to affect Progress having first of all however, mastered the established Order. I have said that Worthington was a Federalist "in the same sense that George Washington 'the Father of his Country' was a Federalist." Allow me now to go one step further and ask you to think of Thomas Worthington as the Father of Ohio.

HISTORY OF THE MORMON CHURCH

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE PROPHET'S TRIAL AT MONMOUTH—RETURN OF THE TWELVE FROM ENGLAND—BAPTISM FOR THE DEAD

THE attempt which was made by Missouri to extradite Joseph Smith in September, 1840, was renewed in the early part of June the year following. The Prophet had accompanied his brother Hyrum and William Law as far as Quincy en route to the Eastern states on a mission to which Hyrum and Law had been appointed in the preceding January. While at Quincy the Prophet called upon Governor Carlin by whom he was cordially received, and with whom he had a pleasant interview. Nothing was said with reference to the impending arrest, nor was the fact mentioned that the old requisition from Missouri was to be again acted upon. The Prophet had reached Bear Creek on his return journey, a point some twenty-eight miles south of Nauvoo, when a sheriff's posse under the direction of Thomas King, sheriff of Adam's county, accompanied by an officer from Missouri, arrested him on the old Missouri charges of "murder, arson, burglary," etc.; and under the old requisition of 1840, claiming him as a fugitive from justice.¹

1. Commenting on this requisition of the governor of Missouri when first issued and under which an attempt was made to arrest Joseph Smith and others in 1840, the *Times and Seasons* editorially said: "These men do not feel disposed to try again the solemn realities of mob law in that state: * * * "what a beautiful picture Governor Boggs has presented to the world, after driving twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants from their homes, forcing them to leave the state under the pain of extermination, and confiscating their property, and murdering innocent men, women, and children; then, because that a few made their escape from his murdering hand, and have found protection in a land of equal rights * * * he now has the presumption to demand them back" (From an editorial in the *Times and Seasons* for September, 1840).

The Prophet returned to Quincy in company with the sheriff's posse and secured a writ of habeas corpus from Charles A. Warren, master in chancery. The same evening, Saturday, June 5th, Judge Stephen A. Douglass arrived in Quincy, and appointed the hearing on the writ to take place the following Tuesday, at Monmouth, Warren county, seventy-five miles northeast from Nauvoo. En route for the place of trial, Sheriff King was taken ill, and received the kindest attention at the hands of his prisoner, who personally waited upon him with all the tenderness of a brother.

The advent of the Prophet and his party in Monmouth—he had been joined by a large number of his friends when passing through Nauvoo—created considerable excitement.² He was invited to preach, but being a prisoner he thought it best not to accept the invitation. Amasa M. Lyman, however, preached in the court house on the evening following the arrival of the party.

The prejudice of the people of Monmouth was as excessive as it was blind. They employed at their own expense several attorneys to assist the prosecution, and declared that if there were any lawyers in the district who would even undertake the defense of the Prophet, they never need look to people of that county again for political favors. But there were strong men in attendance at the court, men not frightened by such threats, and whose souls despised the petty minds that could frame them; Joseph, therefore, was ably defended by *Messrs.* Charles A. Warren, Sidney H. Little, O. H. Browning, James H. Ralston, Cyrus Walker, and Archibald Williams. The pleadings of the lawyers for the defence were peculiarly affecting, since all of them were more or less acquainted with the condition of the Saints when they fled from the violence of the Missourians to Illinois. O. H. Browning, living at Quincy, had seen several of these companies of Saints in their flight from Missouri, and could trace them by blood left

2. As illustrating the love of the brethren for their Phophet leader, it should be stated that the arrest created great excitement in Nauvoo, and a party of seven men, under the leadership of Hosea Stout, left Nauvoo for Quincy, fifty miles distant, in a skiff, to render the Prophet any assistance in their power, and prevent if possible his enemies from taking him to Missouri. They struggled against a headwind all day, but reached Quincy at dusk, only to learn that Joseph had gone to Nauvoo in charge of Sheriff King and another officer. (Documentary History of the Church, Vol. IV, p. 365.)

in their footprints on the snow; his recital of their sufferings moved Judge Douglass, most of the officers of the court and the spectators to tears. One of the brethren³ present who wrote an account of the trial for the *Times and Seasons*, says:

“Mr. Browning concluded his remarks by saying that to tell the prisoner to go to Missouri for a trial was adding insult to injury, and then said: ‘Great God! Have I not seen it! Yes, my eyes have beheld the blood stained traces of innocent women and children, in the dreary winter, who had traveled hundreds of miles barefoot, through frost and snow, to seek a refuge from their savage pursuers. ’Twas a scene of horror, sufficient to have enlisted the sympathy of an adamant heart. And shall this unfortunate man, whom their fury has seen proper to select for sacrifice, be driven into such a savage land, where none dare to enlist in the cause of justice? If there was no other voice under heaven ever to be heard in this cause, gladly would I stand alone, and proudly spend my last breath in defense of an American citizen.’ ”

The lawyers for the prosecution, according to the Prophet’s own account, acted honorably and confined themselves to the merits of the case, excepting two—*Messrs.* Knowlton and Jennings. They made an appeal both to the passions and the prejudices of the people. Judge Douglass, however, was impartial in his rulings, and gave the prisoner the full protection he was entitled to both under the law, and the procedure of his court.⁴

It was claimed for the prisoner in this case that he was unlawfully held, and could prove that the indictment upon which he was arrested had been obtained by fraud, bribery and duress. This line of defense, however, raised the question as to whether or not

3. The account of the trial from which the Browning excerpt is taken, was doubtless written by Robert B. Thompson, one of the editors of the *Times and Seasons*. See Documentary Hist. of the Ch. Vol. IV, p. 369. Also *Times and Seasons* for June 15, 1841.

4. Doubtless one of the officers of the court—the sheriff of Warren county—thought Judge Douglass severe in his efforts to protect the prisoner. The court room was densely packed and the judge ordered the sheriff to keep the spectators back; but this he neglected and the judge fined him ten dollars. In a few minutes the order to keep the spectators from crowding the prisoner and witnesses was repeated, and the sheriff told the court that he had ordered a constable to do it. “Clerk,” said Judge Douglass, “add ten dollars more to that fine.” This was effectual, the sheriff after that did his duty. (See Documentary Hist. of the Ch., Vol. IV, p. 368.)

the court had the right to inquire into the merits of the case. A long debate between opposing counsel followed. It will be remembered that an attempt to arrest President Smith on the requisition from the Governor of Missouri had been made in September previous; and it appears that upon the fruitless effort to make the arrest, the sheriff of Hancock county made returns upon the writ; and the defense claimed that after the return of the writ to the executive, the defendant could not be again legally arrested upon it. It was upon this point that the court set the Prophet at liberty. Following is Judge Douglass' decision on this point:

“The writ being once returned to the executive by the sheriff of Hancock county was dead, and stood in the same relationship as any other writ which might issue from the circuit court, and consequently the defendant cannot be held in custody on that writ.”

On the other point in the case—as to whether evidence on the merits of the case was admissible—the judge withheld his opinion for further consideration, as the question was a grave one, involving the future conduct of the states in their relationship with each other; but on the ground that the writ was void by reason of a former return being made upon it by the sheriff of Hancock county, he ordered the discharge of the prisoner. And Missouri was again foiled in her designs upon the liberty if not the life of the Prophet.

Judge Douglass incurred some local displeasure by reason of his fairness to the prisoner in the course of this trial, and because of it there arose some misrepresentation of him which was met by a Monmouth correspondent to the *Juliet Courier* as follows:

As some misrepresentations have already gone abroad, in relation to Judge Douglass' decision, and the merits of the question decided by the Judge; permit me to say, the only question decided, though many were debated, was the validity of the executive writ which had once been sent out, I think in September, 1840, and a return on it that Mr. Smith could not be found. The same writ was issued in June, 1841. There can really be no great difficulty about this matter, under this state

of facts. The judge acquitted himself handsomely, and silenced clamors that had been raised against the defendant.⁵

By this time Nauvoo was the most promising and thrifty city in Illinois, and the fame thereof extended throughout the nation, due, of course, to the peculiar religion of its inhabitants. Strangers from far and near made it a point to visit Nauvoo, and the peace, sobriety, industry and public spirit of the citizens challenged their admiration, whatever views they might entertain respecting the religion of her people. A large bowery was constructed just west of the temple site, where the people assembled for worship. Here the Prophet preached some of his most powerful discourses, and taught his people in the doctrine of the heavenly kingdom; and not unfrequently it happened that

“Fools who came to mock, remained to pray.”

The Saints never intended to make their city exclusively Mormon. On the contrary, the people at Nauvoo expressed a willingness to unite with their fellow-citizens in every good work and enterprise, and tolerate religious differences. Indeed, repeated invitations were sent out to the honorable men, not only of the State of Illinois, but of the United States, to men of capital and

5. The same writer—unknown—in the communication above quoted, describes his visit to Nauvoo, which is valuable for the side light it throws upon conditions obtaining among her citizens at that time: “Since the trial I have been at Nauvoo, on the Mississippi, in Hancock county, Illinois; and have seen the manner in which things are conducted among the Mormons. In the first place, I cannot help noticing the plain hospitality of the Prophet, Smith, to all strangers visiting the town, aided as he is, in making the stranger comfortable by his excellent wife, a woman of superior ability. The people of the town appear to be honest and industrious, engaged in their usual vocations of building up a town, and making all things around them comfortable. On Sunday I attended one of their meetings, in front of the Temple now building, and one of the largest buildings in the state. There could not have been less than 2,500 people present, and as well appearing as any number that could be found in this or any state. Mr. Smith preached in the morning, and one could have readily learned, then, the magic by which he had built up this society, because, as we say in Illinois, ‘they believe in him,’ and in his honesty. It has been a matter of astonishment to me, after seeing the Prophet, as he is called, Elder Rigdon, and many other gentlemanly men any one may see at Nauvoo, who will visit there—why it is, that so many professing Christianity, and so many professing to reverence the sacred principles of our Constitution (which gives free religious toleration to all), have slandered and persecuted this sect of Christians.”

of influence and of integrity, asking them to come to Nauvoo, and assist in building up a large and splendid city.⁶

In July, Sidney H. Little, of the state senate, was killed by leaping from his carriage, while his horse was unmanageable; and that the "Saints might mourn with those who are called to mourn," the eighteenth day of July was set apart as a day of fasting and prayer among the people of Nauvoo. By thus manifesting a feeling of sympathy and interest, they sought to cultivate peace and good will among their fellow citizens, and a number of honorable men, while not accepting the faith of the Saints, became friendly disposed towards them, and associated with them in various business enterprises.

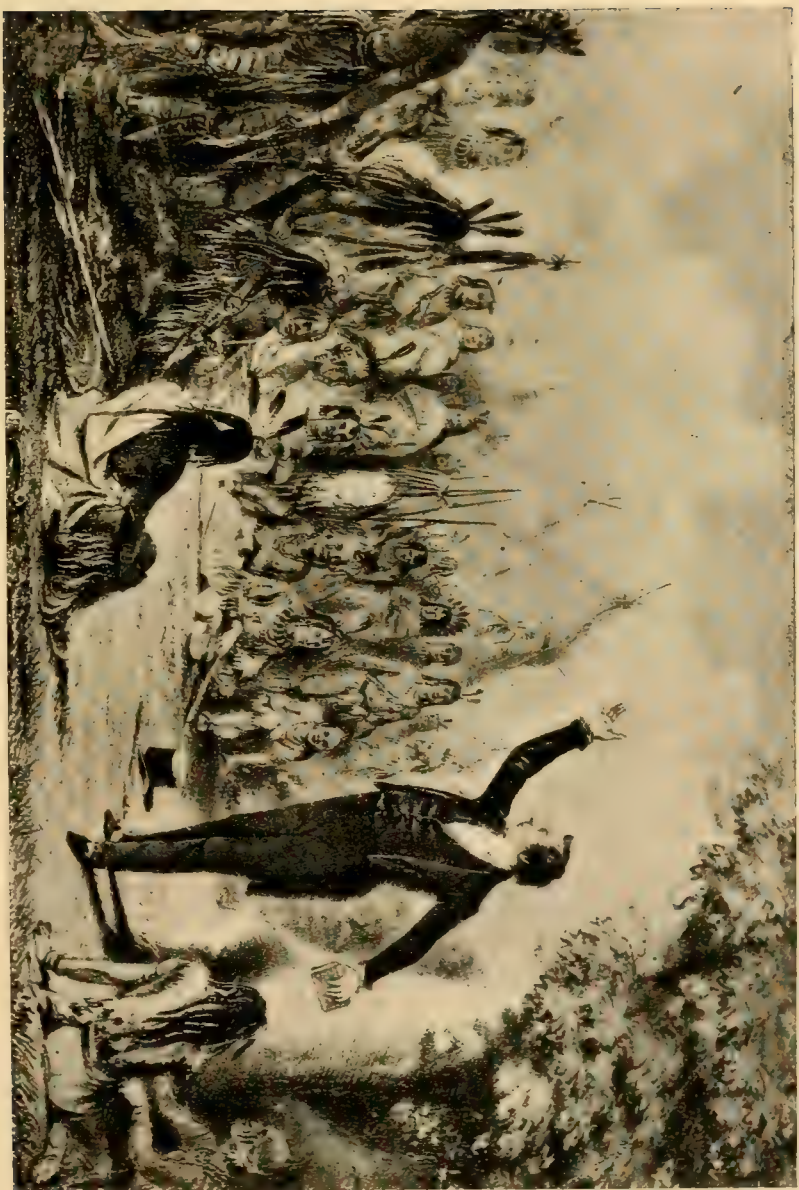
But the good will of the Saints was not very generally reciprocated by the people of Illinois; and there were, even at that early date, envyings and bitterness manifested by those who were jealous of the prosperity and increasing power of the Mormons in Nauvoo and vicinity.⁷

6. One such address was issued on the 15th of January, 1841; which, after appealing to the people of means within the Church throughout the world to remove to Nauvoo, in order to "establish and build up manufactures in the city, purchase and cultivate farms in the country," and thus "prepare the way for the gathering of the poor"—was concluded in these words: We wish it likewise to be distinctly understood, that we claim no privilege but what we feel cheerfully disposed to share with our fellow citizens of every denomination, and every sentiment of religion; and therefore say, that so far from being restricted to our own faith, let all who desire to locate themselves in this place, or the vicinity, come, and we will hail them as citizens and friends, and shall feel it not only a duty, but a privilege, to reciprocate the kindness we have received from the benevolent and kind-hearted citizens of the state of Illinois. (Documentary Hist. Ch., Vol. IV, p. 457).

7. The same spirit existed to some extent in Iowa as will be seen by the following occurrence, which happened in September: General Swazey, in command of the militia of Iowa, Territory, invited Joseph and Hyrum Smith and General Bennett to attend the parade of the militia of the Territory at Montrose. The invitation was accepted, and General Swazey received his visitors courteously, and so did the militia. But during the recess in the exercises taken at noon, a Mr. D. W. Kilburn tried to create a disturbance by circulating the following note among the militia troops:

"Citizens of Iowa: The laws do not require you to muster or to be reviewed by Joe Smith or General Bennett; and should they have the impudence to attempt it, it is to be hoped that every person having a proper respect for himself, will at once leave the ranks."

The facts are that these militia companies were not mustered by Joseph Smith's order, nor did he expect to review them. He had simply accepted General Swazey's invitation to witness the movements of the troops as other spectators were doing, and neither Joseph nor his brother Hyrum was in uniform. General Swazey had been several times invited to attend drills and reviews of the Legion at Nauvoo, and he had simply returned the courtesy to the officers of the Legion. Kilburn's effort to create a disturbance, however, was not successful, though the papers of the state commented upon it, and some of them began to whisper that it



JOSEPH SMITH ADDRESSING HIS INDIAN VISITORS AT NAUVOO

Early in the summer of 1841, the Saints everywhere were called upon to come into Hancock county, that there might be a concentration of effort to build up Nauvoo. The proclamation closed with the following words :

Let it therefore be understood that all the stakes excepting those in this county (Hancock) and in Lee county, Iowa, are discontinued: and the Saints are instructed to settle in this county as soon as circumstances will permit.

Nauvoo by this time numbered more than 3,000 in population. Heber C. Kimball writing from there in July, 1841, shortly after his return with other of the Twelve Apostles from England, gives a vivid description of changes that had taken place in the city during the two years of his absence, and a pen picture of activities which must have been a daily program to achieve such results. "You know" he writes, "there were not more than thirty buildings in the city when we left about two years ago; but at this time there are 1,200, and hundreds of others in progress, which will soon be finished. On Friday last seventy Saints came to Nauvoo, led by Lorenzo Barnes, from Chester county, Pennsylvania, in wagons, living in tents by the way. On the next day a company came in wagons from Canada, all in good spirits, and in two or three days after, they all obtained places to live in. They are coming from all parts of this continent daily and hourly, and the work is spreading in all of this land and calls for preaching in all parts. You will all recollect when we built our houses in the woods there was not a house within a mile of us. Now the place, wild as it was at that time, is converted into a thickly populated village."⁸

was Joseph Smith's ambition to build up a military church and extend his faith, "Mohammed-like." by the sword.

From the first settlement of the Saints at Montrose there had been some manifestation of opposition. Brigham Young in his *Journal History*, under date of May 21st, 1839, relates the following: "In the evening, while Brother Nobles [Joseph B.] was plowing a piece of ground which he had obtained from Mr. Kilbourn for a garden, a man named Campbell accompanied by a mob came up to Brother Nobles, armed with clubs, and taking his horse by the bit, ordered him off the grounds; Brother Nobles left the ground for the sake of peace." Under the 26th of the same month he writes: "There was much of the spirit of mobocracy made manifest at Montrose by some outlaws who remained there; some cut down the barns there belonging to the military station [Montrose had been a military station and the old barracks were still somewhat intact] lest the Saints might have the use of them." Hist. Brigham Young, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXV, p. 585.

8. Liverpool Route, p. 62.

About the same time the *St. Louis Atlas* referred to Nauvoo as the largest town in Illinois:

“The population of Nauvoo is between 8,000 and 9,000, and of course, the largest town in the State of Illinois. How long the Latter-day Saints will hold together and exhibit their present aspect, it is not for us to say. At this moment they present the appearance of an enterprising, industrious, sober and thrifty population, such a population, indeed, as in the respects just mentioned, have no rivals east, and we rather guess, not even west of the Mississippi.”⁹

The Twelve Apostles, whose departure from Nauvoo on their mission to England was noted in a former chapter, returned in July, 1841. They had accomplished a most remarkable mission in that land. It is doubtful if any religious movement in modern times was quite the equal of it. On the sixth of April, 1841, the General Conference of the British Mission had convened at Carpenter’s Hall, Manchester. Nine of the quorum of the Twelve were present.¹⁰ “The total membership in the British Mission at that time,” writes Elder Wilford Woodruff, “was represented as 5,814; and 800 besides had emigrated to America under the transportation of the Church.”¹¹ Their were also 136 Elders, 303 Priests, 169 Teachers, and 68 Deacons.¹²

On the eve of the departure of the Twelve from England, Brigham Young in his journal makes the following review of their labors, under the entry for—

“*April 20th.* It truly seemed a miracle to look upon the contrast between our landing and departing from Liverpool. We landed in the spring of 1840, as strangers in a strange land and penniless. But through the mercy of God we have gained many friends, established Churches in almost every noted town and city in the Kingdom of Great Britain, baptized between seven and eight thousand, printed 5,000 Books of Mormon, 3,000 Hymn

9. Liverpool Route, p. 62.

10. Elder Orson Hyde was with them, *en route* for Jerusalem, and Willard Richards had been ordained to the apostleship after the arrival of the seven apostles who departed from Nauvoo as related in Chapter XXXVI, Note 10.

11. History of the Life and Labors of Wilford Woodruff—Cowley—1909—p.

144. Woodruff’s statement also adds: “This was the first and only time in this dispensation that the Twelve Apostles sat in conference as a quorum in a foreign land.” The Apostles also set apart Orson Hyde for his mission to Jerusalem.

12. Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt, p. 349.

Books, 2,500 volumes of the *Millennial Star*,¹³ and 50,000 tracts, and emigrated to Zion 1,000 souls, established a permanent shipping agency, which will be a great blessing to the Saints, and have left sown in the hearts of many thousands the seeds of eternal truth, which shall bring forth fruit to the honor and glory of God, and yet we have lacked nothing to eat, drink or wear: in all these things I acknowledge the hand of God."

The work had also extended into Scotland, Ireland and the Isle of man under the ministry of the Twelve while on this mission.

It has already been noted that the work in England was begun in 1837, under the direction of Heber C. Kimball and others; but the mission of the Twelve to England, as a quorum, established the work in the British Isles on a broader and more permanent basis, and thence forward the body religions was

13. *The Millennial Star* was the first foreign publication of the Church. It was issued at first as a monthly, but afterwards more frequently, semi-monthly, and finally, and now for many years, a weekly. Its publication has been continuous from the time it was started until the present—1911. Also the *Star* has retained the general character imparted to it by its first publishers. "*The Millennial Star*," said its *Prospectus*, "will stand aloof from the common political and commercial news of the day. Its columns will be devoted to the spread of the fulness of the Gospel—the restoration of the ancient principles of Christianity—the gathering of Israel—the rolling forth of the Kingdom of God among the nations—the signs of the times—the fulfillment of prophecy—recording the judgments of God as they befall the nations, whether signs in the heavens or in the earth, blood, fire, or vapor of smoke—in short, whatever is shown forth indicative of the coming of the 'Son of Man' and ushering in of his universal reign upon the earth."

The first number of the *Star* was issued in May, 1840, at Manchester, and upon its cover appeared the following stanzas by the Editor, Parley P. Pratt, voicing the *Star's* message, and the message of the Church to the world.

"The morning breaks, the shadows flee;
Lo! Zion's standard is unfurled!
The dawning of a brighter day
Majestic rises on the world.
The clouds of error disappear
Before the rays of truth divine;
The glory, bursting from afar,
Wide o'er the nations soon will shine.

"The Gentile fulness now comes in,
And Israel's blessings are at hand;
Lo! Judah's remnant, cleans'd from sin,
Shall in their promised Canaan stand.
Jehovah speaks! Let earth give ears,
And Gentile nations turn and live!
His mighty arm is making bare,
His covenant people to receive.
Angels from heaven, and truth from earth
Have met and both have record borne;
Thus Zion's light is bursting forth,
To cheer her children's glad return."

strengthened from this mission; and as much from the character as from the numbers of the British Saints.¹⁴

On the return of the Twelve to Nauvoo—excepting Elder Parley P. Pratt, who remained in charge of the British Mission—they were immediately employed by the President Joseph Smith in assisting him to build up Nauvoo. The minutes of a special conference held in August, represent the Prophet as saying:

“The time had come when the Twelve should be called upon to stand in their place next to the First Presidency: and attend to the settling of emigrants and the business of the Church at the stakes, and assist to bear off the kingdom victoriously to the nations.”

The Prophet accordingly turned over to the Twelve the direction of many of the temporal affairs in the building up of Nauvoo with which he had been perplexed, and devoted himself more exclusively to spiritual labors.

One of the most pleasing events that happened during the summer of 1841, was the visit of the Indian chief Keokuk to Nauvoo. He was accompanied by Kiskukosh, Appenoose and about one hundred chiefs and braves of the Sac and Fox tribes, together with their families. They were brought over from the Iowa side on the ferry and two large flat boats. The Legion Band and a detachment of the Legion met them at the landing, but as soon as Keokuk failed to recognize President Smith among those who had come to bid him welcome, he refused to land or allow any of his party to go ashore until the President made his appearance. The arrangement had been made for the band and the detachment of the Legion to lead the Indian visitors to the grove where the Saints held their meetings; and there President Smith would have joined them. But Keokuk seemed to have his own ideas in relation to the etiquette to be observed at his reception, and waited until the Prophet met him at the landing and bade him welcome to Nauvoo.

14. Commenting in his journal under date of the 1st of August the Prophet says: “All the Quorum of the Twelve who were expected here this season, with the exception of Wilford Woodruff, have arrived. We have listened to the accounts which they give of their success, and the prosperity of the work of the Lord in Great Britain with pleasure. They certainly have been the instruments in the hands of God of accomplishing much, and must have the satisfaction of knowing that they have done their duty.”

At the grove President Smith addressed the Indians at some length, upon what the Lord had revealed to him concerning their forefathers, and recited to them the promises contained in the Book of Mormon respecting themselves, the despised remnants of a once splendid race. How their hearts must have glowed as they listened to the Prophet relate the story of their forefathers—their rise and their fall; and the promises held out to them of redemption from their fallen state! In conclusion the Prophet counseled them to cease killing each other, and warring with other tribes or with the whites.

To this speech Keokuk replied:

“I have a Book of Mormon at my wigwam that you gave me a number of moons ago. I believe you are a great and good man. Keokuk looks rough, but I am a son of the Great Spirit. I have heard your advice. We intend to quit fighting, and follow the good talk you have given us.”

After the “talk,” the Indians were feasted by the citizens of Nauvoo, and at the conclusion of the feast the visitors gave a specimen of their war dance to entertain the spectators, and then returned to the Iowa side of the river to their encampment.

The visit of Indians to Nauvoo continued occasionally through the remaining years of the Prophet’s life; and as often as they came they were hospitably received and instructed as above described. The photogravuer accompanying this chapter is intended to celebrate these occasions.

In September Edward Hunter, who in later years, in Utah, became the presiding Bishop of the Church, came to Nauvoo. Mr. Hunter was a wealthy farmer living in Chester county, Pennsylvania, where his house for some time had been a home for the traveling Elders of the Church passing through Chester county. The Prophet himself had been entertained at the Hunter residence, when he was returning from Washington, where he had been to plead the cause of his people before the national congress. Mr. Hunter, though of a deeply religious nature, had, under the advice of his father, refrained from identifying himself with any religious organization until the advent of Mormonism in his neighborhood, when he was so thoroughly impressed

with its doctrines that he finally joined the Church, Elder Orson Hyde baptizing him when the latter was *en route* for Jerusalem.

Being a man of considerable means, large business capacity, and liberal instincts the coming of Edward Hunter to Nauvoo was an event of some moment. He made quite extensive purchases of town lots and farming lands on the occasion of his first visit, and shortly afterwards sold his farms and all his interests in Pennsylvania and removed to Nauvoo where he became identified with all the business activities of that thriving town.¹⁵

The semi-annual conference which convened on the 2nd of October in Nauvoo, was a memorable one in the annals of the Church. At the opening of it President Smith was not present, being engaged that morning with others in laying the cornerstone of the Nauvoo House, which the Church had been commanded by revelation to build¹⁶

During the conference the Twelve requested the Prophet to give instructions upon the doctrine of baptism for the dead, that being the subject then uppermost in the minds of the people. The Prophet responded most readily with the result that many choice truths were at that time delivered to the Church. Some of these items are here set down:—

Explaining how men could become Savors on Mount Zion, the Prophet said: The proclamation of the first principles of

15. Edward Hunter was the second son and seventh child of Edward and Hannah Hunter. He was born in Newtown township, Delaware county, Pennsylvania, June 22, 1793. His paternal ancestors were from the north of England, and on his mother's side he was of Welsh extraction. John Hunter, his great-grandfather, passed over to Ireland some time in the seventeenth century and served as a lieutenant of cavalry under William of Orange at the battle of the Boyne, where he was wounded. He afterwards came to America and settled in Delaware county, Pennsylvania, about twelve miles from Philadelphia. Edward Hunter, Esq., the Bishop's father, was justice of the peace in Delaware county for forty years. On his mother's side three generations back was Robert Owen of North Wales, a man of wealth and character, a firm sympathizer with Cromwell and the Protectorate, who on the restoration of Charles the second, refused to take the oath of allegiance, and was imprisoned for five years. After his release he immigrated to America and purchased property near the "City of Brotherly Love." Like the founder of that city, Robert Owen was a Quaker. His son George sat in the state legislature and held various positions of public trust. (Whitney's History of Utah, Vol. IV, p. 91.)

Edward Hunter finally settled in Chester county, Pennsylvania, where he purchased an extensive farm, and married Ann Standley, daughter of Jacob and Martha Standley. Here Mormonism found him in 1839, with the result stated in the text.

16. It was on this occasion that President Smith deposited the original manuscript of the translation of the Book of Mormon in the cornerstone of the Nauvoo House, as related in Chapter XI of this History.

the Gospel, was a means of salvation to men individually, and it was the truth and not men that saved them: but men by actively engaging in rites of salvation substantially became instruments in bringing multitudes of their kindred into the kingdom of God. [And hence] he presented baptism for the dead as the only way by which men can appear as "saviors on Mount Zion."

The difference between an angel and a ministering spirit: the one [the first] is a resurrected or translated body with its spirit, ministering to embodied spirits; the other a disembodied spirit visiting and ministering to disembodied spirits.

Jesus Christ became a ministering spirit (while his body was laying in the sepulchre) to the spirits in prison,¹⁷ to fulfill an important part of his mission, without which he could not have perfected his work or entered into his rest. After his resurrection he appeared as an angel to his disciples. (Matt. xxviii, 16-20).

Translated bodies cannot enter into rest until they have undergone a change equivalent to death. * * * Translated bodies are designed for future missions. * * * The angel which appeared to John on the Isle of Patmos was a translated or resurrected personage. (Rev. xix:10).

Jesus Christ went in body after his resurrection to minister to translated or resurrected bodies.

It is no more incredible that God should *save* the dead than that he should *raise* the dead.

There is never a time when the spirit is too old to approach God.

All are within the reach of pardoning mercy, who have not committed the unpardonable sin, 'which hath no forgiveness, neither in this world nor in the world to come.' There is a way to release the spirit of the dead; that is by the power and authority of the priesthood—by binding and loosing on earth. This doctrine appears glorious, inasmuch as it exhibits the greatness of divine compassion and benevolence in the extent of the plan of human salvation.

* * * * *

This glorious truth is well calculated to enlarge the understanding, and to sustain the soul under troubles, difficulties, and distresses. For illustration: suppose the case of two men, brothers, equally intelligent, learned, virtuous and lovely, walking in up-

17. "For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bright us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit: By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison: Which sometime were disobedient, when once the long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing, wherein few, that is eight souls, were saved by water." (1. Peter III, 18, 19, 20.)

rightness and in all good conscience, so far as they have been able to discern duty from the muddy stream of tradition, or from the blotted page of the book of nature. One dies and is buried, having never heard the Gospel of reconciliation; to the other the message of salvation is sent, he hears and embraces it, and is made the heir of eternal life. Shall the one become a partaker of glory, and the other consigned to hopeless perdition? Is there no chance for his escape? Sectarianism answers, none!

* * * Such an idea is worse than atheism. The truth shall break down and dash in pieces all such bigoted Pharisaism.

This doctrine [salvation for the dead] presents in a clear light the wisdom and mercy of God in preparing an ordinance for the salvation of the dead, being baptized by proxy, their names recorded in heaven, and they judged according to the deeds done in the body. This doctrine was the burden of the scriptures.¹⁸ Those Saints who neglect it, in behalf of their deceased relatives, do it at the peril of their own salvation. The dispensation of the fullness of times will bring to light the things that have been revealed in all former dispensations; also other things that have not been before revealed.

During the conference the announcement was made there would be no more baptism for the dead until the ordinance could be administered in the baptismal font of the Lord's house, "*for thus hath the Lord commanded,*" said the Prophet. The Saints however were not long denied the privilege of being baptized for their dead, as on the eighth of November following the October conference a temporary baptismal font was completed in the basement of the temple, and dedicated to this sacred purpose.

18. "For this cause was the Gospel preached also to them that are dead that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit." (I. Peter, IV, 6.) "Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead?" (I. Corinthians, XV, 29.)

CHAPTER XL

THE INTRODUCTION OF A NEW MARRIAGE SYSTEM FOR THE CHURCH

Another matter of very great importance, and one which has exercised a great influence upon the course of events in the Church belongs to the year 1841; and many things of our history in this Nauvoo period will be all the plainer if the matter referred to be considered now. I refer to the introduction, in practice, of the marriage system which afterwards obtained in the Church.

The chief and greatest feature of this marriage system—usually called “celestial marriage,” by members of the Church—¹ because conceived to be the marriage system that obtains in celestial worlds—is the eternity of the marriage covenant. “Until death us do part,” is usually the mutual covenant of man and woman in the orthodox ‘Christian’ marriage ceremony.² That is, the marriage covenant is understood among Christian Churches generally as being a matter that pertains to time only, the contract obligations ending with death. But this celestial marriage system of the Church of Latterday Saints regards the incident of death not at all, but makes the covenant of marriage for time and for all eternity; a covenant which is sealed and ratified by that power of the priesthood in the administrator which binds on earth and it is bound in heaven.³ That is, the covenant of marriage holds good through time and will be in

1. The term “Celestial Marriage” is not used in the revelation that makes known the eternity of the marriage covenant; nor in any of the books recognized as the authoritative scriptures of the Church. In books of a secondary character, however, written by prominent elders of the Church, and in some affidavits given upon the subject of the introduction of the system into the Church, the term is frequently used (see affidavits of Joseph B. Noble, B. F. Johnson, John Benbow *et al.*, “Historical Record”—Jensen— pp. 221, *et seq.*) The Prophet Joseph also uses the term in his journal under date of August 25, 1843, as follows: “My Brother Hyrum in the office conversing with me about the new revelation upon *Celestial Marriage*” (Documentary History of the Church, Vol. V, p. 541).

2. See the Book of Common Prayer, Church of England, article, “Solemnization of Matrimony.”

3. Jesus said unto Peter: “I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.—Matt. XVI, 19.

effect and of binding force in and after the resurrection. In other words this marriage system regards man as enduring eternally, and formulates his marriage covenants in harmony with that view of him. Of course this contemplates the continuation of the marriage state in eternity. Not only the spiritual and intellectual companionship, but all the relations of the wedded state, with the joys of parentage—"the power of endless lives" being among the means of man's exaltation and glory.

That this is a view of marriage quite distinct from the orthodox, Christian view, goes without saying. It throws a new light upon man's future existence. It destroys the vagueness which through nearly all ages has hidden the glory and exaltation destined for man in the future eternities of God. It should be said, in this connection, that the revelation of God to Joseph Smith, even before this marriage system was made known, held out to man the hope of a tangible future existence in a resurrected, immortal body of flesh and bones quickened by the spirit, and clothed with the glory of an immortal youth. The future life was to be a reality, not merely a land of phantoms; man's heavenly home was to be upon the earth, after the earth had become sanctified and made a celestial sphere. His relations with his kindred and friends were to be of a nature to satisfy the longings of the human heart for society, for fellowship; and needed only the revelation of this marriage system to complete the circle of his promised future felicity. For grant to man in his resurrected state a real, tangible existence; an immortal youth that knows no pain or sickness or disease; the power to "hive" knowledge and wisdom as the centuries, the millenniums and eternities roll by; grant him power to build and inhabit; to love and be loved; and add to that the associations of superior intelligences and the power of endless lives—the power and privilege to perpetuate his race under an eternal marriage covenant—grant this, and the future happiness, exultation and glory of man stands revealed as being absolutely without limitations, and far greater and beyond in majesty anything within our power to conceive in our present state of development.

The primary principle of the marriage system of the Church, I repeat, is the eternity of the marriage covenant; but owing

to the fact that the system also included the doctrine of a plurality of wives, the importance and grandeur of the doctrine of the eternity of the marriage covenant to a very great extent has been obscured by the discussion of and the popular clamor concerning the plurality feature of the new marriage system.

The revelation making known this marriage doctrine came about in this way; first it should be stated, and it is evident from the written revelation itself, which bears the date of July 12th, 1843,—that the doctrine was revealed and the practice of it begun⁴ before the partial⁵ revelation now in the Doctrine and Covenants was written. As early as 1831 the rightfulness of a plurality of wives under certain limitations and special conditions was made known to Joseph Smith.

In the latter part of that year, especially from November, 1831, and through the early months of 1832, the Prophet with Sidney Rigdon as his amanuensis was earnestly engaged at Hiram, a village in Portage county, twenty-eight miles south of Kirtland, in translating the Jewish scriptures. It must have been while engaged in that work that the evident approval of God to the plural marriages of the ancient patriarchs attracted the Prophet's attention, and led him to make those inquiries of the Lord to which the opening paragraphs of the written revelation of July 12, 1843, refer, *viz*:—

“Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant Joseph, that inasmuch as you have inquired of my hand, to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, justified my servants Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; as also Moses, David and Solomon, my servants, as touching the principle and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines; behold! and lo, I am the Lord thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter.”

God's answer to the Prophet, however, went far beyond the scope of the latter's inquiry. The Prophet had asked why the Lord justified the Hebrew patriarchs and some of the later He-

4. See Doc. and Cov. Sec. 132; 52. Emma Smith, wife of the Prophet is commanded in verse 52 of the revelation “to receive all those that have been given unto my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous and pure before me,” which proves that the revelation and its practice was in existence before this was written.

5. *Ibid*, verse 66. “And now, as pertaining to this law, verily I say unto you, I will reveal more unto you, hereafter; therefore let this suffice for the present.” Hence I say “partial revelation” in the text.

brew prophets in having a plurality of wives, and God in his answer said:

“Prepare thy heart to receive and obey the instructions which I am about to give unto you; for all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same. For behold! I reveal unto you *a new and an everlasting covenant*; and if ye abide not that covenant, then ye are damned; for no one can reject this covenant and be permitted to enter into my glory. For all who will have a blessing at my hands shall abide the law which was appointed for that blessing, and the conditions thereof, as instituted from before the foundation of the world: *And as pertaining to the new and everlasting covenant*, it was instituted for the fullness of my glory; and he that receiveth a fullness thereof, must and shall abide the law, or he shall be damned, saith the Lord God. And verily I say unto you, that the conditions of this law are these:— All covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations, that are not made, and entered into, and sealed, by the Holy Spirit of promise, of him who is anointed, both as well for time and for all eternity, and that, too, most holy, by revelation and commandment through the medium of mine anointed, whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power— * * * are of no efficacy, virtue or force, in and after the resurrection from the dead; for all contracts that are not made unto this end, have an end when men are dead.”

Around this central principle of the new marriage system the instructions and admonitions of the rest of the revelation, in the main, articulate. In the matter of the Prophet's direct inquiry as to the ancient patriarchs having a plurality of wives, the revelation said:

“God commanded Abraham and Sarah gave Hagar to Abraham to wife. And why did she do it? *Because it was the law*, and from Hagar sprang many people. This, therefore, was fulfilling among other things the promises. Was Abraham, therefore under condemnation? Verily I say unto you, Nay; for I, the Lord, commanded it. * * * David also received many wives and concubines, as also Solomon and Moses my servants; as also many others of my servants, from the beginning of creation until this time; *and in nothing did they sin, save in those things which they received not of me.*”

The revelation renewed this privilege of a plurality of wives

under the law of God, Joseph Smith holding the keys of power by which said relationships were to be authorized.

“And again, verily I say unto you, my servant Joseph, that whatsoever you give on earth, and to whomsoever you give any one on earth, by my word, and according to my law, it shall be visited with blessings, and not cursings, and with my power, saith the Lord, and shall be without condemnation on earth, and in heaven: For I am the Lord thy God, and will be with thee even unto the end of the world, and through all eternity; for verily, I seal upon you exaltation, and prepare a throne for you in the kingdom of my Father, with Abraham your father.”

Still later in the revelation it is said that if a man take more than one woman to wife under the authority here conferred upon the Prophet, he would not be under condemnation, for under those circumstances the man would be receiving his wives upon the same principle and under the same conditions that the Bible patriarchs and prophets received theirs, namely, under the sanction and approval of divine law and authority.⁶

When the new marriage law was first revealed in 1831, it was also made known to the Prophet that the time had not yet come to teach or practice this doctrine in the Church, but that time would come later.⁷ The Prophet, however, did make known what had been revealed to him to a few trusted friends, among whom were Oliver Cowdery and Lyman E. Johnson, the latter confiding what the Prophet had told him to Orson Pratt, his mission-

6. The statement of the text is made with care on this point, because the Church of the Latter-Day Saints has never stood as the advocate of indiscriminate or the general practice of a plural wife system, under mere human, legal sanctions. Such a general practice would doubtless be mischievous and lead to the disasters which opponents have from time to time charged to the more limited and specifically guarded practice of the principle under what the Latter-Day Saints held to be divine sanctions, restraints and regulations. It was indeed a principle of religion to the Latter-Day Saints, a holy sacrament, and not at all designed to become a general practice under merely human laws. It is unfortunate that the world outside of the Mormon Church was not impressed with this phase of the subject; for then it would have been apparent that the thing the world argued against and fought against—a general plural marriage system free for all to adopt, considered to be destructive of the monogamous system and a menace to the home itself—was not the thing upheld and contended for by the Latter-Day Saints, who hold that the privilege of plural marriage is to be limited to persons of high character, approved lives, and living under the most sacred obligations to chastity, and granted this privilege of the Church's marriage system only under the most carefully guarded permission of the Church, amounting to divine sanction. Such were the limitations put upon the practice of the plural feature of the marriage system given to the Church.

7. See Orson Pratt's statement given later in this chapter.

ary companion. With these and a few other exceptions, perhaps, the knowledge of the truth and righteousness of this principle of the future marriage system of the Church was for some time locked up in the bosom of the Prophet.

Corroborative evidences of the fact of the revelation having been given previous to the date on which it was committed to writing—July 12th, 1843,—are to be found in the early charges against the Church about its belief in “polygamy.” For example: When the Book of Doctrine and Covenants was presented to the several quorums of the priesthood of the Church for acceptance in the general assembly of that body, the 17th of August, 1835, an article on “Marriage” was presented by W. W. Phelps, which for many years was published in the Doctrine and Covenants. It was not a revelation, nor was it presented as such to the general assembly of the priesthood. It was an article, however, that represented the views of the assembly on the subject of marriage at that time, unenlightened as they were by the revelation already given to the Prophet on the subject. What the Prophet Joseph’s connection was with this article cannot be learned. Whether he approved it or not is uncertain, since he was absent from Kirtland on a visit to the Saints in Michigan⁸ at the time the general assembly of the priesthood accepted it.

In this article on marriage the following sentence occurs:

“Inasmuch as this Church of Christ has been reproached with the crime of fornication, and polygamy, we declare that we believe that one man should have one wife, and one woman but one husband, except in case of death, when either is at liberty to marry again.”

From this it is evident that as early at least as 1835 a charge of “polygamy” was made against the Church. Why was that the case unless the subject of “polygamy” had been mooted within the Church? It is not unlikely that some one to whom the Prophet had confided the knowledge of receiving a revelation concerning the rightfulness of plural marriage—under certain circumstances—had unwisely made some statement concerning the matter.

8. See History of the Church, Vol. I, pp. 243-53.

In the *Messenger* and *Advocate* for May, 1837, the following occurs as a resolution adopted by the seventies at Kirtland, (p. 517).

“First that we will have no fellowship whatsoever with any Elder belonging to the Quorums of the seventies who is guilty of polygamy or any offense of the kind, and who does not in all things conform to the law of the Church contained in the Bible and in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants.

Signed,

DANIEL S. MILES, *Chairman.*

ELIAS SMITH, *Clerk.*

Again in July, 1838, in Missouri, in a series of questions asked and answered through “*The Elder’s Journal*,” the following occurs: “Do the Mormons believe in having more wives than one?” To which the answer is given: “No, not at the same time.”

This again represents the belief of the Saints at that time, unenlightened as they were by the revelation received by their Prophet. But again, why this question unless there had been some agitation on the subject? Had some one before the time had come for making known this doctrine to the Church, again unwisely referred to the knowledge which had been revealed to the Prophet some seven years earlier?

All these things united make it plainly evident that the revelation on marriage was given long before the 12th of July, 1843;—which marks only the date on which the revelation was committed to writing—and doubtless as early as 1831.

In addition to these indirect evidences is the direct testimony of the late Elder Orson Pratt, of the council of the Twelve Apostles. In 1878, in company with President Joseph F. Smith, Elder Pratt visited several states east of the Mississippi in the capacity of a missionary; and at Plano, Illinois, at a meeting of the so-called “Reorganized Church of the Latter-day Saints,” he was invited by the presiding officer, a Mr. Dille, and the meeting, to occupy the time, which he did. In his remarks, according to his own and his companion’s report of the meeting, occurs the following:

Elder Pratt gave a plain, simple narration of his early experiences in the Church, relating many interesting things connected with its rise; explained the circumstances under which several revelations were received by Joseph, the Prophet and the manner in which he received them, he [Elder Pratt] being present on several occasions of the kind. Declared [that] at such times Joseph used the seer stone when inquiring of the Lord, and receiving revelations, but that he was so thoroughly endowed with the inspiration of the Almighty and the spirit of revelation that he often received them without any instrument or other means than the operation of the Spirit upon his mind. Referred to the testimony which he received of the truth while yet only a boy. Testified that these things were not matters of belief only with him, but of actual knowledge. He explained the circumstances connected with the coming forth of the revelation on plural marriage. Refuted the statement and belief of those present that Brigham Young was the author of that revelation; showed that Joseph Smith the Prophet had not only commenced the practice himself, and taught it to others, before President Young and the Twelve had returned from their mission in Europe, in 1841, but that Joseph actually received revelations upon that principle as early as 1831. Said Lyman Johnson, who was very familiar with Joseph at this early date, Joseph living at his father's house, "and who was also very intimate with me, we having traveled on several missions together, told me himself that Joseph had made known to him as early as 1831, that plural marriage was a correct principle. Joseph declared to Lyman that God had revealed it to him, but that the time had not come to teach or practice it in the Church, but that the time would come." To this statement Elder Pratt bore his testimony. He cited several instances of Joseph having had wives sealed to him, one at least as early as April 5th, 1841, which was some time prior to the return of the Twelve from England. Referred to his own trial in regard to this matter in Nauvoo,⁹ and said it was because he got his information from a wicked source, from those disaffected, but as soon as he learned the truth, he was satisfied.

(Signed) ORSON PRATT.

(Signed) JOSEPH F. SMITH.⁹¹⁰

9. "Orson Pratt," says the late President John Taylor, "also had some difficulties while we were in Nauvoo, arising out of the introduction of the celestial order of marriage." President Taylor then proceeds to relate the labors of various members of the quorum of the Twelve with Elder Pratt, his excommunication from the Church, his final reconciliation with the Prophet, his restoration to the Church and subsequent service therein "Succession in the Priesthood"—1881—pp. 18-20. This is the circumstances referred to in the above "Report."

10. Signed Report of Elders Pratt and Smith, *Millennial Star*, Vol. 40, Nos. 49, 50, 1878.



Edw. Hunter

It was in the fall of 1840 that the Prophet began to take the steps which resulted in the introduction of plural marriages as a practice in the Church. According to the affidavit of Joseph B. Noble, given before James Jack, a notary public, in and for the county of Salt Lake, Utah, in June, 1869, Joseph Smith declared to Noble that he had received a revelation from God on the subject, and that an angel of the Lord had commanded him [Joseph Smith] to move forward in the said order of marriage; and further, that the said Joseph Smith requested him [Joseph B. Noble] to step forward and assist him in carrying out the said principle.¹¹

Joseph B. Noble also gave a second affidavit concerning the beginning of the practice of plural marriage by Joseph Smith, as follows:

Territory of Utah,
County of Salt Lake,

Be it remembered that on this 26th day of June, A. D. 1869, personally appeared before me, James Jack, a notary public in and for said county, Joseph Bates Noble, who was by me sworn in due form of law, and upon his oath saith, that on the fifth day of April, A. D. 1841, at the City of Nauvoo, county of Hancock, State of Illinois, he married or sealed Louisa Beamen, to Joseph Smith, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, according to the order of celestial marriage revealed to the said Joseph Smith.

(Signed) JOSEPH B. NOBLE.

Subscribed and sworn to by the said Joseph Bates Noble the day and year first above written.

JAMES JACK, *Notary Public*.¹²

From this it will appear that the plural marriage feature of the new marriage system, under the restrictions already noted, was introduced as early as the 5th of April, 1841. On the return of the Twelve, later in the summer of 1841, the Prophet began to teach the doctrine to them and urged the importance of putting it into practice. It was not received very readily by the Twelve. After reciting the Prophet's urgency in the matter, Elder John Taylor, who became the Third President of the Church, says: "We [the Twelve] seemed to put off, as far as we could, what

11. Noble's affidavit is on file in the Historian's Office.

12. This affidavit is on file in the Church Historian's office, Salt Lake City.

might be termed the evil day.”¹³ Brigham Young said in a discourse delivered at Provo on July 14, 1855, that “If any man had asked me what was my choice when Joseph Smith revealed that doctrine [plurality of wives], provided that it would not diminish my glory, I would have said, ‘Let me have but one wife.’”

* * * “Some of these my brethren [referring to prominent Elders on the platform at the time] know what my feelings were at the time Joseph revealed the doctrine; I was not desirous of shrinking from any duty, nor of failing in the least to do as I was commanded, but it was the first time in my life that I had desired the grave, and I could hardly get over it for a long time. And when I saw a funeral, I felt to envy the corpse its situation, and to regret that I was not in the coffin, knowing the toil and labor that my body would have to undergo.”¹⁴

The world never made a greater mistake than when it supposed that plural marriage was hailed with delight by the Elders who were commanded of the Lord to introduce its practice in this generation. They saw clearly that it would bring additional reproach upon them from the world; that it would run counter to the traditions and prejudices of society, as, indeed, it was con-

13. “The Life of John Taylor”—Roberts—1892; p. 100. Taylor also adds in the same passage: “I had always entertained strict ideas of virtue, and I felt as a married man that this was to me, outside of this principle, an appalling thing to do. The idea of going and asking a young lady to be married to me when I already had a wife! It was a thing calculated to stir up feelings from the innermost depths of the human soul. I had always entertained the strictest regard of chastity. I had never in my life seen the time when I have known of a man deceiving a woman—and it is often done in the world. where, notwithstanding the crime, the man is received into society and the poor woman is looked upon as a pariah and an out-cast—I have always looked upon such a thing as infamous, and upon such a man as a villain. * * * Hence, with the feeling I had entertained, nothing but a knowledge of God, and the revelations of God, and the truth of them, could have induced me to embrace such a principle as this.”

14. Journal of discourses, Vol. III, p. 266. It has been claimed, chiefly by the sons of the Prophet and the founders of what is known as the “Reorganized Church of Latter-day Saints” that Joseph Smith never introduced either the doctrine or the practice of the plurality of wives in the Church; but the evidence is overwhelmingly against this contention. In addition to the evidence incidentally existing in the text above, there is a large collection of affidavits upon the subject in the files of the Historian’s Office, Salt Lake City, a number of which—ten in all—are published in the Historical Record, together with many less formal statements and evidences. Some of the affidavits and statements are from women who were married to Joseph Smith, and some by those who performed the ceremonies (Historical Record—Jenson—pp. 219-234); and other persons whose relationship to Nauvoo events gave them exceptional opportunities to know the truth of the matters whereof they testified. See also Lynn, who discusses the subject at length “Story of the Mormons,” ch. X. Also Bancroft’s “History of Utah,” pp. 158-166; and the notes at the close of this chapter.

trary to their own traditions; that their motives would be misunderstood or misconstrued. All this they saw, and naturally shrunk from the undertaking required of them by this doctrine.

It has already been remarked that the consideration of this subject at this period of our History would aid the reader to understand more clearly many things in the subsequent events we have to relate. It is to be observed first of all that this principle of plural marriage had to be introduced secretly; firstly because of the traditions and prejudices of the Saints themselves; and, secondly, because of the advantage that their enemies surrounding them would have over the Church if once the doctrine was publicly proclaimed. This enforced secrecy, which a reasonable prudence demanded, gave rise to apparent contradictions between the public utterances of leading brethren in the Church and their having a plurality of wives under the new marriage law.¹⁵

Wicked men took advantage of the situation and brought sorrow to the hearts of the innocent and reproach upon the Church by practicing and justifying promiscuous sexual relations. Some, possessed of a zeal without wisdom, and knowing in part of the existence of the new marriage system, hastened without author-

15. The doctrine of plural marriage both by those who without authorization and prematurely undertook to teach it, and those who bitterly denounced it, was not properly apprehended either by such advocates or such denunciators. Plural marriage as taught by the Prophet was not the polygamy of the orient, with its attendant despotism and harems; nor the bigamy of western civilization, banned by the law of all the Western nations, including our own, and in which the element of deception was usually present by keeping the fact of the first and perhaps other marriages secret, thus betraying its victims to unsuspected disgrace and humiliation. And hence, because these over-zealous advocates, and ill-informed denunciators never truly represented the doctrine of the revelation on marriage, the denial of their misstatements of the doctrine and its practice was not regarded by the leading Elders of the Church as a denial of the doctrine of the revelation; and while this may be considered a refinement in presentation that the world will not allow, it nevertheless represents a distinction that was real to those who were struggling with a difficult proposition, and accounts for the seeming denials referred to in the text above, as also later denials made by John Taylor, in a public discussion with three ministers at Boulogne-sur-mer, France, 1850 ("Public Discussion in France"—included in Orson Pratt's Works, 1851 edition, England. Also Life of John Taylor, Ch. XXIV); and by Parley P. Pratt in England, 1845 (*Millennial Star*, Vol. VI, p. 22). Both Elders Pratt and Taylor in their denials were referring to the charges made by John C. Bennett and other apostates. Pratt says, in his alleged denial: "Beware of seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, as first introduced by John C. Bennett under the name of the spiritual wife doctrine." * * * It is but another name for whoredom, wicked and unlawful connection and every kind of confusion, corruption and abomination. * * * The "spiritual wife doctrine of J. C. Bennett and numerous other apostates, is as foreign from the real principles of the Church as the devil is from God, or as sectarianism is from Christianity."

ity to make public proclamation of it and had to be silenced, as, for instance, a number of Elders who were reprov'd by Hyrum Smith for preaching polygamy in a branch of the Church at China Creek, near Nauvoo,¹⁶ and later one Hiram Brown who did the same thing in Lapeer county, Michigan, for which he was disfellowshipped from the Church and notified by Joseph and Hyrum to attend the conference in April of that year to give further account of his proceedings.¹⁷

Then again there were others who falsely taught that the Prophet approved of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, and that there was no sin in such relations so long as they were kept secret and brought no scandal upon the community. This afforded villains their opportunity, and such men as John C. Bennett, the Laws, Wilson and William; Dr. Foster; the young Higbees, Chaney L. and Francis M., and others, to reap their harvest of treacherous wickedness. There was necessarily enough of mystery in the movements of the Prophet and his faithful brethren connected with the matter of plural marriage to give something of color to the false statements of these men, and hence many otherwise good people were deceived. The duty of the Prophet and his associates, however, to denounce this wickedness that had crept into the Church, was not shirked by the leading Elders of the Church. The Prophet was bold in his denunciation of the evil; he ruthlessly unmasked corrupt men, and did all in his power to protect the innocent from the deceptions of the vicious, though it pulled down upon his own head the vengeful wrath of the ungodly.

Bearing this situation mind I am sure the reader will bet-

16. See *Times and Seasons* for March, 1844. The main point in Hyrum's letter is contained in the following paragraph:

"Whereas Brother Richard Hewitt has called on me to-day, to know my views concerning some doctrines that are preached in your place, and states to me that some of your Elders say, *that a man having a certain priesthood may have as many wives as he pleases*, and that the doctrine is taught here: I say unto you that that man teaches false doctrine, for there is no such doctrine taught here; neither is there any such thing practiced here. And any man that is found teaching privately or publicly any such doctrine, is culpable, and will stand a chance to be brought before the High Council, and lose his license and membership also." This denial is of the character of the denials referred to in note 15; compare the words in *italics* with the statement of the text as to the limitations, and special conditions under which plural marriage is to be allowed.

17. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 423.

ter appreciate the many complications which follow in this Nauvoo period of our History.

NOTE 1: THE REVELATION ON THE ETERNITY OF THE MARRIAGE COVENANT, AND PLURAL MARRIAGE COMMITTED TO WRITING: AS stated in note "26," of this chapter it has been claimed that Joseph Smith did not receive the revelation on this subject, and was not responsible for the introduction of this practice in the Church. In view of these denials the circumstances under which the revelation was committed to writing July 12th, 1843, will be of interest.

The account of it can best be told by the man who wrote the revelation as the Prophet Joseph dictated it to him, William Clayton; and the man who copied it the day following, Joseph Kingsbury; and from which copy the revelation was afterwards printed as it now stands in the current edition of the Doctrine and Covenants. In a sworn statement before John T. Caine, a notary public in Salt Lake City, on February 16th, 1874, William Clayton said:

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM CLAYTON: "On the 7th of October, 1842, in the presence of Bishop Newell K. Whitney, and his wife, Elizabeth Ann, President Joseph Smith appointed me Temple Recorder, and also his private clerk, placing all records, books, papers, etc., in my care and requiring me to take charge of and preserve them, his closing words being, 'when I have any revelations to write, you are the one to write them.' * * * On the morning of the 12th of July, 1843, Joseph and Hyrum Smith came into the office in the upper story of the brick store, on the bank of the Mississippi river. They were talking on the subject of plural marriage. Hyrum said to Joseph, 'If you will write the revelation on celestial marriage, I will take it and read it to Emma, and I believe I can convince her of the truth, and you will hereafter have peace.' Joseph smiled and remarked, 'You do not know Emma as well as I do.' Hyrum repeated his opinion and further remarked, 'The doctrine is so plain I can convince any reasonable man or woman of its truth, purity and heavenly origin,' or words to that effect. Joseph then said, 'Well, I will write the revelation and we will see.' He [Hyrum] then requested Joseph to write the revelation by means of the Urim and Thummin, but Joseph in reply said he did not need to, for he knew the revelation perfectly from beginnig to end.

"Joseph and Hyrum then sat down and Joseph commenced to dictate the revelation on celestial marriage, and I wrote it sentence by sentence, as he dictated. After the whole was written

Joseph asked me to read it through, slowly and carefully, which I did, and he pronounced it correct. He then remarked that there was much more that he could write on the same subject, but what was written was sufficient for the present.

“Hyrum then took the revelation to read to Emma. Joseph remained with me in the office until Hyrum returned. When he came back, Joseph asked him how he had succeeded. Hyrum replied that he had never received a more severe talking to in his life, that Emma was very bitter and full of resentment and anger.

“Joseph quietly remarked, ‘I told you you did not know Emma as well as I did.’ Joseph then put the revelation in his pocket, and they both left the office.

“The revelation was read to several of the authorities during the day. Towards evening Bishop Newel K. Whitney asked Joseph if he had any objections to his taking a copy of the revelation; Joseph replied that he had not, and handed it to him. It was carefully copied the following day by Joseph C. Kingsbury. Two or three days after the revelation was written Joseph related to me and several others that Emma had so teased, and urgently entreated him for the privilege of destroying it, that he became so weary of her teasing, and to get rid of her annoyance, he told her she might destroy it and she had done so, but he had consented to her wish in this matter to pacify her, realizing that he knew the revelation perfectly, and could rewrite it at any time if necessary.

“The copy made by Joseph C. Kingsbury is a true and correct copy of the original in every respect. The copy was carefully preserved by Bishop Whitney, and but few knew of its existence until the temporary location of the Camps of Israel at Winter Quarters, on the Missouri River, in 1846. * * *

“(Signed) WM. CLAYTON.

“Salt Lake City, Feb. 16th, 1874.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH C. KINGSBURY: On May 22, 1886, Joseph C. Kingsbury made the following statement before Charles W. Stayner, a notary public, in Salt Lake City:

“In reference to the affidavit of Elder William Clayton on the subject of the celestial order of patriarchial marriage, published in the *Deseret Evening News* of May 20th, 1886, and particularly as to the statement made therein concerning myself, as having copied the original revelation written by Brother Clayton at the dictation of the Prophet Joseph, I will say that Bishop Newel K. Whitney, handed me the revelation above referred to either on the day it was written or the day following, and stating what it was, asked me to take a copy of it. I did so, and then read

my copy of it to Bishop Whitney. We compared it with the original which he held in his hand while I read to him. When I had finished reading, Bishop Whitney pronounced the copy correct, and Hyrum Smith coming into the room at the time to fetch the original, Bishop Whitney handed it to him. I will also state that this copy, as also the original are identically the same as that published in the present edition 1886 of the Book of Doctrine and Covenants.

“I will add that I also knew that the Prophet Joseph Smith had married other woman besides his first wife Emma; I was also aware of the fact of his having married Sarah Ann Whitney, the eldest daughter of Bishop Newel K. Whitney and Elizabeth Ann Whitney, his wife. And the Prophet Joseph told me personally that he had married other woman in accordance with the revealed will of God, and spoke concerning the principle being commanded of God for holy purposes.

(Signed) “JOSEPH C. KINGSBURY.

NOTE 2. THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF AUTHORSHIP: The internal evidence for the authorship of the revelation by Joseph Smith is perfect. Minutely compared with other numerous revelations given out by him there can be no doubt that under the inspiration by which he wrote all his revelations, he is the author of it. This phase of the subject is somewhat exhaustively treated by the writer of this History in his introduction to the fourth volume of the Documentary History of the Church. The treatise is too long to be quoted at length in this note, but the subject is presented under the following seven heads which indicate somewhat the nature and the thoroughness of the analysis:

I. *The Revelation Was Given in Answer to the Prophet's Inquiry, A Characteristic of Nearly All His Revelations.*

II. *It Possesses the Characteristic of Frankness in Reproving the Prophet.*

III. *The Evidence of the Largeness of Range in the Revelation on Marriage, a characteristic of all his revelations.*

IV. *The Evidence of Identical Phraseology in This and Other Revelations.*

V. *The Evidence of a Recurrence of Principles in the Revelation on Marriage That are Found in Other Revelations Through Joseph Smith.*

VI. *The Evidence of the Particularization of Ideas.*

VII. *The Evidence of Identity in Grandeur of Style.*

NOTE 3: SUPPOSED CONFLICT BETWEEN THE BOOK OF MORMON AND THE REVELATION ON MARRIAGE: In the second chapter of Jacob, Book of Mormon, is recorded a prohibition of a plurality of

wives to the Nephites, which is very generally relied upon as proving an irreconcilable conflict between the Nephite scriptures and Joseph Smith's revelation at Nauvoo. If the passage in the Book of Jacob is true, it is urged, then the Nauvoo revelation must be false. The circumstances under which the passage in the Book of Jacob was given are these: When Lehi's Colony departed from Jerusalem, 600 B. C., for the promised land of the western hemisphere, it was about evenly divided as to males and females; and hence in justice to all Lehi promulgated the commandment that among his people no man should have more than one wife (Jacob ii, 34 and iii, 5). After the colony had been established in the land of promise, some began to depart from the commandment given through Lehi, and justified themselves in sexual immoralities because of the things written in the Hebrew scriptures they had brought with them, concerning David and Solomon. They "began to grow hard in their hearts," says Jacob, "and indulge themselves somewhat in wicked practices, such as like unto David of old, desiring many wives and concubines, and also Solomon his son (Jacob i, 15)." "This people begin to wax in iniquity; they understand not the scriptures; for they seek to excuse themselves in committing whoredoms, because of the things which were written concerning David and Solomon his son. Behold David and Solomon truly had many wives and concubines, which thing was abominable before me, saith the Lord; wherefore, thus saith the Lord, I have led this people forth out of the land of Jerusalem, by the power of mine arm, that I might raise up unto me a righteous branch from the fruit of the loins of Joseph. Wherefore I the Lord God, will not suffer that this people shall do like unto them of old. Wherefore, my brethren, hear me, and hearken to the word of the Lord; for there shall not any man among you have save it be one wife; and concubines he shall have none; for I, the Lord God, delight in the chastity of women. And whoredoms are an abomination before me; thus saith the Lord of Hosts. Wherefore, this people shall keep my commandments, saith the Lord of Hosts, or cursed be the land for their sakes."

Here those desiring to show the conflict between this passage and the Nauvoo revelation close the quotation; and of course claim the victory for their contention. If they would but quote the very next verse, however, it would bring their house of cards tumbling about their ears, and disclose not only their uncandor, but the inadequacy of the passage to the purpose for which they quote it, and also what I can only regard as the dishonesty of their contention. The verse omitted from their data, reads:

"For if I will, saith the Lord of Hosts, raise up seed unto me, I

will command my people; otherwise they shall harken unto these things."

That is to say, the Nephites had received a commandment from God that monogamy should be their marriage system. This commandment they disregard and practiced whoredoms because of the things written of David and Solomon; whereupon comes Jacob and reproves them for their sins in this kind, reminds them of the commandment of the Lord to Lehi, and enjoins its observance as binding upon them; for if the Lord will do otherwise than that—or, to put into the words of Jacob—"*For if I will, saith the Lord of Hosts, raise up seed unto me, I will command my people: otherwise they shall harken unto these things.*" That is, God has given a law to the Nephites that a man should have but one wife; if for any special reason the Lord would vary from that system, he would command his people, otherwise they should observe the commandment then given—for one man to have but one wife.

The answer then to this whole contention about a conflict between the Nephite injunction to monogamy and the Nauvoo revelation is, that the time came when God would for special reasons give other instructions than those given to the Nephites, he "commanded" his people and they obeyed. In other words the passage in Jacob may properly be regarded as a prophecy that such a change as indicated would be made, of which the Nauvoo revelation is the fulfillment.

It should be remarked in connection with the foregoing that it is significant that, while David and Solomon are severely censured by Jacob, in the above passages, Abraham, Jacob, Moses, and Gideon with other patriarchs and prophets known to have sustained plural marriage relations, and with evident approval of God, are not mentioned as among those of evil example. And doubtless for the obvious reason—for there can be no other—that they did no other thing, to slightly paraphrase the Nauvoo revelation, than that which they were commanded of God. While both David and Solomon in their irregular and sinful lives went beyond that, and sinned in those things which they received not of God and were under condemnation; and the Nephites, not understanding the scriptures, and justifying themselves in their whoredoms and in violating the commandment given to them through Lehi, were also under condemnation. They were under obligations, as are all people, to keep that law which God gives to them; if another law for any reason is necessary to the accomplishment of his purpose, God will command his people, otherwise they are under obligation to keep the law he has already given them. And that is the whole lesson of this somewhat celebrated passage in the Nephite Record.

CANAAN—THE LAND OF PROMISE.

BY ELIZABETH L. GEBHARD.

THE promised land of the Bible was not more fair and beautiful, than is the Canaan of to-day at the foot of the Berkshires. After a sojourn among its wooded hills and fertile valleys, one's heart and memory revert to it with the love and longing of the Israelites of old, and it becomes to many, the land of promise,—the promise of clear days and cool nights, of beautiful drives and mountain climbs that end in views of marvelous beauty, stretching over hill and dale into the area of four states. Lying narrow and long between the Taghkanic range, which forms the foot hills of the Berkshires, is the beautiful Lebanon valley. This too, once belonged to the land of Canaan, and Canaan and New Lebanon are still so connected in the traveler's mind, that they together form the land of promise.

Canaan received its name in 1788 while it was still a part of King's District, but previous to that date for thirty years or more, white men had begun to discover the beauties of situation and desirability of the land in this section of the country.

A "Six Mile Tract" had been purchased of the Stockbridge Indians in 1758, and Asa Douglas a Connecticut man held a share in it. It was he who induced many of his friends from Connecticut to take up homes in this region. He was not only active in securing settlers, but also in protecting them afterward. His house was the gathering place of Whigs, and his garret was used to confine Tories deemed dangerous by the Committee of Safety. But even before these settlers came, a white man had visited this land of promise.

We are wont to speak of the discoveries of the early settlers, but in many instances their discoveries were gifts of knowledge

from the red men. This was the case with the first white man known to visit this region. In 1756 a young officer in the British army, Captain Hitchcock by name, had been suffering from ill health, and was recommended by some friendly Indians to a spring which held curative properties in its waters. For unknown lengths of time the Indians had themselves used it as a bath, and Hitchcock found the spring in a small clearing, curbed with logs and backed with clay. In the early days it was called the "Willow Spring" owing to the fact that a very large and beautiful willow cast its shadow over the springing fountain.

Captain Hitchcock seems to have visited and approved of the healing waters, and some years later returned permanently, for in 1768 we find on record, that Charles Goodrich who had come to own the land and had a small bath room attached to the spring for Hitchcock's use, leased the entire outfit to him, the only consideration named, being, "the love of God and the public good, as well as benevolence toward said Hitchcock, and also the miraculous virtue of the waters on said Hitchcock." Hitchcock rented the bathroom, and later, cottages and bath houses were erected. This was the beginning of the notoriety Lebanon Springs later obtained.

A treasured old register of the guests between the years 1820 and 1830 is still in existence, and on its pages appear the names of John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren, Marquis de Lafayette, Daniel Webster, Joseph Bonaparte, the ministers from England, France, Spain and the Netherlands, DeWitt Clinton,—army and navy celebrities, Major General Scott, Commodores Hull, McDonough, Dale, Biddle,—Longfellow, N. P. Willis, George Peabody, Alfred Conkling and son, Roscoe, and many other names familiar in polite society at that time in New York, and Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore and the South.

From the "Willow Spring" the name passed to Montepoale, and later to that of Lebanon Springs with which we are all familiar to-day. When Lafayette visited this country in 1825, he and his son visited Columbia Hall at the Springs, attended by General Solomon Van Rensselaer, Governor Clinton, Colonel Cooper, Major Van Schaack and other officers of Colonel Cooper's regiment of dragoons, as an escort. Lebanon Springs, with

the rest of the country, was anxious to do honor to America's friend, and tendered him a reception in the drawing room of Columbia Hall. It was so largely attended by those wishing to honor the great man, that the floor threatened to give way, but no untoward accident happened, and the scene was one long to be remembered by those who were a part of the brilliant assemblage. Columbia Hall is still a charming place to spend the sweet scented summer days, and the waters of Lebanon Springs have not lost their curative effects, since they were utilized to augment the strength of the founders of a nation.

John Wadhams found his way into this land of plenty in quite a different manner from Captain Hitchcock. One summer day in 1762 he was searching for lost cattle which had strayed from his home in the Berkshires. The cattle had discovered good grazing, and had strayed further and further on into a land seemingly destined for their use. When their owner at last found them, he felt the animal instinct had been correct, and they had found the promised land. Shortly after, he built a new house and settled near the pasture land his cattle had discovered. But he was not destined to remain long at rest, for when the boundary between Massachusetts and New York States was adjusted, he found himself a few rods over the line in Massachusetts. With a prophetic insight, he must have foreseen the future glory of the Empire State, for he called his neighbors together, and with a will they helped to move his house back over the line.

Connecticut continued to send settlers, Warners and Whitings, Kellogs and Curtises followed soon after Wadhams. Gama-liel Whiting bought the beautiful tract of land about Queechy Lake, but in a couple of years, tiring of a pioneer's life, sold it to his brother, Colonel William B. Whiting. For many years Queechy Lake went by the name of Whiting's Pond. Colonel Whiting did much to develop the region. The old grist mill near Queechy Lake was among the first industries in the town, and though it was burned down during the Revolutionary War by his enemies, Colonel Whiting rebuilt it again when the war was over.

All these early settlers left their mark on the town, some

carved in wood as did Aaron Kellogg, who built his house on the turnpike with the name and date of erection carved on the door knob, while Elihu Curtis was the father of the first white child born in the town. Fathers and sons left records in wood and stone, in the virgin soil turned into cultivated farms, in manufacturies to a phenomenal number in the early days, and a record in the Revolutionary War of which any township would be proud.

Prominent among these first settlers was William Warner also from Connecticut. His large family of thirteen children, growing up and settling in the country round about, formed almost a community of their own. William Warner's six sons all served their country in the Revolutionary War, while his daughters married men whose names are honored in the early history of Canaan. William Warner opened an inn at Canaan Center which came to have a prominent place in the history of the town. The Committee of Safety met there, and here also were held the early town meetings. It is probable that the notable meeting of the inhabitants of King's District, held June 24th, 1776, to choose delegates for the Provincial Congress, held its sessions in the Warner tavern. At this time it was voted to recommend to that body the passage of a declaration of independence.

As the children of William Warner made homes of their own, Warner homesteads increased rapidly. At one part of the town it is said, five Warners had homes on adjacent sections of land. The old Warner house which the author of *Queechy* has made famous, was the home of Jason Warner the grandfather of the writer. Her frequent visits to the home of her grandparents caused the country in and about Canaan to be very familiar and greatly beloved by her. It is said that the old Warner home is most accurately described in the story of *Queechy*.

Old residents of Canaan still remember Jason Warner in his prime, a man whom many called austere, but who unbent in a most marvelous manner in the presence of young people. He owned a large maple grove at the side of his house, and it was his custom to give a large party in his grove at the "sugaring off" time. These parties were looked forward to for months beforehand, and those who were too young to be included in the invitation were glad to hold a place on the fence, where the

sight of the roaring fires and the great kettles of sap, the flitting forms of the young people of the vicinity, emphasized in the glaring light, or dimly seen in straying couples under the outskirting trees, was one to be remembered from childhood to old age.

The first settlers made their homes on the mountain sides, or high up in the hills, probably as a protection from Indians, but as time went on they deserted these early habitations, and came down to the lowlands rich in fertile soil, and nature's free gifts.

Grist mills and saw mills were the first manufacturies, but others followed as years went by, the water power provided by stream and lake being sufficient for much activity. Tanning and weaving and paper making, were followed by satinet factories, thermometer and barometer factories, glass works turning out blue and green bottles at the rate of five or six thousand a day. But most important of these manufacturies was that of the Tilden Company, of New Lebanon, which was organized in 1847, as the firm of Gilbert and Tilden. Mr. Gilbert had gained a knowledge of making extracts from the Shakers. Elam Tilden was a business man of known enterprise and sagacity. Together they founded a business house whose fame to-day for medicinal preparations is world wide. One of the progressive steps of this firm was the shipping to Europe at the time of the Turko-Russian war large quantities of bromo-Chloralum, for hospital use. Diluted in water and applied with lint to wounds, it often prevented amputation. As a disciple of Mohammed can not enter heaven with his limbs cut off, he prefers death to amputation.

The honored name of Governor Samuel Tilden is closely connected with the Tilden family of New Lebanon. New Lebanon entertained Presidents and Governors in its early history, but in the history of her later days she sent one of her sons to fill the Governor's chair of his state, and to come within a step of filling the Presidential office as well.

In one of the most beautiful sections of New Lebanon the Shakers have their settlement. In the latter part of the last century a great revival swept over the Lebanon valley. Many were seeking a new way of life, and hearing of the "worshippers in the bush," headed by Mother Ann Lee at Watervliet, they

sent seekers after the truth to visit them. Many accepted their doctrines, and in 1785 the first Shaker Meeting House was built at New Lebanon. It is still standing though used for other purposes. At one time their landed possessions exceeded 1,400 acres, but in numbers and wealth the Shakers have greatly decreased of late years, though they are still a thrifty class of people, divided in three families. Their chief occupations are farming, and the putting up of herbs, roots and barks for market, the construction of Shaker chairs, and a various assortment of fancy articles, beside carefully made Shaker cloaks.

We sometimes say of America's past, that their men builded better than they knew, but there was in all their building a large element. They chose their homelands and built their homesteads for posterity. They never lost the thought that they were the founders of a nation. To-day, through the Lebanon Valley, and on the slopes of the hills of Canaan may be found the houses of the early settlers, many of them unchanged in architecture, and in some cases inhabited by their descendants. In rarer instances one may touch some octogenarian whose memory, augmented by the stories of his father, takes one back for a century into the heart of the life which was lived in the land of Canaan, while it was a land of promise still unfulfilled. The double vision of past and present, the seed and its growth in fulfillment, gives us a view of life as from a high mountain, whose measure stretches even beyond man's vision.

THE EARLY DAYS OF THE WHITE HOUSE

BY HELEN HARCOURT

THE site for the "President's Palace," as the first maps of Washington City called it, was selected by President Washington and the great architect, Major L'Enfant, who planned what is now generally acknowledged to be "the most beautiful city in the world." It was their purpose to have the "Palace" and the Capitol reciprocally close the long vista formed by Pennsylvania Avenue. They also planned the same park-like connection between two great buildings, which has recently been proposed by the Park Commission.

The plan for the "President's Palace," selected by Washington and Jefferson, was drawn by a young Irishman, James Hoban. In some mysterious way it has become a tradition that in planning the house Hoban largely copied the palace of the Duke of Leinster, just out of Dublin. This however, has been proven to be erroneous, the entire plan being a composite of the best features of several European palaces and prominent buildings. For instance, the pediments of the windows of the first floor may be traced to the celebrated Farnese palace in Rome, while the windows of the garden floor are copied from those of the French royal chateau of Compeigne.

However this may be, the "President's House," as the appropriations made by Congress for some fifty years termed it,—the word "palace" savoring too much of hated royalty to be acceptable,—is dear to the American nation, and as it has stood in simple dignity for more than a hundred years, so should it stand for all time to come, enriched as the country grows in wealth and power; restored where repairs are necessary, but never profaned by the vandalism of an altering hand. Beautiful in its simple design, there is no mansion that surpasses it; the White House of the United States stands in a class by itself.

The style in Virginia in those early days was to build every

pretentious mansion facing a river or lake, with the land sloping in terraces from the house to the water's edge. It was thus that the President's House was built, facing the south and the Potomac river, the corner-stone being laid October thirteenth, 1792. Bricks were used in its construction, and the outer walls, which were four feet thick, were painted white, and have so remained to this day, hence its present popular name, the White House.

President Adams and his wife were the first occupants of the "President's House," and their journey from Philadelphia to their new home in November, 1800, was a foretaste of the rough conditions awaiting them. Four stout horses dragged their carriage over the dusty roads, through mud and overflowed lands, and over bridges that were none too safe. Frequent creeks and ponds had to be forded, and sometimes the water came into the carriage so that its occupants were obliged to put their feet up on the front seat to keep them dry.

The road in many places was little more than a blind trail, and several times the travelers got lost in the woods. Once they drove ten miles out of their route, and wandered for hours through the lonely forest, winding in and out among fallen trees and stumps until fortunately a negro was seen, who guided them back to the road.

As to what President and Mrs. Adams found when they, after many tribulations, reached their destination, this is what the latter had to say in a letter to her daughter.

"This house is on a grand scale, requiring about thirty servants to attend and keep the apartments in order, and perform the ordinary business of the house and stables. An establishment not very well proportioned to the President's salary.

"To assist us in this great castle bells are wholly wanting, not a single one being hung in the whole house. This is so great an inconvenience that I hardly know what to do or how to do. If they will put up some bells and let us have some wood to keep fires, I design to be pleased. Surrounded with forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had because people cannot be found to cut and haul it?

"Brewster entered into a contract with a man to supply him

with wood; a few cords only has he been able to get. Most of that was expended to dry the walls of this house before we came in, and yesterday the man told him that it was impossible for him to get it to be cut and hauled. He has had recourse to coals, but we cannot get grates made and set. We have indeed come into a new country. The public officials have sent to Philadelphia for woodcutters and wagons."

As may well be imagined, it was not a very pleasant home-coming, either inside or outside, for Mrs. Adams. While the house was habitable, not a single room was entirely finished, and the principal stairway was not put up, nor was it until the following winter. But the "first lady of the land" who tenanted the President's House, was a brave woman and sensible, and resolved to make the best of things she could not remedy. Her first act was to have a house-warming, not of the sort generally understood by that term, but a real, unadulterated kind, which consisted in getting together all the wood that could be found, and setting it alight in all the fireplaces so as to finish the drying of the plaster, for the house was entirely too damp to be safe for anyone to live in.

On New Year's Day, 1801, was held the first public reception of the President of the United States in Washington. There was but one apartment in a sufficiently completed condition to be used for this purpose, and that was on the second floor, the same which later Presidents used for receiving business callers. That this first reception in the White House was a very different affair from those of later years, needs not to be told, but we may be sure that it was not like that given by President Jackson, to whom must be awarded the palm for serving the oddest refreshments to his guests. His ideas of consistent democracy were very decided, and so he insisted on treating his reception callers to—crackers and cheese!

As time rolled on, the river receded from its banks, leaving behind it a marshy lakelet. And so it came to pass that the north or original back entrance, came to be generally used, until finally visitors forgot that the south side had ever been the front entrance. When carriages came, they drove under the north portico, and pedestrians entered from the same side.

Thousands attended the balls and receptions at the President's House, and so great was the crowd that it frequently became necessary to provide a separate entrance for the foreign ambassadors and ministers, and for the members of the cabinet and their wives by converting a south window into a door, steps being placed against it both inside and outside. Occasionally when the press at a reception was unusually great, exit had to be provided for the guests by a similar arrangement of a north window, and a wooden bridge to the sidewalk.

In 1803 the architect, Latrobe, drew plans for enriching the edifice by the addition of those now essential features, the north and south porticos, which, however, were not built until twenty-five years after the mansion was first occupied.

By President Jefferson's direction, Latrobe also added two terraces extending for one hundred and fifty feet on the west and on the east. They were built as component parts of the house, but by and by the west terrace was degraded into a mere foundation for greenhouses. Worse still, the handsome row of stone columns which once formed a sunny arcade on the south, was shut in by glasshouses in which were raised early vegetables and fruits. The eastern terrace was removed early in the sixties, and a flower garden took its place except in one small portion which, as late as 1866 was degraded by being used as a cow stable.

From time to time Congress made small appropriations for the care and furnishings of the President's House, but even down to the days of Andrew Jackson, each President was compelled to supply some portion of the furniture necessary to make the house comfortable. During the occupancy of the famous Dolly Madison, Congress placed in her hands six thousand dollars for furnishings. Five hundred of this sum were spent for a piano and guitar, and the balance for table linen, mirrors, drawing-room furniture, and for yellow damask curtains hung as "sunbursts" in this same state apartment. These were all destroyed when the British burned the President's House in 1814.

The original cost of the mansion was about three hundred thousand dollars, and rather more than this was expended in

rebuilding and in adding the north and south porticos. The Executive Mansion of those days was a very different thing from that of to-day.

Sight-seeing vistors entered the vestibule, crossed the hall, and wandered about the big East Room at their pleasure, trying the different chairs and often snipping off pieces of the drapery as souvenirs of their visit. Men who came to seek the President on business, especially office-seekers, sat for weary hours on uncomfortable chairs in the waiting room, and often departed as unnoticed as they came. And yet three ushers were supposed to be on duty, and three policemen detailed from the city officers.

The President's House from its first conception was not only a dwelling, but a business house. The offices of the President, his secretary and clerks, necessarily encroached more and more on the space intended to be used for domestic purposes, until the President's family was finally compelled to give up the second floor almost entirely. The State Dining-room also became too small for the increasing number invited to state dinners, and on such occasions it became necessary to set a long, narrow table in the hall.

In those early days of the President's House, Mrs. Adams' estimate of thirty servants to do the work, was not too high, there were few, if any labor saving appliances, and all the work had to be done by hand. The great halls and apartments were lighted by candles and tallow dips, and later on, by oil lamps. The immense house was heated by open fireplaces, for which wood had to be carried and ashes taken away, which necessitated the dusting of the furniture with monotonous frequency. All the water used in the house had to be pumped by hand from a well, and carried to all the rooms. In the great East Room alone on special occasions there were one hundred and eighty lights. "Four pair of rich, ten-light mantel lamps; three very splendid gilt chandeliers, each for eighteen candles," such was the description given by a visitor before the days of gas or electric lights.

The customs too, of the early occupants of the President's House were in as great a contrast to the present. President John Adams was so simple and democratic in his tastes and in his attitude towards the public, that his prouder wife frequently re-

monstrated with him on his apparent lack of appreciation of the dignity of his office.

President Jefferson announced that even the frail barriers of official etiquette that his predecessors had erected between themselves and the public, should be broken down, and that the people were free to come and go in the home of their President as they pleased. And President Jackson, well, we have seen his primitive ideas as to the refreshments to be offered to his reception guests. During the heat of summer it was a common thing for visitors approaching the White House to see on the portico a roughly clad figure recumbent in an easy rattan chair, without coat or waistcoat, and with a corn-cob or long-stemmed pipe in his mouth.

That figure was the President of the United States, and the stranger would wonder and perchance, smile. But when he came to talk with this democratic Chief Magistrate, he was forced to admit the strength of character, the brilliance of wit and the strong common sense of this rough and most democratic of all our Presidents whose good heart equaled his simplicity of life. On one occasion when a faithful servant was seized with that dreaded disease, the smallpox, and all the house servants fled, President Jackson made an isolated ward of a portion of the mansion, and himself performed the duties of a nurse until his humble patient was out of danger.

And Pennsylvania avenue, the approach to the President's House. To-day, of all the streets in America, it is the most famous. It is the central thoroughfare of the nation's capital. Every foot of the mile that intervenes between the Capitol and the White House is alive with suggestions of men and events that have made history. It is to-day a majestic avenue, lined from end to end with stately buildings, and its smooth surface dotted at all times with handsome vehicles.

But in the early days of the White House it was far otherwise. For years Pennsylvania was little more than a wide, deep mud hole, bounded on either side with rude, unpretentious frame buildings. Here and there cumbrous country wagons or ox-carts dragged slowly through the mud or dust and ruts of the roadway, cows, chickens and hogs scattering before their slow ad-

vance, all live stock being permitted to run at large. In scornful reference to this custom, one of the French ministers wrote in a description of the city, that the cows were milked on the sidewalks, and pedestrians had to step out in the muddy streets to avoid being spattered with milk; also that the nights were rendered hideous with the noises of stray cattle, hogs, dogs and cats. As a matter of fact, the new capital city of the United States in the early days was for some years the laughing stock not only of Europe, but of many of its own people. The few newspapers of New York, Philadelphia and New England made constant fun of the city and of the proceedings there.

And in truth, notwithstanding its magnificent public buildings, Washington, even so late as the close of the Civil War, was still little more than a squalid, provincial town, badly lighted, badly paved, with many of the public buildings in an unfinished state, or not even begun. It remained for Alexander R. Shepherd, territorial governor of the District of Columbia, to make of the straggling city a metropolis in fact as well as in name. In 1870 he started the movement which in a few years transformed the city into that which it is to-day, "the most beautiful in the world," and what its founder had fondly dreamed it would be, — a fitting capital of the greatest nation on earth.

HISTORIC VIEWS AND REVIEWS

REID'S ESTIMATE OF LINCOLN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN "was from his earliest manhood a persistent office seeker and the most ambitious of men," was one of the startling assertions of American Ambassador Reid in his address at the University of Birmingham, England, which closed the 1910 course on "Makers of History."

"This untaught offspring of the poor whites of Kentucky," Mr. Reid went on, speaking from personal acquaintance and familiarity with the career of the Great Emancipator, "was not at the outset and never became that favorite type of some publicists, a retiring citizen, inattentive in general to other interests than those near him, entirely content with private life till roused by an unexpected call to public duty. The Illinois swamps of those days developed no such Cincinnatus amid their malaria.

"Without an instant's hesitation I place him far above any other on your shining list—far above Bismarck, who created an empire; far above Gambetta, who saved a fallen people, or Mazzini, who helped put a new soul in another; or the Marquis Ito, who transformed some hermit islanders into the present first of Asiatic and peer of European powers."

Continuing, he said:

TRUTHFUL, HONEST AND A POLITICIAN

"There is but one key—save events—to the character of this strange, uncouth, self-educated, gifted and ambitious son of the commonest of common people. His nature from childhood was one of absolute truthfulness, with himself as well as with others; and of absolute courage that would face the stake if need be for his convictions of duty.

"He was not in the least either a simple-minded rustic or a professional 'reformer.' On the contrary, he was an ardent partisan and the most skilful master of men and of all the intricacies

of the game of politics known in his State. He had small regard for many of the refinements of the modern Civil Service reformer. He knew how to use the post-offices to secure delegates, and he was ready enough to point out to his Congressman how a judicious use of other patronage would promote the good cause at the next convention. When he came to great place he still used high public interests, to gain support for the Union cause, to quiet discontent, to promote recruiting. Honesty he insisted on, but beyond that his official standard was not very high, and his judgment of individual character not very safe..”

LINCOLN AS A STORY TELLER

“He was not perpetually telling humorous and sometimes risqué stories in the White House; he had no such conception of the duties of a statesman in exalted position and in a time of extreme peril. On the contrary, he probably told fewer stories during his whole stay in the White House than in any previous year of his adult life; and for every one he did tell a hundred poorer and coarser ones were fathered on him. Nor did his stories call for the unctuous and superfluous excuse that they afforded him a needed relief from the sadness of the time. No doubt he was sad in the White House, but he had been sad all his life.

“He was an intensely religious man, and knew the Bible better than any other book; his own conduct was governed by an exalted ethical code—as exalted as that of Marcus Aurelius—but he was never a member of any church.

“He was the great Emancipator, but in politics he was never an Abolitionist—in fact, he distrusted and opposed them and their party. He did not even, at the beginning of his career, particularly concern himself with slavery, although he always thought ill of it.”

OUSTED THE KING'S MESSENGER

The recent sale in Philadelphia of the oil portraits of Col. Robert Knox and his wife for \$1,050 recalls an interesting character in the American Revolution.

Col. Knox, who was of Irish descent, was born about 1725 and lived for many years at Swanson and Queen Streets, in the Southwark district of Philadelphia. He was engaged in the stave business with wharves on the Delaware River, and owned a number of sailing vessels. He was regarded as one of Philadelphia's most patriotic citizens, was of commanding presence, and possessed great physical strength.

During the revolution he gave a large part of his means and time for the defense of his country. He raised a battalion of infantry, said to be the first recruited in Philadelphia, and was its Major. On the same day that the Declaration of Independence was signed he represented the city of Philadelphia at a convention held at Lancaster, Penn., for the organization of a State militia. In September, 1776, he became Colonel of a regiment of eight companies which was known as "Col. Knox's Own." He was in Gen. John Cadwalader's division and took part in many battles, including those at Princeton, Germantown, and Monmouth.

Col. Knox was one of the original members of the Third Presbyterian Church, now known as the Old Pine Street Presbyterian Church, and headed the call to its first pastor, the Rev. George Duffield. This selection was opposed by the newly incorporated committee of the Market Street Presbyterian Church, who locked the doors, so that Mr. Duffield could not get in. A large crowd gathered, and he was lifted into the church through one of the windows. In the midst of the services a messenger of the King took a position in front of the pulpit, ordered the congregation to disperse, and when this was not done began to read the Riot act. Col. Knox thereupon called out, "Quit that, Jamie Bryant." No attention being paid to him, Col. Knox cried out, "Don't come here to disturb the people in the worship of God." Jamie Bryant, however, kept on with his reading of the Riot act, whereupon Col. Knox left his pew, took the messenger by the nape of his neck and the small of his back, lifted him above the heads of the worshippers, and, walking to the door, threw him out, saying, "Take that and be gone," and then called on Mr. Duffield to proceed with the services.

POE AND THE LITERARY MESSENGER

New light on the habits, movements, and standing of Edgar Allan Poe during his first year's connection with the famous Southern Literary Messenger of Richmond, Va., is thrown by eight unpublished letters of Thomas W. White, founder and proprietor of that periodical, which were sold recently at Merwin-Clayton's. White, who was a practical printer, tried, after he began the publication of the Southern Literary Messenger, to get as contributors to it some of the distinguished writers of the day. Among those whose aid was asked was John P. Kennedy of Baltimore, whose "Swallow Barn" had won him fame. Kennedy was too busy with other matters at the time to comply with White's request. It happened, however, that he was acquainted with and had a liking for Poe, who a short time before had gained The Baltimore Saturday Visitor prize by his tale of "A Manuscript Found in a Bottle." Kennedy wrote a letter to White, recommending Poe, and the latter, in May, 1835, went from Baltimore to Richmond to work for The Messenger. At this time he married his cousin, Virginia Clemm. He remained with The Messenger until January, 1837, when owing to his irregular habits, he was forced to leave it.

THE WHITE LETTERS

White's letters are all addressed to Lucian Minor, a Virginia author, and are in part as follows:

Aug. 18, 1835.—I have, my dear sir, been compelled to part with Mr. Sparhawk as regular editor. He will, however, continue to assist me. Mr. Poe is here also. He tarries one month, and will aid me all that lies in his power.

Sept. 8, 1835.—Poe is now in my employ—not an editor. He is unfortunately rather dissipated, and therefore I can place very little reliance upon him. His disposition is quite amiable. He will be some assistance to me in proofreading—at least, I hope so.

Sept. 21, 1835.—Poe has flew the track already. His habits were not good. He is, in addition, a victim of melancholy. I should not be at all astonished to hear that he had been guilty of suicide.

Oct. 1, 1835.—I have just seen Mr. Heath. He thinks he can

manage the autobiography for me. He proposes striking out Cooper's and Irving's names. I will not put the article in till I hear from you. Give me your candid opinion of it. Poe is its author.

Oct. 20, 1835.—Mr. Poe, who is with me again, read (your address?) over my copy with great care. He is very much pleased with it—in fact, he passes great encomiums upon it to me, and intends noticing it under the head of reviews.

Oct. 24, 1835.—Suppose you send me a modest paragraph mentioning the paper is now under my own editorial management, assisted by several gentlemen of distinguished literary attainments. You may introduce Mr. Poe's name as amongst those engaged to contribute for its columns—taking care not to say as editor.

Nov. 23, 1835.—You are altogether right about the Leslie critique. Poe has evidently shown himself no lawyer, whatever else he may be.

Dec. 25, 1835.—All the critical notices are from the pen of Poe—who I rejoice to tell you still keeps from the Bottle.

Poe's poem "To Eliza" was addressed to White's daughter Eliza.

LENORSON'S BRAVERY RECORDED

One of the most notable incidents in connection with the Indian outrages against the early colonists—the remarkable escape from captivity of Mrs. Hannah Dustin, Mrs. Mary Neffe, and 14-year-old Samuel Lenorson, after tomahawking 10 of their captors near Concord, N. H., in 1697—is recalled anew by the placing here of a tablet to the memory of the boy.

Monuments already memorialized the heroines, but the lad Lenorson's youthful bravery quite unmentioned, had previously been without mark.

The tablet is placed on a tower at Lake Park, marking the site of the Lenorson home, from which he was stolen in 1695 by Indians. It recites briefly the facts of the boy's connection with the episode. After two years of wandering he was with a party of Indians which on March 15, 1697, massacred 27 men, women and children at Haverhill. Thirteen captives were taken, among them Mrs. Dustin and Mrs. Neffe, who had been caring for her and her new-born infant. Preparing for their retreat, the Indians dashed the babe against a tree.

The anguished mother nearly died during the six weeks' march through the wilderness, but recovering strength of mind and body Mrs. Dustin resolved while the party was encamped at Concorn, N. H., to try to escape. In the early morning of April 30, 1697, the two women and the Lenorson boy, who had been set apart from the other captives, armed themselves with tomahawks taken from their sleeping captors and killed 10 of them. A squaw and boy alone escaped. To confirm the story of their remarkable deliverance the scalps of their victims were taken. A boat was secured and the three paddled down the Merrimac, arriving safely at their home to joyfully surprise their sorrowing relatives.

TO DIG FOR TORY GOLD

Believing that there is a large amount in Tory gold buried on the farm on which he was reared, William H. Loudon, a well known resident of this city, will shortly head a treasure hunting expedition to Sound Beach, Conn. Mr. Loudon, as was his father before him, was born and reared on a farm near Sound Beach. Many exciting episodes of the Revolutionary war took place in that neighborhood, part of the time the territory being in control of Tories and part of the time dominated by the patriots.

During the Revolution the Tories of the neighborhood, fearing they would have to flee for their lives if the patriots were successful, disposed of their possessions and planned to join the British. They were forced to flee unexpectedly, and according to the stories told, a number of them buried their gold on the Loudon farm. Mr. Loudon's father found a large sum on his farm and a neighbor who suddenly acquired riches was said to have made a find, but to this day older residents have a story that the greater part of the treasure is still buried on the Loudon farm.

HOW THE FRONTIER WAS PROTECTED

An interesting letter of Benjamin Fletcher, one of the Colonial Governors of New York, brought \$20 at a recent auction sale in Philadelphia. Fletcher was a Colonel in the British Army and a man of violent passions. It was under an act, for the pass-

age of which he worked, that the English Church and preaching in English were introduced into New York. Trinity Church was organized under this act. During his administration pirates infested American waters, and he was accused of favoring them for private gain.

The letter, two pages folio, is dated Albany, January 9, 1696, and considering its age, is in fine condition. It was written while he was making a tour of the State with a view to strengthening the frontier against the French and their Indian allies. The letter is in the nature of a report by him to the Assembly on the measures taken in Central New York for defense against the Indians. Speaking of a visit to Schenectady he says:

I dispatched scouts to the lake, and gave instructions to Ensign Harmon to command them. I walked with them to the river, gave them a bottle of rum, saw them put on their snow shoes, and begin their march. The inhabitants of that place gave me an address, which being in Dutch, I could not read.

He then tells of his movements in Albany:

The 2d (of January) I drew out the burgers and militia of this city. They appeared with very good arms, which every man proved as he passed me, and then made a very good fire in three volleys. They seemed to be very cheerful and satisfied well. I gave them fifteen heavy pieces of 8 to drink the King's health. The 4th (of January) I dispatched more scouts from home, two Christians and two Indians, to join those sent from Schenectady.

Fletcher was Governor from 1692 to 1698. He was called by the friendly Indians "Great White Arrow." His enemies succeeded in having him deposed.

THE MYSTERIOUS HENRY MINIATURE

The existence of the ivory miniature portrait of Patrick Henry, the famous patriot of the American Revolution, painted from life by a French artist, while Henry was arguing the British Debt cases in 1791 in the United States court at Richmond, Va., has of late years been doubted, and a story, generally accepted as true, has been circulated that the well-known life-size

bust portrait, painted in oil by Thomas Sully, was nothing more than an altered portrait of the celebrated Capt. Cook, which much resembled Henry. Sully painted the oil portrait for William Wirt, who had it engraved by Leney for Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry," which was published by James Webster.

That Sully used the portrait of Capt. Cook for his model for the Henry painting has always been denied by the Henry family, who asserted that it was copied by Sully from a miniature by a French artist, but the whereabouts of the miniature remained unknown until recently, when Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia found it in possession of John Syme Fleming, who commissioned him to sell it.

As the Sully picture, the only true portrait in oil of Henry, was also in the same sale, the fable of the Capt. Cook portrait was exploded and the fact substantiated that the Sully portrait is painted from the miniature with slight alterations, as suggested by Chief Justice John Marshall, in order that Henry would not look so old. It is felt that both portraits should really be owned by the Federal Government.

AN INTERESTING CLEVELAND LETTER

The following interesting letter of Grover Cleveland, written while he was Governor of New York, and only a few days before he was first elected President of the United States at one of the winter sales:

"Executive Mansion,
Albany, Oct. 25, 1884.

"My Dear Sir: Many thanks for your kind letter of the 23d inst. Such expressions as it contains go far toward confirming much that I have supposed. I never feel the responsibility that may be put upon me more than when such men as you declare their faith in me. If called to the test I hope I shall not be found wanting. Yours very sincerely,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."





BUST OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON
By Monsieur Joseph Kratina of Paris. (See Page 336)

APRIL, 1911

AMERICANA

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AMERICANA

April, 1911

ALEXANDER HAMILTON'S PLACE IN HISTORY

BY VICTOR HUGO DURAS

ALEXANDER HAMILTON was born in the Isle of Nevis, January 11, 1757; a child of a Scotch father and a French mother. His mother died when he was yet a babe, and as his father was unsuccessful in business, he returned to Scotland, leaving the lad to be brought up by his mother's relatives, who left him to do as he pleased. Although he had some schooling, it was not enough to be called an education; but as he was very bright, he picked up, as it were, an immense fund of general information, which proved to be a good foundation in his later life. At the age of twelve he entered the office of a merchant on the island of Nevis, in the West Indies, where he obtained his first lessons in finance, and so skilfully managed the business that it was turned over to his sole management while the proprietor made his trips to New York. He found time for self culture and aside from studying his favorite authors, Pope and Plutarch, he also wrote articles for publication, one of which, a description of a West Indian Hurricane, was so interesting and graphic that it lead his relatives to bring him to the north, and after a stop in Boston, he came to New York and entered a school at Elizabethtown.

It was this lost and forgotten boy of twelve, who sat at his desk at a merchants office on the Isle of Nevis, who wrote the following letter to a friend in 1769:

"I condemn the grovelling condition of a clerk, or the like, to which my fortune condemns me, and would willingly risk my life though not my character, to exhalt my station. I am

confident Ned, that my youth excludes me from any hope of immediate preferment, nor do I desire it, but I mean to prepare the way for futurity."

The opportunity came, and after one year of preparatory reading he entered King's College (now Columbia University), intending to do four years' work in one, with "the fiery and un-resting energy so characteristic of him throughout his life," (1 foot note), Alexander Hamilton, Henry Cabot Lodge.)

The clouds of the revolution were beginning to gather and farsighted men, seeing that the revolt was inevitable, were already taking sides, while seventeen year old Hamilton, with a high sense of responsibility to the existing government, stood firmly upon the ground where he was; and had there been more level headed conservatives of his kind, while revolt was rife, independence might perhaps have been gained without revolution and its consequences.

But when he saw that storm or revolt could not be checked, he too, faithfully and patriotically took the side of the Colonists and on July 6, 1774, was present at a mass meeting in the fields outside of New York, called by the patriots for the purpose of bringing pressure to bear upon the Tory Assembly of New York. After listening to the speakers, he was so impressed by the things that were omitted and pushing his way to the platform, made a splendid speech, by which he filled in the vacant places in the arguments, and although he was not yet an orator, his critical, earnest and lucid remarks, won him recognition as a leader of men.

Strong Tory pamphlets appeared that fall, and seventeen-year-old Hamilton answered them so well that his name spread to fame, and while the battle of pamphlets raged for two years, numerous bribers approached him to transfer his allegiance, but he stood loyal to the core, and with his analytical and alert mind, well versed in political science, he soon rose above them all, to finally cross words and arguments with Jefferson, Madison and Burr, in the "Federalist" after the war.

In the early days of the revolution he on several occasions took an active part in suppressing riots. On one occasion when

the British warship *Asia* fired upon the city, the people became aroused, sacked the King's storehouse and threatened to kill every Tory in the City. Among the most prominent Torys was Dr. Cooper, President of King's College which Hamilton had but recently ceased attending. When Hamilton saw the mob advancing upon the college, he quickly preceded it, and addressed the rioters from the top of the steps, denouncing them for their disorderly acts; but Dr. Cooper not knowing that Hamilton had come to save him, and knowing his former pupil to be a zealous patriot, put his head out of the window and shouted to the crowd not to be led by the youth's indiscretions.

He then escaped by a rear door, still believing that Hamilton was urging the mob to violence, while in fact he was trying to disperse the rioters and save his beloved master's life.

In 1776, at the age of nineteen, Hamilton became captain of a company of artillery and his deeds during the Revolutionary war, and the material assistance that he rendered Washington, and Jefferson, in the organization of the federal government of the United States, makes it very necessary indeed for the historian to place these three figures of that critical period of American history, upon an almost equal plain, above all others.

The three things that have prevented the name of Hamilton from rising to an exalted place in history, are: first, he was born illegitimately, second,—that he was killed in a duel, and third,—that he favored aristocratic institutions, in preference to democratic institutions.

Politically they are inseparable, for one cannot be adequately discussed or clearly understood without the other two, because they favored three different degrees of governmental power, Jefferson favoring what is now known as dis-centralization, Washington favoring de-centralization, while Hamilton favored centralization of powers.

Very evidently the two extreme and opposite views of Jefferson and Hamilton, the one striving for more local autonomy and the other for greater federal authority, were absolutely ir-

reconcilable, and were it not for the highly rational and central position of Washington, who strove to harmonize these two theories, no one can venture to say what might have been the result.

Washington was successful by gaining the consent of the followers of Jefferson to concede to a federal form of government, in consideration for the concession of Hamilton's followers, of surrendering to the states all the powers not specifically enumerated in the Constitution.

Thus it was possible to organize a system of government by the stroke of a pen and at the same time to found two great political parties of this Republic which in part follow the tenets of Jefferson, as does the Democratic and of Hamilton as does the Republican; and there is a manifest tendency towards the development of a central liberal party, thus dividing the Congress into the left, the center, and the right, or in other words, into the radical, liberal and conservative, as in continental Europe.

Had Hamilton's idea of greater federal authority prevailed, it can be clearly seen that the federal government would to-day be more able to prevent the tendency of the dominance of one state over others through its corporate or economic wealth; which is in fact doing more to destroy the equality, sovereignty and independence of the state than anything else. He was a truly constructive statesman.

We can see that while Jefferson built for generations and Washington built for centuries, Hamilton built for the ages.

Bismark turned to consult Hamilton's arguments on Federation in the *Federalist*, when the German Empire was formed.

Webster eulogizing him as the first Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, said: "He smote the rock of natural resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. "He touched the dead corpse of the Public Credit, and it sprang upon its feet.

"The fabled birth of Minerva, from the brain of Jove, was hardly more sudden or more perfect than the financial system

of the United States, as it burst forth from the conception of Alexander Hamilton.

But the wonderful mentality of Hamilton brought him to an early death at the hands of his most bitter opponent, who became so jealous of him, that he attacked his very name and honor, knowing full well that it would force Hamilton to challenge him (Burr) to a duel, which through his cunning could only terminate in that eventful tragedy at Weehawken Heights, July 11, 1804; where Hamilton prematurely fell to his grave.

When Hamilton discharged his pistol into the air on that fateful morning he ended the system of dueling in this nation, for the public's indignation rose so high that duelling became generally prohibited by law.

Who knows, but that he may have known what would be the result?

In 1879, John Church Hamilton, the fourth son of Alexander Hamilton who was twelve years old at the time of his father's death gave the following account: "I recall it with full clearness," said the son, who was the person nearest his father during the dark hours before the duel. "My father's residence was in the country, toward the north of New York island. His law office in the city was rather a shabby affair. The day before the duel I was sitting in a room, when, at a slight noise, I turned around and saw my father in the doorway, standing silently there looking at me with a most sweet and beautiful expression of countenance. It was full of tenderness, and without any of the business preoccupation he sometimes had.

"John, said he, when I had discovered him, 'won't you come and sleep with me to-night?' His voice was frank, as if he had been my brother instead of my father.

"That night I went to his bed, and in the morning very early he awakened me, and taking my hands in his palms, all four hands extended, he said and told me to repeat the Lord's Prayer.

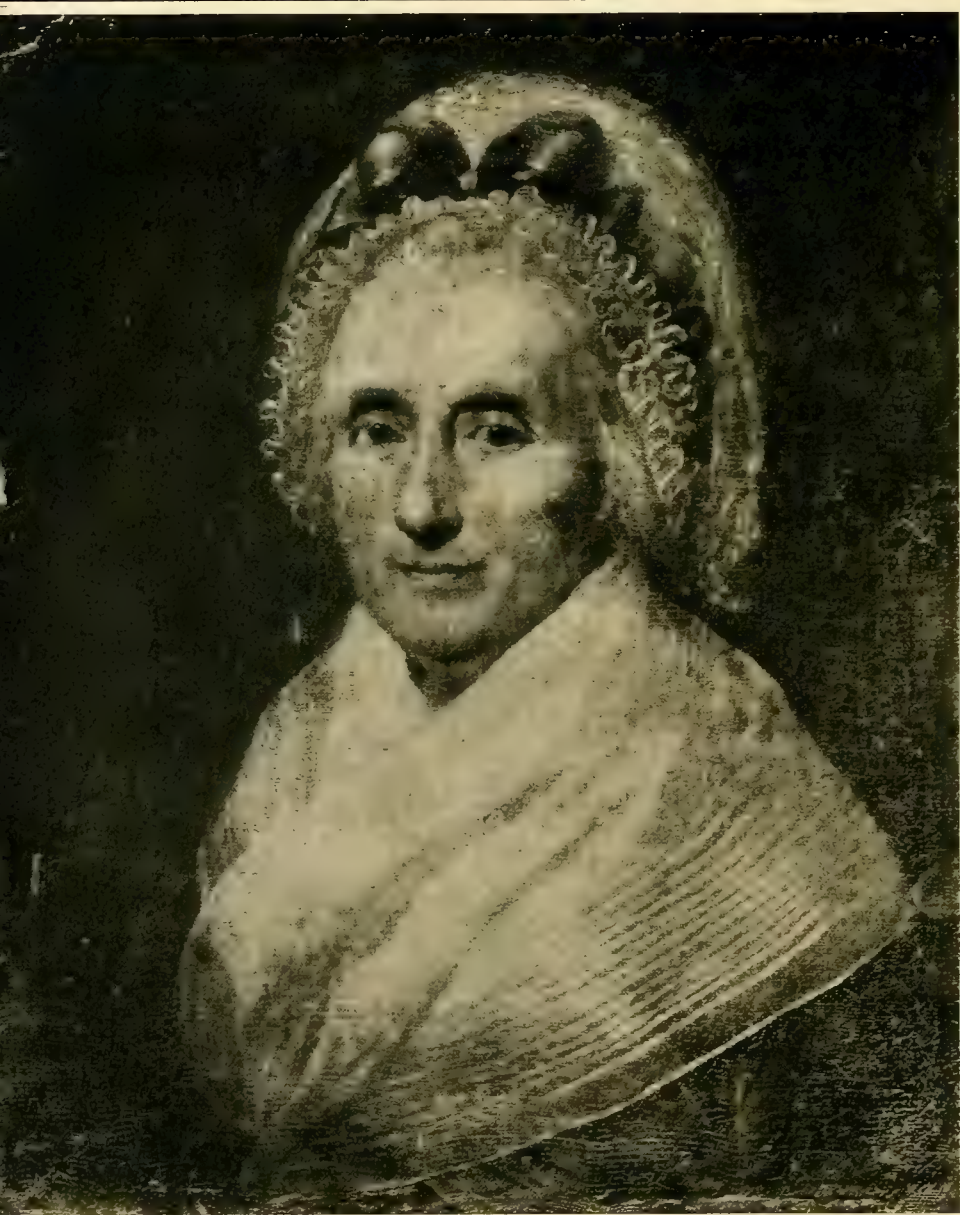
"Seventy five years have since passed over my head, and I have forgotten many things, but not that tender expression

when he stood looking at me in the door, nor the prayer we made together the morning before the duel."

Up to 1908, when the Alexander Hamilton Memorial Association was organized at Washington, but very little indeed had been done to perpetuate the memory of this great American statesman and co-founder of the Republic. The object of this Association is to raise funds for the purpose of the erection of a monumental statue of Hamilton on the esplanade at the head of Pennsylvania Avenue and at the southern entrance of the Treasury Building, facing the Capitol.

On May 6, 1908, an act was passed by the state legislature and signed by the Governor, to authorize the city of New York to acquire the Alexander Hamilton mansion known as "Hamilton Grange" and move it to a site in that portion of Saint Nicholas Park, formerly consisting a part of the Alexander Hamilton farm, and I sincerely believe that it is the desire of every true, loyal and patriotic citizen, that we may add to the beautifully kept up shrines of patriotic devotion of Jefferson, Washington,—that of Hamilton.

The state of Virginia has seen proper and fitting to take over the responsibility for the preservation of "Monticello" to perpetuate the memory of Thomas Jefferson, the "Author of the Declaration of Independence," while the nation has seen it fit to preserve the memory of George Washington, having already obtained "Mount Vernon," the estate of the "Father of his Country," placed it at the disposal of the patriotic public; but, the "Grange" the home of Alexander Hamilton, although beautifully maintained has not as yet been taken over, by neither the nation, the state, nor even the city which was graced by the residence of the great "Federalist."



Electrotype Plate of Portrait of Mary Bull Washington

HEIRS AND HEIRLOOMS OF WASHINGTON

BY BENEDICT FITZPATRICK

WASHINGTON is one of those heroic figures of history of whom men cannot hear enough. Those figures are not numerous; the epoch is rare which beholds two of them living together in the world. But even in that rare procession Washington has to be linked with figures rarer still. For he had something beyond his heroic proportions. With greatness he united a corresponding goodness. He belongs to that group within a group, of whom it can be said that they grow with one's knowledge of them. There are those in whose eyes the Man of Destiny who was almost Washington's active contemporary wears a divinity that is not of the earth. To them the inconsequential recorded remark, the relic of a relic, the faint association, any shred or patch of thing, material or immaterial, that can in time or space be connected with him has over long years a message all its own. But what a disillusionment grows upon them as the infirmities of Napoleon's massive intellect reveal the clay of which their idol is formed. Not to this order, if history in all its fullness speaks aright, did the great soul of Washington belong. Into the intimacy of his home, his lonely self-communings, his personal intercourse, his bearing towards friend and foe, the hero worshipper may securely tread with no fear of becoming an iconoclast. America has been fortunate in many things. In none perhaps has she been more fortunate than in him whom she delights to call the father of the land. For to gratitude she can unite enduring admiration and to the generation of her children rising to manhood she can say: "He was not only the greatest but the best of my sons. Make him your great Exemplar!"

For these reasons any relic that contributes to a better knowledge of Washington and brings us into more intimate association with the episodes of his career is bound to grow in value year by year. And the discovery of such a relic would not be one whit more important than making the discovery known. This latter is the duty of the present writer; the exquisite joy of the collector who lights upon an unexpected find is wholly that of Mr. W. Lanier Washington, who is the great-great-great-grandson of Washington's half-brother Augustine, and also of Washington's full brother John Augustine, and who is the professor of a collection of Washingtoniana which is the priceless harvest of his own lifelong and unwearied efforts. The collection is now on public view in New York at the Jumel Mansion in West 162nd Street, which was Washington's headquarters for several weeks after the disastrous battle of Long Island, Aug. 27th, 1776. There are several hundred different articles ranging from marble busts to a chip from the eagle's wing from the general's tomb at Mt. Vernon. There is a portrait, that arrests the eye, attributed to Wertmüller, of Mary Ball Washington the mother of the general. The portrait has an unusual history. Its existence was hardly known until 1850, when Dr. Sherasajub Spooner came upon it while visiting at the home of a member of the Ball family at Fredericksburg, Va. The artist, it is said, owing to the scarcity of canvas following the war made use of bed-ticking for his portrait. The portrait had been cut from its frame, rolled up and packed away in a garret when Dr. Spooner identified it. The likeness to Washington in the opinion of its proprietor, is so marked as to be in itself convincing evidence of the authenticity of the portrait.

Mr. Washington has been collecting for about twenty years being encouraged in the beginning by his mother, who, with rare discernment, gathered some of the more important articles of the collection, when they could be had at a fraction of their present value. Among the relics Mr. W. has inherited are two silver camp cups, a photograph of which we reproduce, which were made for Washington and used by him throughout the Revolutionary war. These two cups which have

never been out of the Washington family are said to have been one of the very few extravagances in which Washington indulged during those trying days, "frought" in Mr. Lanier Washington's words "with almost continual hardship, endured uncomplainingly and with fixedness of purpose, during the eight long years he led the American forces in an unexampled and glorious fight for freedom from the yoke of British tyranny."

The two cups were given by Washington to his favorite nephew, Colonel William Augustine Washington, whose portrait hangs in the southeast room of the Jumel Mansion. They were by him given to his son, George Corbin Washington, Mr. Lanier Washington's great-grandfather, who gave the cups along with other relics of the general to his neice, Frances Washington. Among the relics owned by the grandfather of the present representative of the family were two of Washington's swords one of which was the famous sword presented to him by Frederic the Great, upon which was engraved "From the oldest to the greatest general in the world;" also Washington's surveying instruments, his watch, chain and seals, pistols, many books, a trunk full of letters, and the letter-press copy of his letters, the original draft of the Farewell Address and many other relics of importance. These Colonel Lewis Washington's second wife sold to various institutions and individuals and thus diverted them from the present Mr. Washington's father, the eldest son by the first wife, to whom they had been promised by his father.

Frances Washington died childless and before her death she restored to the direct line the several relics she had received from George Corbin Washington by giving them to Mr. Lanier Washington's father who thus came into possession of the silver camp cups, together with Washington's mother-of-pearl whist counters, and a tortoise shell snuffbox, all of which are in the collection at the Jumel Mansion. The snuffbox was a present from Washington to his younger brother, Colonel John Augustine Washington and on a gold button on the top of the box is engraved "G. W. to J. A. W."

Among other things that came to Mr. Washington's father

through his cousin, Frances, were some buttons on Washington's coat, pieces of the dresses worn by Martha Washington, and a pair of silver shoe buckles set with brilliants which Washington gave to his nephew William Augustine Washington. The buckles are not in the collection having been appropriated by Mrs. Lanier Washington, whose eye for the beautiful has led her to have them mounted upon a pair of 1911 slippers, which she wears on particular occasions. There is also a steel engraved plate made by the French artist St. Memim, a portrait of Col. William A. Washington. In connection with the camp drinking cups Mr. Lanier Washington recorded having seen, when a boy, in Mr. W. E. Benjamin's collection of manuscripts an invoice to General Washington for the making of these cups. Mr. Benjamin disposed of the bill many years ago and could not recall into whose hands it had fallen. Within the last year or so Mr. Washington located this document in the collection of Mr. W. H. Bixby of St. Louis, whose collection of American manuscripts is probably the most important in private hands. Mr. Bixby made a tracing of the invoice and sent it to Mr. Washington and it hangs near the cups in the Jumel Mansion. It bears the date of August 20, 1777, and runs as follows:

“His Excell'cy Gen. Washington to Edm'd Milne Dr. To Mak'g 2 Silv'r Cups ut 11 oz. @ 14 La £8.8.”

There is a credit of “16 Silver Doll's” which may have been sent with the order to be used in the making.

Any doubt as to whether the whist counters in the collection were actually used by Washington is dispelled by another discovery of Mr. Washington's. In the Book of Accounts from 1763 to 1784 kept by Lund Washington, a distant cousin of Washington and the overseer at Mt. Vernon, the following entry appears: “To Won at Whist at Mount Vernon, 7.6 shillings.” It is fair to the memory of Charles Washington, a brother of the general's to state that on the opposite page he is credited with having paid this debt of honor. This book of accounts is also in Mr. Washington's collection.

Mr. Washington has in his collection a fine marble bust of the general by Hiram Powers and another by Trentanova, both



Whist Counters owned and used by General Washington



Key found under ruins of house where Gen. Washington was born

however at his home. The Houdon bust is in the collection on view, as well as a fine basrelief and bust of the general by William Rudolf O'Donovan, the talented Virginian sculptor. At the Jumel Mansion there is also the key, here reproduced, of the house at Wakefield where Washington was born. Almost equally interesting are the valuable mourning brooches and mourning rings; two score and over of souvenir boxes, most of them bearing miniatures of Washington in ivory; and statuettes in bisque and china and bronze. As an evidence of the devotion in which Washington was held in his lifetime is a bowl, bearing his portrait and the following sentiment:

“Deafness to the ear that will patiently hear,
And dumbness to the tongue that will utter,
A calumny against the immortal Washington.”

Among the paintings on view is a specimen of the art of John Trumbull, the general's aide, who renders an idealized impression of the commander. On the back of the canvas is pasted the painter's visiting card:—Col. Trumbull, 406 Broadway.

KRATINA'S BUST OF HAMILTON

BY VICTOR HUGO DURAS

Monsieur Joseph Kratina, of Paris, the celebrated sculptor, who has been sculptoring busts of some prominent Americans under contract, has finished his Centennary Bust of Alexander Hamilton which is considered to be one of the very best likenesses of the aristocratic conservative, extant.

He has caught the spirit of this great federalist in exquisite fashion and has put into the profile the beautiful lines of the old fashioned colonial aristocrat and practical constructionist, by the stern, firm and calm face, mingled with the pride, honor and straightforwardness which so characteristically marked the great financier.

It has been a long time since such a magnificent character sketch of our statesmen has been made and it is very fitting indeed, that the bust has just been produced upon the centennary anniversary of the birth of this patriot, as the production is certain to stand alongside the Houdon-Washington, the St. Gaudens-Lincoln as one of the three great masterpieces of the three builders of the republic.

There is probably no sculptor who worked with a greater degree of rapidity and yet with so wonderful an accuracy as M. Kratina; for during the brief period of three years he has finished numerous portraits of private individuals, has produced life-sized busts of Abraham Lincoln, John C. Fremont, Count Leo Tolstoy and is now about to begin on a McKinley, a Garfield and a Jefferson.

He is at present working upon an allegorical figure, representing evolution, for exhibition in heroic size, consisting of the whirlwind of time, which revolving in the form of a tornado, collects all the living creatures of the earth into its fold and evolves the great ideal of modern civilization, which she is reaching for the star of perfection, still in a distance, as the idol of all time.

LITTLE WARS OF THE REPUBLIC

BY JOHN R. MEADER

PART VIII.—WHEN THE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE RULED IN THE WEST

AMONG the many institutions that have been the direct outgrowth of conditions distinctively American there is none which occupies so unique a place in the history of the United States as that of the vigilance committee. A lawless uprising of ordinarily law-abiding citizens the crimes that were then committed in the name of law and order were not only applauded and defended by the society of those days, but have since been justified on the ground that, in times like those of 1850, when crime ran riot, unawed by law and unpunished by the courts, it was within the right of the outraged community to deal sternly, and even summarily with those who had offended so viciously against its security and peace. Of course, it cannot be denied that—to keep within the strict definition of the judicial code—the justification of such acts of illegality constitutes a precedent that is not without danger, and yet it is doubtful if, confronted by the same situation, the most severe critics of the vigilance committees would have advised a different line of action than that which was pursued by those western pioneers some half century ago.

Although the vigilance committee was destined to exert a commanding influence over social and political affairs in the Far West the conditions under which it originated could scarcely have been more primitive. It was in the month of November, 1850, and at that time, eight small shanties occupied the extreme point of that little peninsula which projects far out into the Bay of San Francisco. The eight houses, if such a title can be applied to them, were occupied by a party of men

who devoted themselves exclusively to such pursuits as hunting and fishing. The leader of the party was an American, his associates were Frenchmen, all deserters from a man-of-war. On the other side of the peninsula was another settlement of French exiles, and, just beyond it, the farm of a cattle king known throughout the West as "the Irish Captain," although he was neither an Irishman nor a captain, but, instead, a Dane who had devoted his life to the business of farming. Upon coming to California he had imported a larger number of valuable cattle, and he was now engaged in breeding this excellent stock upon a large scale. His only rival in the immediate neighborhood was the proprietor of the Cornelia Rancho, which was located on the other side of the mountain range that separated this peninsula from the surrounding country. This rancho was a typical California cattle range of the old style, its owner, a woman known everywhere as "Cornelia," claiming title to four hundred square miles of territory by her right as a native grandee. Originally one of the largest cattle raisers on the Pacific coast, the invasion of the country by the gold hunters had had such a serious effect upon her herds that scarcely more than one thousand head now remained.

During the summer of 1850 there were several serious conferences between "the Irish Captain" and his next neighbor, Senora Cornelia, for both were agreed that something must be done to preserve their property from the ruthless hand of the invader. At last the Captain proposed that he should take full charge of the products of the Cornelia Rancho, agreeing that if she would raise the cattle, he would protect them from thieves, and sell them to the best advantage, retaining one-half the proceeds as payment for his labor. Although this arrangement was not in every sense advantageous to the senora, she was glad to enter into such a compact, especially as the Captain assumed the responsibility of organizing the inhabitants of the coast for the purpose of mutual protection, binding each man to guard his neighbor's property as carefully as if it was his own.

It was early in the month of November that another raid was made upon the senora's herds, but, on this occasion the

Frenchmen were ready for the thieves, and the boat, laden with the stolen beef was captured just off Low Point. The thieves, thoroughly surprised by this unusual opposition, made a desperate resistance, but they were finally taken and held until the next morning, when the Captain himself escorted them to San Francisco, where they were delivered into the hands of the civil authorities. Although he was most explicit in his complaint, and insisted that his prisoners should be properly punished for their crimes, the courts discharged them on the ground that there was no evidence against them, and they had no sooner been set at liberty than they retaliated upon the Captain by returning one night and butchering all his milch cows.

Satisfied that the court had been actuated by some ulterior motive the Captain began a quiet investigation of the matter and it was not long before he discovered that the cattle thieves who had caused him so much trouble had actually been acting under orders from a clique of rich and influential butchers in San Francisco. This plan of systematic robbery had been devised by the butchers and they not only furnished the money to pay the expenses of these predatory incursions, but stood ready to protect their employees, both with cash and with influence, if any of them should chance to be arrested. The Captain was soon convinced that, under such conditions it would be useless to look for redress in San Francisco, so, returning to the peninsula, he called a second meeting of the inhabitants and explained to them the situation in all its details. As the result of this conference it was agreed that a permanent committee should be organized and that it should assume all the duties which the police and courts of San Francisco were so ready to neglect. Moreover the committee determined to extend its influence to such a degree that it would not only assume the responsibility for the trial and prompt execution of thieves and other criminals but would stand guard over the harbor, inspecting all the vessels that entered, that no suspicious person might be permitted to land.

It was under these circumstances that the first vigilance committee was organized in the United States, and it was not long

before its influence began to be felt throughout the entire country west of the Rocky Mountains. Within a week three men who confessed that they were Australian convicts were taken from a vessel in the harbor and hanged. The cattle thieves who had abounded in the neighborhood of all the great ranges suddenly found themselves surrounded by new dangers, for retribution as swift as it was sure was meted out to them whenever the crimes could be fixed at their door. Sometimes it was small bodies of men who took the law into their own hands; sometimes it was a single individual who assumed the role of judge, jury and executioner. Thus, for example, a corpse was found one morning, hanging from a tree by the side of the road leading from San Francisco to San Jose. There was a bullet hole through the body and from one of the button-holes of the coat this placard was suspended:

“I shot him because he stole my mule.

John Andrew Anderson,

Anderson Rancho, Santa Clara Valley.”

Such vigorous methods, however illegal they may have been, were not without a good effect, for the thieves and robbers who had formerly prospered so richly in the country districts were thus driven back to the towns and cities, and to these settlements the story of the vigilance committee quickly followed them.

Sacramento was the first large city to give sanction to such an organization. Overrun by the thieves and blacklegs who were no longer able to ply their vocation in the country its citizens soon instituted a committee for mutual protection and the city immediately became celebrated for the interesting character of its executions. They were held on the Plaza, at night, the great square being brilliantly lighted with fires, while the office of hangman was bestowed, as a special mark of honor, upon the most reputable citizens.

It was not until after the great incendiary fires of 1851 that the people of San Francisco began to think of devising some means to protect themselves from the lawless element that

then seemed to have assumed control of the city. Early in May, the papers began to urge the necessity of a protective organization, and, finally, in June, about two hundred of the most influential business and professional men instituted the society which was afterwards known as "the Committee of Vigilance." Large placards were printed and posted upon the walls in public places, notifying the people as to the character of the rules and regulations that had been adopted for the maintenance of the peace of the city, and informing them of the manner in which public justice should thereafter be administered. The committee had arranged that the members should assemble upon the tolling of the bell upon the Monumental Fire-Engine house in the Plaza, and it was upon the evening of the 10th of June, 1851 that this signal was first struck. The office of a shipping agent named Virgin had been robbed of a small safe containing a considerable sum of money, and the thief, John Jenkins, reputed to be an ex-convict from Sydney, had been caught by members of the committee in the act of carrying off the safe in a small boat. In fact, the evidence against him was so conclusive that he was immediately found guilty, and, at 2 o'clock the next morning, was hanged to a beam of an adobe building on Brenham Place.

This act of self-executed justice on the part of the new committee was strongly opposed by the civil authorities as well as by a considerable majority of the legal fraternity. The coroner's jury found a verdict condemning the action of the association, and Governor MacDougal issued a proclamation in which he referred to the work of the committee as the "despotic control of a self-constituted association unknown to and acting in defiance of the law in the place of the regularly organized Government of the country." To all these attacks the members of the committee made a general reply in which they made no secret of the fact that they had violated the law, or that they were leagued together to violate the law in the future. They had but one excuse: If all criminals that fell into the hands of the police were to escape punishment some means must be found for the more thorough administration of justice. They gave formal notice, therefore, that they were now ready

to receive any information about crime or criminals; they issued a warning to all convicts to leave the city within five days, and they published a declaration that any convict arriving by sea should be forbidden to land.

In spite of all the opposition to the work of the committee the organization continued to increase in numbers until it was admitted that it would be useless for the authorities to attempt to cope with it. Its next execution occurred on July 11, when James Stuart, a professional murderer and robber, was hanged from the end of the Market street wharf for a multitude of capital crimes, all of which he included in his last confession. On this occasion the matter was carried before the grand jury by the authorities, but that body not only dismissed the charge but prepared a report fully justifying the course of the committee.

The arrest and conviction of Samuel Whitaker and Robert McKenzie by the vigilantes created a great deal of excitement in San Francisco for the authorities promptly announced that their execution, which had been set for the 21st of August, should not take place. Under a writ of habeas corpus, issued on petition of Governor MacDougal, the Sheriff visited the rooms of the committee and took possession of the prisoners, but, on Sunday, August 24th, twenty-nine determined members of the committee paid a visit to the county jail, where they overpowered the jailers, and, taking the prisoners back to the committee rooms on Battery street, hanged them from the windows before a vast crowd of people that had been drawn to the spot by the tolling of the fire alarm bell. This was the last public act of the committee of 1851, for while it continued to exist for several months, during which time it provided for the transportation of some fifty ex-convicts, it finally ceased to meet when at the very height of its power.

For about five years the administration of public affairs in San Francisco was left in the hands of the proper authorities. By 1855, however, the public began to talk about the necessity of organizing another vigilance committee. The old organization had been formed as the only solution to the Australian convict problem. What was now required was a society ca-

pable of dealing with the political corruption which had already attained such depths of infamy in San Francisco that the better classes of citizens had begun to feel that it was impossible to look for relief except from some such outside source. With the record of the last vigilance committee still fresh in their minds they felt that there was no other manner in which they could hope to outwit the organization of the spoils system. The murder of James King, the popular editor of the Bulletin, by James P. Casey, a politician whose record had been exposed in behalf of the cause of reform, was all that was necessary to arouse public indignation to the point of action, and, within twenty-four hours, another vigilance committee had assembled and had selected, as its leader, W. T. Coleman, the chairman of the executive committee of the organization of 1851.

During the next three days the members of the new committee devoted themselves exclusively to the work of enlistment and organization, and so much zeal was shown by the officials as well as by the members in general that more than three thousand men had been armed, drilled and established in proper headquarters by the time the executive committee was prepared to make the first public display of its force. At 10 o'clock, on Sunday morning, however, just four days and a half after the shooting of Editor King, twenty-four companies of the vigilance militia marched without music to the jail, where they made a formal demand that Casey, and a man named Charles Cora, who had murdered United States Marshal Richardson, and had been tried once, with a disagreement of the jury should be delivered into their hands. To their great surprise the request was granted.

King died on Monday, and on Tuesday, the executive committee placed its two prisoners on trial. No one was present except the accused, the witnesses and the members of the committee, but the affair was conducted in strict accordance to the general rule of evidence. King's funeral was held on Wednesday, and, while it was on its way to the cemetery, Casey and Cora, both of whom had been convicted by the secret tribunal, were hanged in front of the headquarters of the committee.

Having accomplished its primary purpose, the execution of

Casey, the committee settled down to the correction of political abuses. Ballot-box stuffing had been one of the most common of crimes in the city, and, under the leadership of Casey, gangs of men had marched from one precinct to another on election days, voting in every ward, and assisting in the stuffing of such boxes as had not already been fitted with false sides in which the fraudulent ballots might be hidden in advance. As the result of their investigations the committee arrested half a dozen persons who had been guilty of this crime. One of the prisoners, James Sullivan, a prize-fighter and an ex-convict who had escaped from New South Wales, committed suicide by cutting an artery in his arm with a table knife, but the rest were put aboard a Panama steamer, as it was about to leave the wharf, and were sent down the bay with the warning that they would be hanged if they ever dared to return.

Unlike the first vigilance committee the vigilantes of 1856 did not attempt to interfere with the ordinary business of the courts except upon rare occasions. The regular judicial tribunals sat every day and transacted the business that ordinarily came before them, while the new committee assumed the functions of a political court and considered all crimes against the ballot or any abuses that might exist in the administration of positions of public trust. At the same time they gave just enough attention to professional criminals as a class to warn such gentry that they were not beyond suspicion, so, as Hittell says in his "History of the City of San Francisco," everybody was on his good behavior and the city was far more orderly than ever before or since. Under such circumstances it is not strange that the vigilance committee should have been supported by the best element in San Francisco society. If it had been a mob, irresponsible in its purpose, it would never have received the sanction of law-abiding people; great business firms would not have sent unsolicited contributions to help in meeting its expenses, and the ladies of Trinity Parish would never have presented the members with their \$1,000 silk banner. And yet, in the midst of this general outburst of approval there was an element of opposition to the work of the committee. Governor Johnson, like Governor MacDougal in

1851, could not be persuaded that the organization had anything in its favor. It was purely and simply a mob, and as such must be suppressed. To accomplish this purpose he arranged that General W. T. Sherman should command the militia in the district of San Francisco, and he instructed him to put down the committee by force. At the same time he assisted in the effort to organize a secret law and order society in opposition to the vigilantes, but neither effort was successful. General Sherman was willing to undertake the task assigned to him but he was helpless. Such of the militia companies as had not already disbanded were secretly in sympathy with the committee and could not be trusted to oppose them at the point of the bayonet. To attempt to organize new companies at short notice would be useless for the committee, by its widespread influence, had succeeded in securing possession of nearly all the arms in the city armories. Declaring that the city of San Francisco was in a state of insurrection the governor applied to General Wool for the aid of the Federal troops but his request was denied, and even his appeal to President Pierce, in which he represented that the committee was hostile to the Federal authority, met with no better success.

It was about this time that the committee performed its most startling exploit which was nothing less than the arrest of Chief Justice Terry of the Supreme Court. In an attempt to save a friend, Reuben Maloney, from arrest, although he was merely wanted as a witness, Judge Terry led an attack upon the vigilance police, and, personally, stabbed the sergeant, S. A. Hopkins in the neck. Believing that the wound would prove fatal the judge was held a close prisoner at the headquarters of the committee, but when, fortunately, after seven weeks of confinement the physicians declared that the sergeant was out of danger, the chief justice was released. During his term of imprisonment Judge Terry's friends had made several efforts to secure his release. Although duty bound to grant such an application Judge McAllister, of the United States Circuit Court, had refused positively to issue the writ of habeas corpus in behalf of the judge, and when such a writ was issued by one of Terry's associates on the supreme bench, the prisoner could

not be found and service was impossible. He had been taken from the building occupied by the committee and concealed elsewhere in order that he might not be found when an officer appeared with the writ to make his search. If Judge McAlister had not been guilty of such a glaring violation of his official oath even the writ of the State court might have been respected by the committee, but when the members of the executive committee found that they were not to be called upon to defy the Federal government they felt that the evasion of an order from the State court would not prove a very serious matter.

It was probably with a sigh of relief, however, that the executive committee finally ordered the release of Judge Terry. Although general dissatisfaction was expressed by the members of the organization, some of whom had been sufficiently hot-headed to advocate the execution of the judge, whether Sergeant Hopkins should recover or not, the fact that it was possible to release him without peril to the honor of the committee was scarcely less than providential. If a judge of the supreme court had been executed for defending a citizen against arrest by an organization established to defy the law, the State authorities would certainly have succeeded in forcing the Federal authorities to punish the offenders, and actual civil war would have been the natural, if not inevitable result.

Although the main object of the second vigilance committee was to secure political reforms, the administration of criminal justice was not entirely neglected. On the 29th of July, therefore, about two months after the execution of Casey and Cora, two other murderers were hanged by the vigilantes. One was Philander Brace, a man who had been acquitted by the criminal court in spite of a mass of testimony which no reasonable jury should have rejected. The other was Joseph Hetherington, a professional criminal whom, it was feared, would be treated in a similar manner. To avoid all complications, therefore, they executed him at the same time that they hanged Brace.

This was the last execution ordered by the vigilance committee of 1856, and, a few weeks later, it disbanded. Its political labors completed it seemed unnecessary that it should main-

tain such a costly organization in order that it might have the privilege of trying and executing ordinary murderers and other criminals, especially in view of the fact that the members of the committee were endangering their property and lives by affording support to an organization the acts of which, in the eye of the law, were unjustifiably illegal. That its disbandment might be as deliberate as its organization had been swift, however, the executive committee arranged for a public ceremony, which is thus described by Hittell:

“On the eighteenth of August the city took a general holiday to witness the celebration of the disbanding of the vigilance committee, and thousands came from interior towns to see the men who had defied the law in the interests of justice and honesty. The streets were bright with flags and flowers; the sidewalks were lined with ladies in brilliant dresses along the line adopted by the procession, or rather the army, which contained five thousand one hundred and thirty-seven men, including three artillery companies with eighteen pieces of cannon; twenty-nine members of the executive committee, two hundred and ninety dragoons, forty-nine surgeons and physicians, one hundred and fifty members of the committee of vigilance of 1851, vigilant police, hundreds of citizens on horseback, thirty-three companies of the vigilant infantry, and numerous military bands. The troops were reviewed, and a farewell address was published by the executive committee, congratulating the general committee and the community on the valuable service rendered, and promising that the organization should be revived, if it were necessary to protect its members against violence or malicious prosecution on account of the action of the committee, or to guard the purity of the ballot-box.”

Although the vigilantes of San Francisco disbanded as soon as they felt that their labors were accomplished, the idea of the popular tribunal rapidly spread to all the neighboring States and Territories. In Nevada it was no uncommon sight to find dead men swinging from trees, with placards showing that they represented the work of the “601,” the number of citizens who comprised the first vigilance committee.

The first organization of vigilantes in the Northwest was

composed of six members of the Idaho Express Company, Determined to discourage the crime of highway robbery which was then so common as to have become very annoying to those who were held responsible for the safe delivery of other persons' goods they instituted their committee and, a few months later, succeeded in capturing Dave English, Nelson Scott and one of their associates, a man named Peoples. As English and Nelson were two of the most noted desperadoes in that section of the country their conviction was easily secured, and, at midnight, the three men had been condemned to be hanged.

Among the peculiar characters who have helped to make the history of the Far West there were few in whom the traits of vice and virtue were more strangely intermingled than in Dave English. The leader of a gang of outlaws, the remarkable discrimination he exhibited in selecting his subjects for robbery won for him a host of friends, to all of whom he was faithful, while the fact that he had saved the lives of no less than eleven men by acts of personal heroism did not tend to detract from his popularity. As Clampitt has said, his blood was of the kind that flows through heroes' veins in spite of the fact that he was an outlaw and was hanged for highway robbery.

Of course, such a man as Dave English met death with fortitude. "Nelse" Scott fell upon his knees and began to pray as soon as he realized that death was inevitable, and when asked if he, too, desired to invoke the mercy of God, English bowed his head for a moment, muttered a few unintelligible words, and then turning to Scott, said:

"Nelse, pray for me a little, can't you, while I hang?"

It was several years before the vigilance committee of Idaho ceased to exist, for it was not until 1866 that it commenced to sign its work by affixing the mysterious "XXX" mark to the bodies of those whom it had executed.

It was in 1862 that the vigilance committee appeared in Montana. Still a territory, the rude civil authority which may once have been exercised within its borders was speedily overrun until its settlements became the scenes of unlicensed debauchery and crime. The rumors of the rich deposits of gold which might be found in the territory attracted a vast tide of inimi-

gration, and as such gold rushes were seldom composed of the gentler classes it was impossible to distinguish the bad man from the good until sufficient time had elapsed to give them an opportunity to display their own predominant characteristics. In fact, this had been more or less the condition of affairs since the early days of the territory, and it was not until 1862 that the honest men decided that it was time for them to take matters into their own hands. Warned of their intentions, the criminal classes also effected an organization for self protection, and quickly forming themselves into a secret body, with officers and with grips, signs and passwords, they soon became the terror of the entire country. By means of their lodges they maintained a line of correspondence between the principal settlements, placing such a thorough surveillance over all travel between those points that horses, vehicles, and even men were marked in some intelligible manner to designate their value as objects of plunder. Among the prominent residents of Montana at this time was Henry Plummer, a man of such versatile accomplishments that he was able to act as chief officer of the road agents and sheriff of the county at one and the same time. Although known to be both a thief and an assassin, his polished manners and insinuating address earned him a reputation for affability which he in no sense deserved. Holding the office of sheriff both at Bannock and at Virginia City, he appointed two members of the band as his deputies, and everything was then at the mercy of the bandits.

Plummer was unquestionably the Napoleon of western outlaws, yet he, too, met his Waterloo, when, in 1863, George Ives, one of his gang, murdered Nicholas Talt, a Dutch farmer, to obtain the few dollars which he had received from the sale of a pair of mules. The sight of the dead body, so ruthlessly slaughtered, for so small a plunder, stirred the blood of all honest men and Ives was captured and tried before a jury of twenty-four citizens. Condemned to death, his captors repressed every demonstration of revenge, and, during the night, he was solemnly hanged to a gallows which had been erected for that purpose.

Knowing that Ives had been summarily put to death by the

vigilantes Plummer and his associates determined that he should be avenged, and it was not for several months that they learned that the dead outlaw, just before his execution, had made a confession. As the result of his disclosures two other members of the gang, "Red" Yager and Brown, the secretary of the secret society, were arrested, and, before being hanged, Yager not only confessed his own guilt of the crimes which he was charged but had furnished the vigilantes with a list of more than one hundred and thirty members of the secret organization which had been responsible for so many murders and robberies. In order to accomplish the necessary work of extermination more thoroughly, the law-abiding citizens also organized a secret league, and this society, basing its efforts upon the information supplied by Yager, continued its pursuit of the outlaws until every person he had named had been hanged. Plummer and his two robber deputies were the last to pay the penalty of their crimes on the gallows.

WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS

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THERE are left within the limits of this city only three buildings which are directly identified with Washington. One is Fraunce's Tavern, where he bade farewell to his generals; another is St. Paul's Chapel, where he worshipped, and the third is the Morris house, on Washington Heights, better known as the Jumel Mansion, where his headquarters were established on September 15, 1776, and which he quitted just in time to avoid capture on November 16 of the same year, when the mansion and the fortified posts on the upper part of Manhattan Island were captured by the British. From the two months' residence there of the Father of His Country and the fort to the north-westward named in his honor, Washington Heights derived its name.

St. Paul's Chapel is in hands which will assure its preservation we believe for all time.

Fraunces' Tavern is owned by the Society of the Sons of the Revolution, and will, we trust, be so held in perpetuity, while the Headquarters, which I am now to tell you about, is the property of the City.

This fine old dignified colonial mansion stands in the midst of a plot of ground between West 160th and 162nd Streets, Edgecomb Avenue on the east, overlooking the Speedway, and on the west by Jumel terrace.

So far as can be ascertained it is believed that this house stands near the site of the Jan Kirschen house, (the first dwelling erected on Harlem Heights,) and was built about 1757 by Major Roger Morris of the English Army, a comrade in arms with Washington, on the staff of General Braddock, and was pre-

sented as a prenuptial gift by Major Morris to his bride, the belle and heiress, Mary Phillipse, when they were married in 1763.

Morris was appointed a member of the king's council for the Colony of New York and here on these beautifully wooded heights commanding superb views, the Morrisises, being wealthy lived here with their four children, a most happy life. Mrs. Morris, as befitted the daughter of the old patroon master of the Phillipse Manor House was the "Lady Bountifull" of the land, and here entertained in an elegant manner the members of such prominent New York families as the De Lancey's, the Bayard's, the Van Courtlandt's, De Peyster's, Livingston's and others.

With the breaking out of the war of Independence, this happy life came to a sudden close, and the Morrisises being loyalists went over to England where Col. Morris died in 1794, and his widow in 1825.

But this house itself was now to take on new and greater honors, for early in 1776 Washington, with Generals Greene, Heath, Putnam and Knox inspected this locality, observing its admirable position for defense, an observation which caused Washington after the army's retreat from the fatal battle of Long Island to select this house as his headquarters, and it was so occupied by him from September 14 to October 21, 1776, and thereafter by Col. Robert Magaw, whom Washington left behind with 2,600 men, while he, with 4 divisions of the army, moved north to White Plains. After the battle, and surrender of Fort Washington, on Nov. 16th, Washington left the house and crossed over the river to Fort Lee, narrowly escaping capture by the British 42d Highlanders, who having scaled the rocks on the east of the Morris house, took possession of the place.

During these few weeks, in which occurred the engagement of Harlem Heights and the fateful battle and surrender of Fort Washington, this mansion was the very center of American interest and of its military authority, and in these rooms where now thousands look each year upon historic mementos of that time, were transacted affairs of vital importance to the country's very existence. In no other building except the

Headquarters in Morristown did events take inception that proved so significant; and nowhere else did our great commander show such military genius, and himself to be so great a military strategist, as at this period. As John Fiske, the historian says: "To occupy the field in the face of overwhelming odds is one of the most arduous of military problems, and often calls for a higher order of intelligence than that which is displayed in the mere winning of battles."

Here our great leader with his generals planned for defending the Heights, blocking the passage of the Hudson River to the oncoming British vessels, and here he issued the remarkable series of general orders and carried on the famous correspondence with William Duer of the Secret Committee of Safety. In the neighborhood were camped 8,000 inexperienced volunteer forces mostly raw and undisciplined, and held together only by the bond of a common principle and the unifying power of a united love of liberty and independence.

His troops, one historian says, were a sight to look upon, in such motley fashion were they garbed. Some in homespun, some in the dingy scarlet worn in the French and Indian War. The Marylanders wore green hunting shirts; the Virginians, white smocks, while Washington's Life Guards wore white and buff.

Another historic personage identified with this house was Alexander Hamilton, who, on March 14, 1776, then but a lad out of Columbia College, had been appointed Captain of Provincial Artillery, and was in the battle of Long Island and the attack on Harlem Heights. Strange to relate, Hamilton's company of artillery and Knox's brigade were left in the lower part of the city, whilst the main army had retreated before the advancing British force, which had landed farther north; and Major Aaron Burr, afterwards Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel, while reconnoitering, discovered this brigade in an old sod fort where now is Grand street, and realizing the seriousness of their situation and surety of capture, insisted upon their being guided by him as he knew the roads to a junction with the main army. And in spite of General Knox's scouting the idea as madness this officer, who after was to shoot Hamilton in cold blood, did,

with great skill and bravery, lead his comrades in arms safely until they joined the main camp on Harlem Heights where many had given them up as already captured.

Washington, while occupying this mansion used the large room in the rear as his court martial room, and there received his officers and friends of the cause; and here he gave audience to the famous Indian Chiefs of the Six Nations, who came bearing laurel branches in token of their fealty to the great white chief and father.

It is said that when the chiefs entered, Aaron Burr, then aide on Putnam's staff sat at a table writing a letter for General Washington.

On September 15th, 1776, the battle of Harlem Heights was fought, and Col. Thomas Knowlton and Major Leitch, both valued officers, were killed.

It is a familiar tradition that after Knowlton was shot and was near to death, Washington came to his side and gave earnest expression of his regard and sympathy. It was this same brave officer who had, a few days before his death, recommended to Washington that young school-master, Nathan Hale, as a fit person for the dangerous service in which he afterward so bravely gave up his life.

October 21, 1776, Washington withdrew his army from Manhattan Island, fought at White plains and was defeated, and thereafter came the fateful battle at Fort Washington, where 3,000 of our forces were taken prisoners. On Nov. 17th, Washington, with Generals Greene, Putnam and Mercer, came over from Fort Lee and from the Morris house viewed the position of the enemy, and then returned. Within fifteen minutes after their departure the Forty-second Highlanders—the famous Black Watch—under Col. Sterling, who had emerged in boats from the deep woods on the margin of the Harlem, fought their way up the steep ledge above Speedway Park and coming up in the rear of the grounds, took possession of the house. This unexpected arrival took the American troops, engaged in resisting the advance of Percy's Brigade at 147th street, by surprise, and forced a retreat past this residence, from which the Highlanders, posted behind and in the mansion, opened fire on



Camp Cups owned and used by Gen. Washington during War of the Revolution

them as they passed. As they retreated, the British force came along the highroad, and here Lord Percy, with whom was the admiral, Lord Howe, as a guest, entered the Headquarters. The troops going forward, fighting with the Pennsylvania and Connecticut men all the way to the neighborhood of the fort. Some of them were cut off in the woods near Audubon Park, and were brought to the Morris house as prisoners and placed under guard in the outhouse and stables, the numbers increasing to about 200 men. Many of the British officers came from the house to see the prisoners, who at dusk were ordered out to join the other forces, which had capitulated at the fort, and all were then marched out to join in the captivity in the Middle Dutch Church, the Sugar House and the Prison Ships. As this building had been taken in the assault by the Hessian troops, the British Commander-in-Chief designated their general as commander of the captive position. So the Morris house became the Headquarters of Baron Wm. Von Knyphausen, who with his staff of German officers now neterer into possession, and named it the "British Headquarters." In 1781 the then commander of Fort Knyphausen, as Fort Washington was known, was Gen. Von Leesberg, during whose tenancy the Prince of Wales, afterwards King William IV., came up along the highroad with a company on a sort of excursion up into Westchester county. In 1783 a cavalcade of officers and soldiers surrounding General Washington repassed the Headquarters on his triumphal way to take possession of New York.

Abandoned by its military occupants and by its one time owners, the house and lands were put up for sale by the Commissioners of Forfeiture. Colonel Morris had received a permit from the British Government for its use, and later received some compensation for his great losses in property, but Mrs. Morris entered a claim against the United States in relation to her own title to the property, and as she was not included in the Act of Attainder, her claim had eventually to be recognized and settled. Meantime, her husband having died in 1794, Mary Morris sold out her claim to John Jacob Astor, who sold again at a good profit. Mrs. Morris lived to the age of 96, but never

revisited either the home of her childhood—the Phillipse Manor House (now preserved as a historic museum,) nor this, the home of her early married life. From one person to another, and from one use to another, the house passed, becoming at one time a road-house, kept by Talmadge Hall, and was known as Calumet Hall, the stopping place of a line of coaches to Boston and a resort for social parties and summer visitors. In 1790, while in the possession of Mr. Mariner, a farmer, it was visited by President Washington and members of his cabinet when they all dined in the building.

In this party was Alexander Hamilton, who a few years later purchased the site at 142d street, and built himself a home on the Heights. In 1799 this place was owned by William Kenyon, a merchant of the city, who sold it to Leonard Parkinson, a wealthy West Indian. In 1810 he parted with the estate in several lots, one of them—with the mansion was sold for \$10,000 to Stephen Jumel, with whose name the place was henceforth to be associated. Stephen Jumel was of French descent, and had been a coffee planter in San Domingo, removing to New York at the time of the insurrection in 1791. He was married and is said to have resided on the present site of the Knickerbocker Trust Company, Fifth avenue and Thirty-fourth street, where his first wife died. His second wife was Eliza Bowen, born April 2, 1777, known to recent times as Madam Jumel, around whose career many fictitious stories have been woven. One being her elopement at the age of 9 with Col. Croix, of the British Army, a married man.

What a British colonel was doing in Rutland, or in New York for that matter, in 1794 is hard to tell. Of equal, if not greater lack of foundation are the romances woven around her by associating her, as has been done in one well-known novel, with famous public characters of the day. She is made to appear as the nominal Mrs. Croix in 1788, being but 11 years of age, and in 1794 as the confidant of Hamilton, and an ambitious intrigante in political affairs.

One fact seems to be correct: That she entered the service of the Jumels as housekeeper in their handsome establishment, and soon after the death of his wife Stephen Jumel, then about

fifty years of age, married Eliza at the Catholic Church of St. Peter, in Barclay street, April 7, 1804.

On April 28th, 1810 he purchased the Roger Morris mansion and fitted it up as a residence. He was a vigorous and courtly man, and his wife a handsome blonde of fine figure and carriage, and they were admirably suited to one another. She was an attractive and brilliant woman, and her abilities at once made her the center of much attention as well as notoriety. With Mary Bownes or Barnes as one authority puts it, whom she had adopted as her niece, she kept a hospitably open house and entertained lavishly.

This niece married Mr. Nelson Chase, now deceased, and their daughter is the present Mrs. Julius Henry Caryl, of Caryl, New York, who has now in her possession a goodly number of rare mementos and furniture which belonged to her aunt, among which is a handsome portrait of her aunt and herself.

Here in the Morris mansion were entertained at different times many celebrated men. Here came also Louis Napoleon, then in poor circumstances, who was greatly aided by Madam Jumel. As to whether, as it is said, there also visited here Louis Phillipe, Joseph Bonaparte, oldest brother of Napoleon the First and an ex-King of Spain, also, Dr. Franklin, Robert Livingston, afterward our minister to France, Robert Fulton; the famous lawyer Charles O'Conner and that Fitz Green Hallock here wrote his "Marco Bozarris," we have no evidence to guide us in deciding.

M. Jumel was an enthusiastic admirer of Emperor Napoleon, and he set sail in his own vessel, named "Eliza" after his wife to bring Napoleon away and give him an asylum in America. But the emperor said that such a course was impossible and inconsistent with his dignity as an emperor. However, the Jumels set up a fine establishment in Paris, and there enjoyed to the fullest the company of the elite in the French capital, where Madame's ability attracted Napoleon's attention, and she was made much of at court.

But all this came to an abrupt end. Jumel lost most of his fortune, and in 1821 his wife and niece returned to New York,

bringing with them many interesting articles of bric-a-brac and furniture.

Madame owned the house in her own name, and she took great pride in beautifying it. In 1828 M. Jumel returned, bringing with him, so the story goes, the famous Egyptian cypress trees, a present from Napoleon, to whom they had been presented by the Khedive of Egypt, and which, it has been said, were planted around the fish-ponds at the southwest corner of the Jumel property.

Later on Jumel again became the possessor of a competency, and they were again able to entertain generously.

In 1832 he was killed in a carriage accident, and the widow was left in entire possession. She successfully carried on her business affairs, and she especially enjoyed showing to her visitors her precious souvenirs of the First Empire and its renowned master. Many of these were shown to me by Mrs. Caryl at one time at her home. There were a bedstead and eight chairs that had belonged to Napoleon, and a curious army trunk that he had used when campaigning in Russia; also a clock he had used in the Tulleries, a chandelier he had once given to Mereau, tapestries and paintings which Josephine had collected, a set of drawing-room furniture once owned by Charles X., and some elaborate embroidery made by the empress herself.

A consultation which widow Jumel, then fifty-eight years of age and still attractive, had in 1833 with Aaron Burr, at his office, 23 Nassau street, was the commencement of an acquaintance which resulted in his being invited to a grand banquet at her home, and it was there he displayed to the fullest all his unequalled charm of manner and shone to conspicuous advantage. With the gallantry which had distinguished him in his earlier days he led her to dinner remarking gracefully: "Madam, I give you my hand; my heart has long been yours." After this he called often, proposed marriage, was refused; but in the end he gained his point, and July 1st 1833, he came with his friend, Rev. David Bogart, who had married him to Theodosia Provost fifty years before, and, the widow consenting, they were married in this famous mansion where fifty-seven

years before he had lived when it was Washington's Headquarters. But the marriage was an unhappy one. On their wedding visit at his nephew's, the Governor of Connecticut, at Hartford, the wife handed over \$40,000 to her husband, which he thereafter lost in one of his big Southern schemes, and when questioned replied flippantly. Then came coolness, then reconciliation, then more losses, and finally she began suit against him for a separation and he put in no defence.

Only once thereafter did he reside in the Jumel mansion, and then only because he was very ill and his wife had him brought there, and there she nursed him for several weeks. When well he departed and went to live at Port Richmond, where he died Sept. 14, 1836.

Mme. Jumel passed the following years of her second widowhood quietly, yet maintaining the same hospitality and benevolence which had prevailed for years. In 1847 she contributed several thousands of dollars to help the famine sufferers in Ireland. In 1852 she again visited Paris, and there Louis Napoleon gave a ball to which she was especially invited, and where she made a conspicuous figure as she entered the ball-room on the arm of Jerome Bonaparte.

She received many courtesies from Napoleon, as he had never forgotten how kind she had been to him in former years. Her last days were uneventful, and at the age of ninety-six she died at the mansion she had done so much to adorn, on July 16, 1865.

The funeral was at the Church of the Intercession, of which Rev. J. H. Smith was rector. She was reputed to be worth several millions of dollars, but less than one million remained after the remarkable suit brought by George Washington Bowen, of Providence, R. I., was finally settled.

Nelson Chase, whom I have already mentioned, lived in the Jumel mansion altogether fifty years. He was widely esteemed for his kind temper and professional ability. James Parton, the biographer, N. P. Willis, "Fanny Fern," Myron Gaines Clark, Mrs. Blennerhasset, and many others of literary fame, often visited Mr. Chase, and he delighted in entertaining his guests with stories of Aaron Burr and the men who had made

the old mansion famous. After his death the mansion passed into the hands of several occupants, one of whom was Mrs. Gen. F. P. Earle, who is now living. Her husband died in 1907.

The movement to preserve this valuable historic place was begun in 1789 by the Empire State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and I myself, had the privilege of aiding in this movement by letters to the press and otherwise. In 1900 the Scenic and Historic Preservation Society took up the cause, a Woman's Auxiliary of that society having been organized for the express purpose of rescuing this old Roger Morris mansion, Fraunces' Tavern and Poe's cottage.

In 1902 the Washington Heights chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution entered actively into the campaign. A Washington Headquarters Association was duly incorporated, which received the aid and advice of the Park Commissioner and through the Association's worthy and untiring efforts the city was persuaded to take over the property, and in 1903, just 210 years after the original purchase by Jean Kirsen, New York City paid the Earles \$235,000, and acquired title to the property, naming it Roger Morris Park. The building was restored so far as possible to its original condition, and the grounds were placed in the custody of the Department of Parks of the Borough of Manhattan, and the management of the same is committed to the body of patriotic ladies above mentioned, the Washington Headquarters Association. An able and well equipped curator is in charge and he has in a short time succeeded in making this building and its most valuable collection of relics and mementoes one of the most interesting historic museums in this country. There is no charge for admission and the house is open to visitors every day in the week from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.

HISTORY OF THE MORMON CHURCH

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER XLI

EFFECT OF GENERAL CONDITIONS ON NAUVOO AFFAIRS.—THIEVES— BANKRUPTCY—POLITICS

IN order to a right understanding of the events which make up the history of the Latter day Saints, it is necessary to keep constantly in mind the general conditions in which they lived, the atmosphere of place and period. In the northern part of the state of Illinois the people had settled upon the public lands of the United States before they were in the market or even had been surveyed; and on these lands the settlers had made valuable improvements, opening farms of several hundred acres, building costly mills, and in some cases whole villages of six or eight hundred inhabitants were built upon them.¹ "By a conventional law of each neighborhood," says Governor Ford in his History of Illinois, the settlers were pledged to protect each other in the amount of their respective claims. But there were mean men, who disregarded these conventional arrangements, "such as these," he remarks in a tone of sarcasm, "belonged to that very honest fraternity, who profess to regulate all their dealings by the law of the land. Such men had but little regard for public opinion or abstract right; and their consciences did not restrain them from 'jumping' their neighbors claim, if they could be sustained by law and protected against force. It soon became apparent to every one, that actual force was the only protection for this description of property."

1. "History of Illinois," Ford (1854), p. 245.

2. "History of Illinois," Ford p. 245.

This meant, of course, reversion to the exercise of natural rights; and their protection by physical force. In protecting themselves from the encroachments of the unscrupulous and dishonorable, the settlers on unsurveyed public lands were frequently embroiled in riots and mob violence. "Many were the riots and mobs in every county, arising from this state of things," says Ford—and he has reference to all northern Illinois. "Every neighborhood was signalized by some brawl of the kind."³

These conditions gave rise to a spirit of violence and lawlessness especially throughout northern Illinois. Ford refers to them as fostering that mob spirit which led, in 1837, to the destruction of an abolition press at Alton, in Madison county, and the killing of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, the proprietor of the press; also, subsequently, to the murder of Joseph Smith and the expulsion of the Latter-day Saints from the State.

In connection with these matters Mr. Ford refers to the fact that notwithstanding most of the settlers of Illinois were from the eastern states, "from the land of steady habits where mobs were regularly hated and denounced, and all unlawful fighting held in abhorrence," yet in this new environment the said staid New Englander quickly responded to the spirit of mobocracy more or less prevalent.⁴

Moreover Illinois in her early days had passed through the experience of lawlessness more or less common to all border states, to which horse thieves, counterfeiters and other lawless characters gravitate. A score of years before the founding of Nauvoo these had become so numerous, "and so well combined in many counties," adds Mr. Ford, "as to set the laws at defiance. Many of the sheriffs, justices of the peace, and constables, were of their number; and even some of the judges of the county courts; and they had numerous friends to aid them and sympathize with them, even amongst those who were the least suspected. When any of them were arrested, they either es-

3. "History of Illinois," p. 246.

4. "The old, peaceful, staid, Puritan Yankee," our author remarks, "walked into a fight in defense of his claim, or that of his neighbor, just as if he had received a regular back-woods education in the olden times. . . . The readiness with which our puritan population from the East adopted the mobocratic spirit is evidence that men are the same everywhere under the same circumstances." History of Illinois-Ford, p. 246.



FACSIMILE OF EGYPTIAN PLATE. (No. 1.)

caped from the slight jails of those times, or procured some of their gang to be on the jury; and they never lacked witnesses to prove themselves innocent. The people formed themselves into revolutionary tribunals in many counties, under the name of 'Regulators;' and the governor and judges of the territory, seeing the impossibility of executing the laws in the ordinary way, against an organized banditti, who set all law at defiance, winked at and encouraged the proceedings of the regulators.'⁵

In consequence of the activity of the "Regulators" this regime of crime was largely suppressed, but the methods by which the suppression was effected begot such a disregard for the regular administration of the law as to demoralize civil government in some sections of the state for many years. Nor were the gangs of thieves and counterfeiters that had infested northern Illinois wholly broken up by the methods described. Speaking of conditions existing in northern Illinois in 1841, Mr. Ford says:

"Then again the northern part of the state was not destitute of its organized bands of rogues, engaged in murders, robberies, horse-stealing, and in making and passing counterfeit money. These rogues were scattered all over the north; but the most of them were located in the counties of Ogle, Winnibago, Lee, and DeKalb. In the county of Ogle, they were so numerous, strong, and well-organized, that they could not be convicted for their crimes. By getting some of their numbers on the juries, by producing hosts of witnesses to sustain their defence by perjured evidence, and by changing the venue from one county to another, and by continuances from term to term, and by the inability of witnesses to attend from time to time at a distant and foreign county, they most generally managed to be acquitted.'⁶

Our author then proceeds to detail a number of instances of the lawlessness and the effort of the people to suppress them by recourse to mob violence.

These conditions were prevailing in northern Illinois in 1841. In November of that year a nest of thieves were uncovered at Ramus, in Hancock county, a settlement about twenty

5. "History of Illinois," Ford, pp. 232-3.

6. Hist. Ill., Ford, p. 246.

miles east of Nauvoo. What made the not unusual circumstance of finding a gang of thieves in Illinois so exciting in this instance was the fact that this particular gang of thieves were "Mormons"; or at least claimed membership in the Church, and what was worst of all when discovered in their nefarious practice they gave it out that they were sustained in their conduct by the leaders of the Church, so long as the stealing was practiced upon the "gentiles"—i. e. non-members of the Church.

The guilty persons were promptly excommunicated and President Joseph Smith, his brother, Hyrum, and the Twelve took occasion to denounce as untrue the charge that they gave sanction to thieving in any form or upon any class of people. President Joseph Smith in an affidavit said:

"It has been proclaimed upon the housetops and in the secret chambers, in the public walks and private circles throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent, that stealing by the Latter-day Saints has received my approval; nay, that I have taught them the doctrine, encouraged them in plunder, and led on the van—than which nothing is more foreign from my heart. I disfellowship the perpetrators of all such abomination; they are devils and not Saints, totally unfit for the society of Christians or men. It is true that some professing to be Latter-day Saints have taught such vile heresies, but all are not Israel that are of Israel; and I want it distinctly understood in all coming time, that the Church over which I have the honor of presiding, will ever set its brows like brass, and its face like steel, against all such abominable acts of villainy and crime."

Hyrum Smith said:

"I hereby disavow any sanction, or approbation by me of the crime of theft, or any other evil practice in any person or persons whatever, whereby either the lives or property of our fellow-men may be lawfully taken or molested; neither are such doings sanctioned or approbated by the First Presidency or any other person in authority or good standing in the Church, but such acts are altogether in violation of the rules, order and regulations of the Church, contrary to the teachings given in said Church, and the laws of both God and man."

Nor were the Twelve less forcible in denouncing this iniquity. In an epistle published at the same time as the above, they said:

“We know not how to express our abhorrence of such an idea and can only say it is engendered in hell, founded in falsehood, and is the offspring of the devil; that it is at variance with every principle of righteousness and truth, and will damn all that are connected with it. * * * We further call upon The Church to bring all such characters before the authorities, that they may be tried and dealt with according to the law of God and delivered up to the laws of the land.”⁷

In addition to the emphatic utterances of the Prophet Joseph his brother Hyrum, and the Twelve, the *Times and Seasons* editorially said:

“THIEVES”

“We are highly pleased to see the very energetic measures taken by our citizens to suppress thieving. It has been a source of grief unto us that there were any in our midst who would wilfully take property from any person which did not belong to them, knowing that if any person, who does, or ever did belong to The Church, should steal, the whole Church would have to bear the stigma, and the sound goes abroad that the Mormons are a set of thieves and robbers, a charge which we unequivocally deny, and pronounce a falsehood of the basest kind. That there are some amongst us base enough to commit such acts we do not pretend to deny, but whether they are all members of this Church or not, we do not know; but some who are have been caught in their iniquity, and one was among the missing after a warrant was out for him; circumstantial proof is so strong against him, that his guilt is established without doubt. We have heard that some of those characters have said that such things are sanctioned by the authorities of the Church, this is the most base of all lies: and we would here warn all well disposed persons, to be aware of such characters, and if any such thing is ever intimated to them, to heed it not, unless it be to report such persons to the proper authorities so that they can be brought to condign punishment; for know assuredly that if you listen to them, they will prove an adder in your path, and eventually lead you down to destruction.”⁸

The Saints themselves about this time and later were the victims of gangs of robbers operating up and down the Mississippi-

7. This communication and the affidavits above quoted from will be found in *extenso* in Documentary History of the Church, Vol. IV, ch. XXVI.

8. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. III, p. 615.

pi. Many of their horses and cattle were stolen, but more serious injury arose from the fact that the acts of the robbers were attributed to the Saints themselves, and did much to prejudice the minds of the public against them. Governor Ford in referring to these charges against the Saints, and speaking of events taking place about this time in Nauvoo, said: "It was a fact also, that some larcenies and robberies had been committed, and that Mormons had been convicted of the crimes,⁹ and that other larcenies had been committed by persons unknown, but suspected to be Mormons. Justice, however, requires me here to say, that upon such investigation as I then could make, the charge of promiscuous stealing appeared to be exaggerated."¹⁰

Another event which was influenced somewhat by general conditions prevailing in the state as well as certain local conditions at Nauvoo, was the fact of some of the leading authorities in the Church going into bankruptcy.

The general conditions referred to are stated by Mr. Ford in his History of Illinois. The canal and the railroads mentioned were those projected in 1836-7 by the state, when Illinois entered upon that system of public improvements by state aid, mentioned in a previous chapter¹¹ and now Mr. Ford:

"The great plenty of money brought here by the work on the canal and railroads, set up a great many merchants all over the country in business; it increased the stocks of goods brought to be sold; created unnatural competition amongst the merchants to sell; who were forced to sell on a credit or not at all. The people were encouraged to buy on credit, and when their

9. This referred to the Ramus thieves.

10. The practice of charging these robberies upon members of the Church continued through the next three or four years. Speaking of the time somewhat later than the period we are dealing with in the text above the governor said: "On my late visit to Hancock county, I was informed by some of their violent enemies that the larcenies of the Mormons had become unusually numerous and insufferable. They indeed admitted that but little had been done in this way in their immediate vicinity. But they insisted that sixteen horses had been stolen by the Mormons in one night, near Lima, in the county of Adams. At the close of the expedition, I called at this same town of Lima, and upon inquiry was told that no horses had been stolen in that neighborhood, but that sixteen horses had been stolen in one night in Hancock county. This last informant being told of the Hancock story, again changed the venue to another distant settlement in the northern edge of Adams." (Hist. of Illinois, Ford, p. 331.)

And thus sensational reports of "Mormon stealing" were made the shuttlecock between the battle-doors of various neighborhoods.

11. Chapter XXXV, Note I.

debts became due, for want of money to pay them, they gave their notes to the merchants *with twelve per cent. interest*, which the reader will observe hereafter was the cause of some strange legislation on the collection of debts, and caused the reduction of the rate of interest to six per cent. Until the year 1833, there had been no legal limit to the rate of interest to be fixed by contract.’¹²

Again Mr. Ford says:

“To sum up, then, this was the condition of the State when I came into office as governor (1842). The domestic treasury of the state was indebted for the ordinary expenses of government to the amount of about \$313,000. Auditor’s warrant on the treasury were selling at fifty per cent. discount, and there was no money in the treasury whatever; not even to pay postage on letters. The annual revenues applicable to the payment of ordinary expenses, amounted to about \$130,000. The treasury was bankrupt; the revenues were insufficient; the people were unable and unwilling to pay high taxes; and the state had borrowed itself out of all credit. A debt of near fourteen millions of dollars had been contracted for the canal, railroads, and other purposes. *The currency of the State had been annihilated; there was not over two or three hundred thousands dollars in good money in the pockets of the whole people*, which occasioned a general inability to pay taxes. The whole people were indebted to merchants; nearly all of whom were indebted to the banks, or to foreign merchants; and the banks owed everybody; and none were able to pay.’¹³

To these general conditions so depressing throughout the state must be added still other difficulties that harassed the Saints at Nauvoo. The Church had passed through a long period of disaster. Time and again the early members of the Church had been driven away from their homes; and these frequent drivings and mobbings stripped them of their property and of course ruined their financial undertakings; and though their prospects at Nauvoo began to brighten, the people were constantly plagued by the presentation of old claims upon them, their creditors making small or no allowance for the disasters which had overtaken them. This was a constant draft upon their resources, and a great hindrance to the growth of Nauvoo.

12. “History of Illinois,” Ford, p. 232.

13. “History of Illinois,” Ford, p. 278.

In the Iowa stake of Zion, with headquarters at Montrose, the High Council, taking into account the disasters which had overwhelmed the Church in Missouri, decided to disfellowship those who pressed their claims for indebtedness contracted in Missouri.¹⁴ A like understanding though not so definitely stated obtained also among the Saints at Nauvoo. But finally, as an effective means of protection against unreasonable, importunate creditors a number of leading authorities in the Church, among them President Joseph Smith, took advantage of the federal bankrupt law. Under this law any one owing a certain amount more than he was able to pay, made out a schedule of his property and likewise of his debts, and placed both in the hands of an assignee, who paid his creditors whatever percentage of his debts his property amounted to; and the assignee could start again without being compelled to pay any of the old claims held against him previous to his declared insolvency.

In whatever light this action on the part of the brethren may appear at first sight, an examination into all the circumstances will reveal the fact that as a means of self-protection it became absolutely imperative. They were financially broken down, and before they could rise to their feet, inexorable creditors were upon them to take away their substance. If it is possible for an individual or a company to be justified in taking advantage of the bankrupt law, then the "Mormon" leaders were justified. There was no effort on the part of those who took advantage of the bankrupt law to defraud their creditors. To parties with whom President Joseph Smith had contracted for lands, he wrote that he still considered his contracts with them as good; and in the case of the Hotchkiss purchase he proposed to renew the contract. This step in bankruptcy had the effect of placing the brethren beyond the power of their unjust creditors, and necessity compelled the action.¹⁵

14. "Documentary History of the Church," Vol. IV, p. 42.

15. The comment of President Smith upon this action is as follows: "The justice or injustice of such a principle in law, I leave for them to decide who made it, the United States. Suffice it say, the law was as good for the Saints as for the Gentiles, and whether I would or not, I was forced into the measure by having been robbed, mobbed, plundered, and wasted of all my property, time after time, in various places, by the very ones who made the law, namely, the people of the United States, thereby having been obliged to contract heavy debts to prevent the utter destruction of myself, family and friends, and by those who were justly

About this time there seemed to be a contraction of the borders of the Church in Hancock county. Ramus was abandoned as a "stake of Zion," owing immediately to the fact, doubtless, that that section of the county was becoming a rendezvous for thieves, and their crimes were charged against the Saints. The action of dissolving the stake organization was under the direction of Brigham Young and other of the Apostles at a conference held on the 4th and 5th of December, 1841.

Shortly afterwards, in the same month, Warren, a settlement founded early in the spring of that year was also abandoned. Warren was situated about a mile south of Warsaw on the Mississippi river. As early as the fall of 1839 Daniel S. Witter, a man owning a flour mill at Warsaw, held out inducements to the First Presidency of The Church to settle at or in the vicinity of Warsaw, but the location where the Saints built up Nauvoo was considered preferable. Still Witter, Aldrich, Warren, and others continued to solicit the authorities of The Church to make an attempt to build a city near Warsaw; and finally, in the spring of 1841, an agreement was entered into between The Church authorities and Witter, Warren and Aldrich—owners of the school section located just south of Warsaw—by which any of the Saints settling on this school section, already surveyed into town lots and called Warren, were to have certain privileges granted them.

In September, Willard Richards was located at Warsaw and made what preparations he could to receive settlers. Some few families of Saints gathered there, and in November two hundred and four emigrants from England, under the leadership of Joseph Fielding, were counseled to locate in that vicinity. But no sooner had preparations to build up the place been made than the citizens of Warsaw attempted to form an anti-Mormon association, and manifested other symptoms of an unfriendly character. They raised the rents—Mr. Witter himself raised one dollar per barrel on flour, while Aldrich forbade the people using

and legally owing me, taking the advantage of the same act of bankruptcy, so that I could not collect my just dues, thus leaving me no alternative but to become subject again to stripping, wasting, and destitution, by vexatious writs, and law suits, and imprisonments, or take that course to extricate myself which the law had pointed out. "Documentary History of the Church," Vol. IV, pp. 594-5.

the old wood on the school section. These unfriendly demonstrations led to the abandonment of the enterprise of building up Warren, and the Church authorities promptly advised the Saints who had located there to remove to Nauvoo.

This action with reference to both Ramus and Warren was also somewhat in harmony with the general policy of the Church at this time, which recognized the necessity of concentration of effort at Nauvoo. In the preceding month of May the First Presidency had issued instructions for all the Saints residing outside of Hancock county to come within her boundaries "without delay." "This is important," said the communication, "and should be attended to by all who feel an interest in the prosperity of this corner stone of Zion. Here the temple must be raised, the university built, and other edifices erected which are necessary for the great work of the last days, and which can be done by a concentration of energy and enterprise. Let it therefore be understood, that all stakes excepting those in this (Hancock) county and in Lee county, Iowa, are discontinued, and the Saints instructed to settle in this county, as soon as circumstances will permit."¹⁶ A later recommended gathering from the outlying districts of the county into Nauvoo was but another step in the policy of concentration.

It was in the closing month of this eventful year, 1841, that a public announcement was made concerning the attitude of the citizens of Nauvoo respecting politics. Under date of 20th of December President Joseph Smith addressed a communication to his "friends in Illinois," in which he announced that the "gubernatorial convention of Illinois" had placed in nomination, for Governor, Col. Adam W. Snyder; and for Lieutenant Governor, Col. John Moore;" that as they were "stirling men, and friends of equal rights;" and also because they had befriended the citizens of Nauvoo and had assisted their representatives in the state legislature in securing the passage of the several charters for the city,¹⁷ President Smith announced what must

16. "Documentary Hist. of the Ch." Vol. IV, p. 362.

17. In fact Mr. Snyder was chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the state legislature to which the charters were referred and he reported them to the senate with the recommendation that they pass. (See Fords "History of Illinois," p. 263).

be regarded as the intention of the citizens of Nauvoo to vote for these candidates. "They have served us," said President Smith's communication, "and we will serve them." Notwithstanding these men were the nominees of the Democratic party and placed in nomination by the Democratic convention held at Springfield, President Smith claimed to be acting independent of party considerations. "In the next canvass," said he, "we shall be influenced by no party consideration. * * * We care not a fig for a Whig or Democrat: they are both alike to us; *but we shall go for our friends*, our tried friends, and the cause of human liberty, which is the cause of God." In the previous national election, two years before, the people of Nauvoo quite generally had voted for General William H. Harrison, a Whig, for President of the United States; and as late as the previous August had voted for the Whig candidate for congress, Mr. John J. Stuart.¹⁸ Referring to the fact of the people of Nauvoo having voted for these Whig candidates President Smith said:

"We voted for General Harrison because we loved him—he was a gallant officer and a tried statesman; but this is no reason why we should always be governed by his friends—he is now dead, and all his friends are not ours. We claim the privileges of freemen, and shall act accordingly. Douglass is a Master spirit, and his friends are our friends—we are willing to cast our banners on the air, and fight by his side in the cause of humanity and equal rights—the cause of liberty and the law. Snyder and Moore, are his friends—they are ours. These men are free from the prejudices and superstitions of the age, and such men we love, and such men will ever receive our support, be their political predilections what they may."¹⁹

Before the election took place, however, Mr. Snyder died, and Thomas Ford, one of the judges of the state supreme court, was nominated to fill the vacancy. He was not nominated because he was in any sense a leader of his party in Illinois, as he himself explains; "but because," he adds, "I was believed to have no more than a very ordinary share of ambition; because it was doubtful whether any of the leaders could be elected, and because it was thought I would stand more in need

18. "History of Illinois," Ford, p. 268.

19. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. III, p. 651.

of support from leaders, than an actual leader would. To this cause, and perhaps there were others, I trace the fact which will appear, that I was never able to command the support of the entire party which elected me.²⁰

Joseph Duncan, who had previously been Governor of Illinois, 1836-38, was the Whig candidate for Governor, and really expected to be elected because of his pronounced and even bitter opposition to the "Mormons."

The fact is that for some time there had been an agitation going on in respect of the Saints and their relationship to the politics of the State; and political capital was sought to be made by manifestations of friendliness or of hostility towards them. Although, in the main, the people of Nauvoo had sustained the Whig candidates, both locally and nationally, in the preceding election, yet there were outbreaks against them both among the Whig politicians and in the Whig press of Illinois. "The Whig newspapers," writes Governor Ford, "teemed with accounts of the wonders and enormities of Nauvoo, and of the awful wickedness of a party which could consent to receive the support of such miscreants. Governor Duncan, (nominated in opposition to Snyder) who was really a brave honest man, and who had nothing to do with getting the Mormon charters passed through the legislature, took the stump on this subject in good earnest, and expected to be elected governor almost on this question alone."²¹

The position of the Saints in their relations to the political parties in the State of Illinois is tersely set forth by the late President John Taylor in his review of affairs at Nauvoo, leading up to the martyrdom of the Prophet; which document was prepared at the request of the Historians of the Church, and filed in the archives of the Church as the testimony of an eye witness and participant in those events.²² Of the political situation at Nauvoo—which was forming at the period to which the political announcement by President Smith of the text above, belongs—President Taylor says:

20. "History of Illinois," Ford, p. 271.

21. "History of Illinois," Ford, p. 269.

22. The document under the title of "The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith," was published by the permission of its author in Tyler's "History of the Mormon Battalion."

“There were always two parties, the Whigs and Democrats, and we could not vote for one without offending the other; and it not infrequently happened that candidates for office would place the issue of their election upon opposition to the ‘Mormons’, in order to gain political influence from religious prejudice, in which case the ‘Mormons’ were compelled, in self-defense, to vote against them, which resulted almost invariably against our opponents. This made them angry; and although it was of their own making, and the ‘Mormons’ could not be expected to do otherwise, yet they raged on account of their discomfiture, and sought to wreak their fury on the ‘Mormons’. As an instance of the above, when Joseph Duncan was candidate for the office of governor of Illinois, 1842, he pledged himself to his party that, if he could be elected, he would exterminate or drive the ‘Mormons’ from the State. The consequence was that Governor Ford was elected.”

It cannot in truth be claimed that any favor shown by the Democratic party, as such, to the Mormon people was the cause of the announcement of the above independent attitude in politics. For while it is true that Judge Douglas, a leading Democrat of the state, if not then the leader of his party in Illinois, had recently rendered a decision favorable to the Prophet, liberating him from the clutches of Missouri, it should be remembered that the Judge had but pronounced upon the course of the officers of the states of Missouri and Illinois and found that course at variance with the law, and there was no alternative but to set the Prophet free. But it was the law that vindicated Joseph Smith, not the favor of judge Douglas. And then, if a Democrat judge had decided a case in favor of the Prophet, it should be remembered that it was the act, and I might say the unwarranted, illegal act, of a Democrat, Governor Carlin, which had put the life and liberty of the Prophet in jeopardy by issuing an illegal requisition for his arrest and deliverance to Missouri. This to show that it was not any favor that had been exhibited by the Democratic party, as such, that prompted the assumption of an independent attitude in politics by President Smith, but that for weal or woe, the attitude was taken as a measure of self-defense, and for the protection of the people in whose interest it was announced.

CHAPTER LII

THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM—WENTWORTH LETTER—ENDOWMENT CEREMONIES INTRODUCED

During the winter of 1841-2 President Joseph Smith completed the translation of and prepared for publication certain ancient Egyptian papyrus which came into his possession in July, 1835, in the following manner: One Michael H. Chandler, appeared in Kirtland to exhibit some Egyptian mummies. There were four well preserved human figures, together with some two or more rolls of papyrus covered with hieroglyphics. Very naturally the fact that Joseph Smith was reputed to have translated the Book of Mormon from an ancient language, led up to the question of his ability to translate the Egyptian papyrus. Some conversation took place between Mr. Chandler and President Smith also a comparison of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and a transcript of Book of Mormon characters, resulting in the discovery of some points of resemblance. The Prophet translated some of the hieroglyphics Mr. Chandler submitted to him, whereupon that gentleman certified as to the agreement of the Prophet's translation with that which had been made by scholars in other places where the mummies and papyrus rolls had been exhibited.

The people of Kirtland became interested in these ancient documents and purchased both them and the mummies of Mr. Chandler. The manner in which the Egyptian relics came into possession of Mr. Chandler's possession,—the account somewhat abridged,—is as follows: In 1831 the French traveller, Antonio Sebolo, penetrated Egypt as far as the ancient city of Thebes, under a license procured from Mohemet Ali—then Viceroy of Egypt—through the influence of Chevalier Drovetti, the French consul. Sebolo employed four hundred and thirty-three men for four months and two days, either Turkish or Egyptian soldiers, paying them from four to six cents a day per man. They entered the Catacombs near ancient Thebes on the seventh of June, 1831, and procured eleven mummies. These were shipped to Alexandria, and from there the traveler started with his treasures for Paris, But *en route* for the French capital, Sebolo put in at Trieste, where he was taken sick, and after an illness of ten days,

died. This was in 1832. Previous to his death he willed his Egyptian treasures to his nephew, Michael H. Chandler, who was then living in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; but whom Sebold believed to be in Dublin, to which city he ordered the mummies shipped. The mummies were shipped to Philadelphia; and from there Mr. Chandler traveled through the country, exhibited them and the rolls of papyrus, reaching Kirtland in July, 1835.

A further examination of the rolls of papyrus convinced the Prophet that these Egyptian fragments were writings of the Patriarchs Abraham and Joseph, the son of Jacob. With the assistance of Oliver Cowdery and W. W. Phelps President Smith began the work of translating this record which had come into his possession in such singular manner. The work of translation was taken up from time to time, but, as already stated, was not completed and ready for publication until March, 1842, when the publication began in the *Times and Seasons*,¹ with fac-similies of certain portions of the papyrus. Only the writings of Abraham were published, and these under the title of the "Book of Abraham."²

This work is rich both in doctrine and in historical incidents. Of the latter the fact of the large influence (if not identity) of Egyptian's religious ideas in Chaldea in the days of Abraham is established; the descent of the black race from Cain, the first murderer; their preservation through the flood by the wife of Ham—"Egyptus," which in the Chaldean signifies 'Egypt,' as pertaining to the Priesthood—that is, they were barred from holding that divine power; the origin also of the Egyptians—these things together with the account of Abraham migrating from Chaldea to Egypt,³ constitute the chief historical items that are contributed by the book. As to its doctrines, perhaps the most important are the pre-existence of the spirits of men and the eternal existence, yet varying grades of intelligences (chap. iii); the choice of the more noble spirits as God's rulers in the

1. Vol. III, Nos. 9 and 10.

2. The title in full is as follows:—

THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM.

Translated From The Papyrus, By Joseph Smith.

A Translation of some ancient Records, that have fallen into our hands from the catacombs of Egypt; the writings of Abraham while he was in Egypt, called the Book of Abraham, written by his own hand, upon papyrus.

3. See note 1, end of chapter.

earth (Ibid); the purpose of the earth-life of these eternal intelligences, *viz.*, to be “added upon,” which means growth, increase of knowledge through experience, enlarged wisdom, increased power and glory for intelligences; and the existence of a plurality of Divine Intelligences implied in the fact that in his creation story Abraham uses the plural form throughout in reference to the divine Beings engaged in the work of creation—“And the Gods said let there be light,”—and “the Gods called the light day,” etc.

There is also, in outline, a most noble system of astronomy in this Egyptian fragment, which system according to the record itself, was revealed to Abraham by means of Urim and Thummim, and which more modern research and discovery does but confirm. Briefly stated the system stands as follows—omitting most of the Egyptian names used, since these can be of little interest to the reader as they may not be identified with the sidereal constellations as known in modern times:⁴

There are many great stars, called “governing ones,” one of which rises pre-eminent above the others “nearest the throne of God,” and is called “Kolob.” This great Star constitutes the grand centre of our universe, a round which all other great stars revolve, or by which they are governed in their movements, or receive controlling force; and thence from this great central, governing star, in ever widening circles revolves countless worlds and world-groups with their respective central suns in bewildering yet orderly magnificence and splendor. This view represents the universe not as static, but as dynamic; movement everywhere, leading not to “being,” merely, but to that “*becoming*” which as it is the noblest, so also is it the most scientific conception of the universe; so also the most in

4. “The more carefully one studies the great work of Copernicus (the father of modern astronomy) the more surprised he will be to find how completely Ptolemy (the Egyptian) furnished him both ideas and material. If we seek the teachers and predecessors of Hipparchus, the Greek, (160-125 B. C.) we find only the shadowy forms of Egyptian and Babylonian priests, whose names and writings are all entirely lost. In the earliest historic ages, men knew that the earth was round; that the sun appeared to make an annual revolution among the stars; and that eclipses were caused by the moon entering the shadow of the earth, or the earth that of the moon.” (*Popular Astronomy*, Simon Newcomb, introduction, p. 2.) It is not at all improbable that among the Egyptian and Babylonian priests above spoken of, “whose names and writings are all entirely lost,” that Abraham may have had a place.

harmony with religious feeling, since it gives evidence of the Intelligence back of phenomena, and some idea of the magnificence and glory of that Intelligence—some idea—"of God moving in his majesty and power," since he must be thought upon as imminent in the universe by his Spirit.

It should be remembered, too, in passing, that the Book of Abraham containing this conception of our universe having a centre around which the world-systems, including our own, revolve in orderly procession, was published before our modern astronomers had advanced the idea of the movement among what hitherto had been regarded as "the fixed stars:" but which now is very generally conceded and explained by them.*

One other document of great historical and even doctrinal importance was published about the same time as this Book of Abraham, namely in the spring of 1842. This document is what is called "The Wentworth Letter." Mr. John Wentworth, editor and proprietor of the *Chicago Democrat*, solicited of Joseph Smith a statement concerning the history and doctrine of the Church of the Latter-Day Saints, for his friend Mr. Barstow, of New Hampshire who was writing a history of that

5. See Gillet and Rolfe's *Astronomy for Schools and Academies*, pp. 365-371. Popular *Astronomy*, Newcomb, pp. 464-476. Proctor's "Other Worlds than Ours," Ch. X.

It is due to the reader to say that fragments of the Book of Abraham, the *fac similes* published with this chapter, were submitted to a young French *savant* in 1860, M. Jules Remey. This celebrated French traveler and writer visited Utah in the fall and winter of 1855-6, where he made a study of the Mormon history and religion. In 1861 he published the results of his investigations in two large volumes, in Paris, under the title "A Journey to Great Salt Lake City, with a Sketch of the History, Religion and Customs of the Mormons; and an Introduction to the Religious Movement in the United States." The young French *savant* of the Museum of the Louvre, to whom the *fac similes* of the fragments of the Book of Abraham were submitted, was M. Theodule Deveria. His explanations differ from the translations made by Joseph Smith, but of the merits of M. Deveria's translation the writer can form no judgment. But one thing is very striking in the interpretation he gives, and that is that he insists that the hieroglyphics and figures in the copies submitted to him are in some cases dim and may not be deciphered, in others he insists that the figures should be different, and claims that others still have been purposely altered in the copying. If it is the *fac similes* thus changed that M. Deveria has interpreted, then of course his interpretation would differ from the translation made by Joseph Smith, who doubtless followed strictly the papyrus text. In any event we do not think the pronunciamiento of M. Deveria is to be regarded as the last word upon the subject. Meantime there is the internal evidences of the truth of the Book of Abraham translated from the papyrus to be accounted for; all which will also stand for the correctness of the Prophet's translation of the ancient record. These evidences are considered at length in the very excellent work of the late Elder George Reynolds under the title "The Book of Abraham: Its Authenticity established as a Divine and Ancient Record"—1879: Deseret News publishers; to which the reader is referred.

state. Responding to this request the "Wentworth Letter" was prepared by the Prophet. Beginning with the birth of Joseph Smith, in 1805, it traces in admirable manner the development of the great latter-day work, the story of its persecutions, up to the settlement of the Saints in Nauvoo; and also details their prosperous condition and happy prospects at the time the letter was written.

It is the earliest published document by Joseph Smith,⁶ making any pretension to consecutive narration of those events in which the latter-day work had its origin; and for combining conciseness of statement with comprehensiveness of treatment, it has few equals among historical documents, and certainly none that excel it in our Church literature. In a few pages (less than six of this History) it gives a remarkably clear statement of the leading events in the Prophet's life and in the history of the Church, together with an epitome of our doctrines, which has since been called "The Articles of Faith." Millions of these "Articles of Faith" have been published; they have been translated into many languages and carried to all the nations of the earth and tribes of men where the New Dispensation of the gospel has been preached. They were not produced by the labored efforts and the harmonized contentions of scholastics, but were struck off by one mind at a single effort to make a declaration of that which is most assuredly believed by the Church, for one making earnest inquiry about her history and her fundamental doctrines. The combined directions, perspicuity, simplicity and comprehensiveness of this statement of the doctrine of the Church is regarded as strong evidence of a divine inspiration operating upon the mind of Joseph Smith. Said articles are herewith given:

THE ARTICLES OF FAITH

I

We believe in God, the Eternal Father, and in His Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

6 It was published in *Times and Seasons*, Vol. III, March 15th, 1842.

II

We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression.

III

We believe that, through the Atonement of Christ, all mankind may be saved, by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel.

IV

We believe that the first principles and ordinances of the gospel are: First, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, Repentance; third, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, Laying on of the Hands for the Gift of the Holy Ghost.

V

We believe that a man must be called of God, by "prophecy, and by the laying on of hands," by those who are in authority, to preach the gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.

VI

We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church, namely, apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, etc.

VII

We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc.

VIII

We believe the Bible to be the word of God, as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God.

IX

We believe all that God has revealed, all that He does now reveal and we believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.

X

We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes. That Zion will be built upon this (I.

E. the American) continent. That Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory.

XI

We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where or what they may.

XII

We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers and magistrates, in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law.

XIII

We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul, “We believe all things, we hope all things” we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy, we seek after these things.⁷

It was during this month of May, 1842, into which so many historical events were crowded, that the Prophet introduced and established the temple ritual contemplated in the revelation of January 19th, 1841.⁸ It is in that revelation, it will be remembered, that the Saints were commanded to build the Nauvoo Temple, a House for the Most High; “for there is not a place found on earth that he may come and restore again that which was lost unto you, or which he hath taken away, even the fullness of the Priesthood. * * * For therein are the keys of the holy Priesthood ordained, that you may receive honor and glory. * * * For it is ordained that in Zion, and in her stakes, and in Jerusalem, those places which I have appointed for refuge, shall be the places for your baptisms for your dead.”

“And again, verily I say unto you, how shall your washings be acceptable unto me, except ye perform them in a house which you have built to my name? For, for this cause I commanded

7. “Documentary History of the Church,” Vol. IV, Ch. XXXI, where the Wentworth Letter is given *in extenso*.

8. See Ch. XXXVIII, this History.

Moses that he should build a tabernacle, that they should bear it with them in the wilderness, and to build a house in the land of promise, that those ordinances might be revealed which had been hid from before the world was; therefore, verily I say unto you, that your anointings, and your washings, and your baptisms for the dead, and your solemn assemblies, and your memorials for your sacrifices, by the sons of Levi, and for your oracles in your statutes and judgments, for the beginning of the revelations and foundation of Zion, and for the glory, honor, and endowment of all her municipalities, are ordained by the ordinance of my holy house which my people are always commanded to build unto my holy name. And verily I say unto you, let this house be built unto my name, that I may reveal mine ordinances therein, unto my people; For I deign to reveal unto my Church, things which my people; for I deign to reveal unto my Church, things which things that pertain to the dispensation of the fullness of times. And I will show unto my servant Joseph all things pertaining to this house, and the Priesthood thereof.”⁹

This contemplated order of things so pressed upon President Smith’s mind that apparently he could not wait for the completion of the Temple, but improvised the means of introducing this foreshadowed ritual by arranging rooms in the upper story of his brick store standing near the banks of the Mississippi river on Water street, and there, on the fourth of May, began the introduction of the said ritual, General James Adams, of Springfield, Patriarch Hyrum Smith, Bishops New K. Whitney and George Miller; also Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles, being present. The Prophet’s Journal for the 4th of May says that he spent the day instructing these men “in the principles and order of the Priesthood, attending to washings, anointings, endowments and the communication of keys pertaining to the Aaronic Priesthood, setting forth the order of the Ancient of Days, and so on to the highest order of the Melchisedek Priesthood, setting forth the order pertaining to the Ancient of Days, and all those plans and principles by which any one is enabled to secure the fullness of those blessings which have been prepared for the Church of the First Born, and come up and abide in the presence of the Eloheim in the eternal worlds.” He continues his record of the 4th of May as follows:

9. “Doc. and Cov.,” Sec. CXXIV.

"In this council was instituted the ancient order of things for the first time in these last days. And the communications I made to this council were things spiritual, and to be received only by the spiritually minded: and there was nothing made known to these men but what will be made known to all the Saints of the last days, so soon as they are prepared to receive, and a proper place is prepared to communicate them, even to the weakest of the Saints; therefore let the Saints be diligent in building the Temple, and all houses which they have been, or shall hereafter be, commanded of God to build; and wait their time with patience in all meekness, faith, perseverance unto the end, knowing assuredly that all these things referred to in this council are always governed by the principle of revelation.

Thursday, May 5.—General Adams started for Springfield, and the remainder of the council of yesterday continued their meeting at the same place, and myself and Brother Hyrum received in turn from the others, the same that I had communicated to them the day previous.¹⁰

Such is the Prophet's account of the introduction of what is known in the Church as the "Endowment Ceremonies," the sacred ritual of the Temples, accessible to all the faithful Latter-day Saints, as promised by the Prophet when instituting the said ordinances among the faithful brethren above named, and subsequently among other faithful brethren at Nauvoo.¹¹

10. "Documentary History of the Ch.," Vol. V, pp. 1-3.

11. There has been some controversy as to the time when these sacred ceremonies were introduced into the Church. An organization styling itself the "Re-organized Church," even goes so far as to claim that these ceremonies were not introduced into the Church by the Prophet Joseph Smith at all, but on the contrary claim that they had their origin with Brigham Young and the Apostles who followed him in the migration from Nauvoo to Great Salt Lake Valley in Utah. The evidence against such claims, however, is overwhelming. First, the statement of the Prophet in the text above. Second, a previous allusion to the same things in his remarks at Nauvoo, on the 6th of January, 1842. (See "Documentary History of the Church," Vol. IV, p. 492.) Third the same ceremonies are referred to in the Revelation of Jan. 19, 1841, in which washings, anointings, conversations, statutes, judgments, etc., are explicitly referred to. ("Documentary History of the Church," Vol. IV, p. 277.) In addition to this evidence also, Ebenezer Robinson, for a time associate editor of the *Times and Seasons*, and who at the death of Don Carlos Smith, 1841, became editor-in-chief of that periodical, and so continued until the 15th of March, 1842—declares that such ceremonies as are alluded to in the text were inaugurated by special action of the Prophet as early as 1843. Mr. Robinson subsequently left the Church, but when in 1890, the aforesaid "Re-organized Church" persisted in claiming that Joseph Smith the Prophet did not inaugurate these Temple ceremonies, he published an article in the magazine he was then conducting, called *The Return*, in which he bears emphatic testimony to the effect above stated, namely, that these ceremonies were introduced into the Church by the Prophet Joseph Smith at least as early as 1843. (See *The Return*, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 252.)

A photogravure of the "Brick Store" in the upper story of which was instituted these sacred ceremonies accompanies this chapter. In addition to its use as a "temple" it was also the place of meeting for the Nauvoo Lodge of Free Masons. Here also the Prophet had his private office where he translated very much of the Book of Abraham, where he received revelations and where the revelation on Celestial Marriage was committed to writing; so that all in all this "old brick store" is one of the most noted buildings in Nauvoo, sacred to the faithful Latter-day Saints, and worthy to be held in memory as a sacred shrine, the "first temple" in Nauvoo.

NOTE 1. ABRAHAM IN EGYPT: That Abraham was in Egypt is clear both from the Bible and the writings of Josephus. The latter after relating all that the Bible does, only in greater detail, adds to the account that the Egyptian king made Abraham a large present in money; "and gave him leave to enter into conversation with the most learned among the Egyptians; from which conversation, his virtue and his reputation became more conspicuous than they had been before. For whereas the Egyptians were formerly addicted to different customs, and despised one another's sacred and accustomed rites, and were very angry one with another on that account, Abraham conferred with each of them, and confuted the reasonings they made use of, every one for his own practices; he demonstrated that such reasonings were vain, and void of truth; whereupon he was admired by them, in those conferences, as a very wise man, and one of great sagacity, when he discoursed on any subject he undertook; and this was not only in understanding it, but in persuading other men also to assent to him. He communicated to them arithmetic, and delivered to them the science of astronomy; for before Abraham came into Egypt, they were unacquainted with those parts of learning; for that science came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also." (Antiquities of the Jews, Bk. I, chap. XIII).

NOTE 2. THE ABRAHAMIC SYSTEM OF ASTRONOMY: When Joseph Smith enunciated the sublime truths noticed in the text of this History no such thoughts were prevalent among the students of astronomy. "The Herschels had some inkling of the facts, but their ideas were crude and undeveloped. It was not until the Book of Abraham had been published in America, and if we mistake not in England also, that Sir Wm. G. Hamilton, of the

Dublin University, advanced the idea that our solar system had a centre around which the sun and all its attendant planets moved. To-day¹² the scholars in the most radical school of astronomy will only admit that our world-system has a centre, and that the probabilities are that that centre has a centre also, around which it and all its satellites move. Further than this they cannot go. However, the little they do admit, confirms the mighty truth revealed to Abraham of old and Joseph of to-day. On the other hand the followers of the more conservative schools will simply acknowledge that our solar system has a proper motion of its own, independent of its relative or apparent motions with regard to other stars. They admit that 'relative to the general mass of stars, our sun is moving in the direction of the constellation Hercules.' They have come to this conclusion, because they find that the stars in that part of the heavens are continually growing brighter, (thus showing they are coming nearer), whilst those in exactly the opposite direction are as continually growing more dim. They have also discovered that 'there are in the heavens several cases of widely extended groups of stars, having a common proper motion entirely different from that of the stars around and among them. Such groups they say 'must form connected systems,' or in other words, are all controlled by one and the same governing planet. It is also admitted that 'the stars in all parts of the heavens move in all directions with all sorts of velocities; but they claim that the distances of the stars from the earth are so immense, and so short a period of time has elapsed since they first began to notice these movements, that they cannot with certainty say whether they are moving in circles or straight lines, it is only by analogy that they reason that they are moving around a centre.' So little are some of these observers willing to admit, that Prof. Newcomb simply allows that 'as our sun is merely one of the stars, and rather a small one, too, it may have a proper motion as well as other stars.' The Smithsonian report for 1871, speaking of Herschel, says: 'The world can afford to wait. Astronomy advances. It may be, in the distant future that the mysterious centre around which our sun and his worlds revolve, may be detected and afford a solution for other mysteries as well as these. The greatest astronomer is equipped for no more than a Sabbath-day's journey.' Another writer remarks, 'Madler attempted to show, from an examination of the proper motions of the stars, that the whole stellar universe was revolving around Al-

12. This was written 1879. Of course now, 1911, the movement among the so call "fix stars" is very generally and so far as we know universally admitted, being confirmed by actual observation.

cyone, of the Pleiades (or seven stars) as a centre—a theory, the grandeur of which led to its wide diffusion in popular writing.’ Mr. Wm. Petrie, of London, writing with regard to this same star says: ‘Alcyone, a primeval name of the star, means the centre, and has quite recently been discovered to be really the centre around which even our whole solar system, amongst others, revolves.’ ” “*The Book of Abraham, A Divine and Ancient Record*,” by George Reynolds, pp. 30, 31.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE DOWNFALL OF DR. JOHN C. BENNETT

The first intimation given in our annals which foreshadows the coming fall of John C. Bennett is in May, 1842. On the 7th of that month there was a special military display in sham battle by the Nauvoo Legion for which there had been intermittent preparation from the 25th of the preceding January, when the order for general inspection, parade, and sham battle had been made. The review and sham battle was preceded by an officers’ banquet at the house of President Smith; and such was the interest in the military event, that Judge Stephen A. Douglas adjoined the circuit court, then in session at Carthage, and with other officers of the court and leading lawyers rode out to Nauvoo to be present on the occasion which had long been a matter of curiosity and of some excitement throughout Hancock county. Hearing of the presence of Judge Douglas in Nauvoo President Smith at once invited him and his company to the officers’ banquet, which was accepted. Twenty-six companies, amounting to about two thousand men, were on inspection and parade. In the afternoon the Legion was separated into cohorts and fought an animated sham battle; the first cohort under the command of Gen. Wilson Law, the second under Gen. Chas. C. Rich. At the close of the “battle” President Smith delivered an animated speech expressing satisfaction with the Legion. Under this date President Smith makes the following entry in his journal History:

“I was solicited by General Bennett to take command of the first cohort during the sham battle; this I declined. General Bennett next requested me to take my station in the rear of the

cavalry, without my staff, during the engagement; but this was counteracted by Captain A. P. Rockwood, commander of my life guards who kept close by my side, and I chose my own position. *And if General Bennett's true feelings toward me are not made manifest to the world in a very short time, then it may be possible that the gentle breathings of that Spirit, which whispered me on parade, that there was mischief concealed in that sham battle, were false; a short time will determine the point.* Let John C. Bennett answer at the time of judgment, 'Why did you request me to command one of the cohorts, and also to take my position without my staff, during the sham battle, on the 7th of May, 1842, where my life might have been the forfeit, and no man have known who did the deed?' "¹

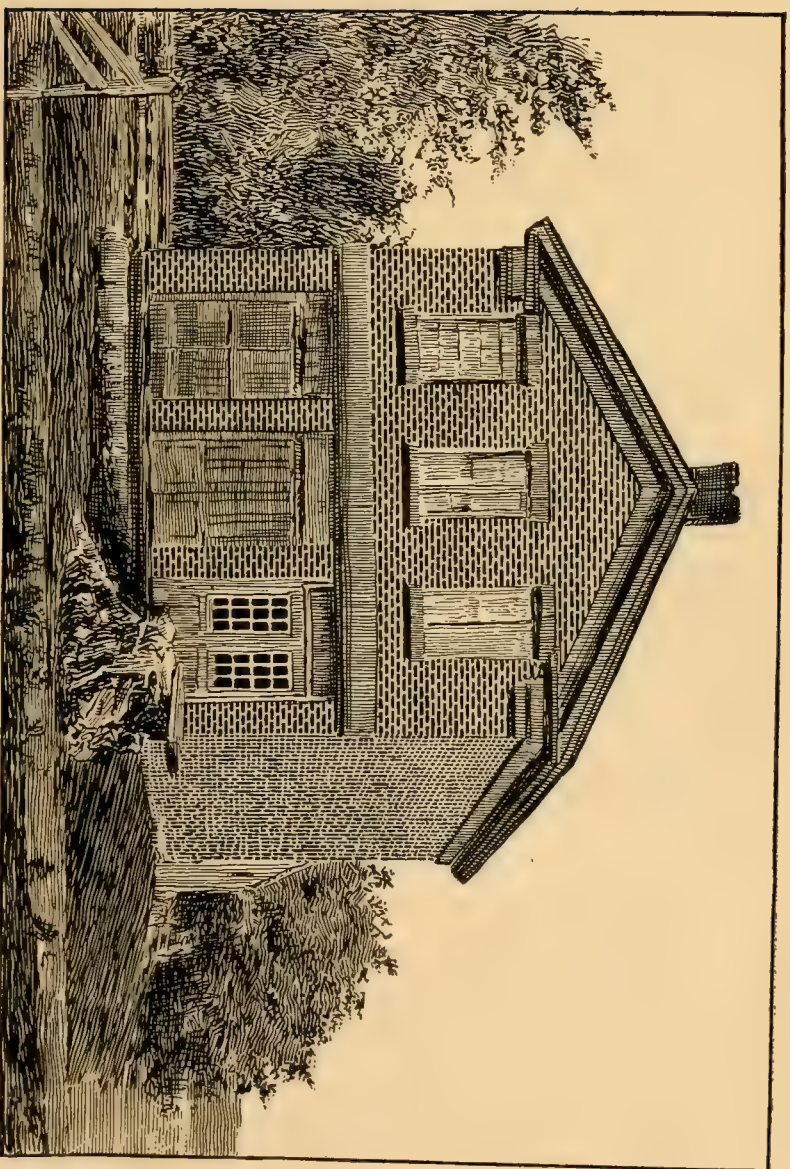
Matters developed rapidly after this in the affairs of John C. Bennett. Ten days later he resigned as Mayor of Nauvoo, and President Joseph Smith was elected Mayor in his place by the city council, and Hyrum Smith Vice-Mayor. This action of Bennett's was forced by the rising tide of popular indignation against the evil and corrupt manner of life into which he had fallen. For some time he had been guilty of gross licentiousness. He had betrayed the innocent by most insidious and seductive arts; and had used the name of President Smith to accomplish his base ends by declaring that the President and other leading Elders of the Church countenanced and practiced such conduct, and taught that no sin attached if kept secret. Yet when confronted with these charges he vigorously denied them.

On the day of his resignation Bennett went before Daniel H. Wells, one of the Alderman of Nauvoo—but not then a member of the Church of Latter-day Saints—and made affidavit in which he said:

"He was never taught anything in the least contrary to the strictest principles of the Gospel, or of virtue or of the laws of God or man, under any circumstances, or upon any occasion, either directly or indirectly in word or deed, by Joseph Smith, and that he never knew the said Smith to countenance any improper conduct whatever either in public or private; and that he never did teach to me in private that an illegal, illicit intercourse with females, was under any circumstances justifiable, and that I never knew him to so teach others."²

1. "Documentary History of the Church," Vol. V, p. 4.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 11.



JOSEPH SMITH'S "STORE," NAUVOO, ILL.

Upper story used by the Prophet for private office, and where Mormon Temple Ritual was first given, 1843

Two days later in the presence of the full city council and a house crowded with spectators President Joseph Smith asked Bennett to state if he knew aught against him; to which Bennett replied:

“I know what I am about, and the heads of the Church know what they are about, I expect. I have no difficulty with the heads of the Church. I publicly avow that any one who has said that I have stated that General Joseph Smith had given me authority to hold illicit intercourse with women, is a liar in the face of God, those who have said it are d— liars; and they are infernal liars. He never either in public or private gave me any such authority or license, and any person who states it is a scoundrel and a liar. I have heard it said that I should become a second Avard by withdrawing from the Church, and that I was at variance with the heads [i. e. of the Church] and should use an influence against them because I resigned the office of Mayor; this is false. I have no difficulty with the heads of the Church, and I intend to continue with you, and hope the time may come when I may be restored to full confidence and fellowship, and my former standing in the Church, and that my conduct may be such as to warrant my restoration—and should the time ever come that I may have an opportunity to test my faith, it will then be known whether I am a traitor or a true man.”

Joseph Smith then asked: “Will you please state definitely whether you know anything against my character either in public or private?”

General Bennett answered: “I do not; in all my intercourse with Gen. Smith, in public and in private, he has been strictly virtuous.”³

The above statement is signed by the five Aldermen and the eight councilors comprising the city council, and attested by James Sloan, the city Recorder, under date of May 19, 1842.

On the twenty-sixth of May, the case of Bennett came up in the Masonic lodge, of which the doctor was a member, as were also nearly all the principal men of Nauvoo. In the presence of more than one hundred of the fraternity, he confessed his licentious practices, and acknowledged that he was worthy of the severest chastisement, yet he pleaded for mercy, and especially that he might not be published in the papers. So deep, appar-

3. “Documentary Hist. of the Church,” Vol. V, pp. 38, 39.

ently, was his sorrow, that President Joseph Smith pleaded for mercy in his behalf, and he was forgiven at that time as a Mason; but previous to this, *viz.* on the 11th of May, the First Presidency of the Church, the Twelve and the Bishop had sent a formal notice to Bennett that they could not fellowship him as a member of the Church, but they withheld the matter from publication, at his earnest solicitation, because of his mother.

John C. Bennett, however, had fallen too far to recover from the effects of his deep transgression. He suddenly left Nauvoo, and soon afterward was found plotting with the enemies of the Saints for the destruction of the Church. By this time the Masonic lodge learned that he was an expelled Mason, and had palmed himself off on the Nauvoo lodge as a Mason in regular standing, consequently he was disfellowshipped from the Nauvoo lodge, and was also cashiered by the court-martial of the Nauvoo Legion.

After he left Nauvoo, he again said that President Joseph Smith had authorized and encouraged promiscuous sexual wickedness; and when confronted with his own affidavit, which declared President Smith to be a virtuous man, and a teacher of righteousness, and upright both in his public and private character, he claimed that he was under duress when he made that affidavit. But Squire Wells, before whom Bennett had qualified to make his sworn statement went before a justice of the peace, and made affidavit that during the time the discovery of Bennett's wickedness was going on and he the while making statements favorable to the character of President Smith—and The Church—

“During all this time, if he (Doctor Bennett) was under duress or fear, he must have had a good faculty of concealing it; for he was at liberty to go and come when and where he pleased, so far as I am capable of judging.”

Squire Wells further testifies in the same statement:

“I was always personally friendly with him, after I became acquainted with him. I never heard him say anything derogatory to the character of Joseph Smith, until after he had been exposed by said Smith on the public stand in Nauvoo.”

All the members of the city council made a conjoint affidavit to the same effect.⁴ As soon as it was learned that the doctor had left Nauvoo, and was operating for the destruction of the Church, the whole case was published in the Nauvoo papers, and his wickedness made known to the world.⁵ Those whom he had involved in his vile snares, both men and women, were brought before the proper tribunals of the Church; some of them were disfellowshipped; and others, who sincerely repented, were forgiven.

Bennett in his roll of Anti-Mormon agitator and lecturer revived his charges of unchastity against President Smith and the Church leaders; alleged the practice of polygamy; the existence of the "Danites"; secret murders and designs for the overthrow of the Government of the United States! Everything in fact which gave promise of creating a sensation. He finally published a book under the title "*The History of the Saints; or an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism.*"⁶

The low ribaldry of this book alone would condemn its author in the minds of all sincere people, as being utterly untrustworthy. If it be true that "from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," and what is said reveals the state of the mind, then nothing but putrid corruption occupied the mind of Dr. Bennett.

According to Bennett's own account of himself and his connection with the people of Nauvoo, he joined the Church not because he believed its doctrines or in the sincerity of its members, but for the purpose of exposing what he suspected to be the treasonable designs of the "Mormons" against several of the "North Western States," and the purpose of the Mormon leaders to erect upon their ruin "a despotic military and religious empire, at the head of which, as emperor and pope was to be Joseph Smith, the Prophet of the Lord, and his ministers and viceroys, the apostles, high priests, elders and bishops of the Mormon Church!"⁷ To defeat these designs Bennett took upon himself the heroic mis-

4. See "Documentary Hist. of the Church," Vol. X, p. 68.

5. All the publications, affidavits and documents pertaining to this case will be found in "Documentary History of the Church," Vol. V, Chs. II and IV, and the June number of the Nauvoo "Wasp", pp. 37, 39.

6. Leland and Whiting, publishers, Boston, 1842.

7. Bennett's Expose, pp. 5, 6.

sion of joining the "Mormons" in order to "detect and expose the movers and machinery of the plot."⁸

Bennett's course in this illustrates the truth of Dr. John's declaration, that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel."⁹

It must be confessed that both President Joseph Smith and the people of Nauvoo erred greatly in their treatment of John C. Bennett, by being too indulgent and long-suffering with him. Prompter action and less trust in his professions of repentance would have been justified, much trouble prevented, and less color given to a seeming sanction of his well known immoralities. Soon after Dr. Bennett joined the Church President Smith received a communication from the vicinity of the Doctor's former home in Ohio, giving the information that Bennett had a wife and two or three children in McConnellsville, Morgan county, Ohio; and that he was a wicked man. "But knowing that it is no uncommon

8. *Ibid.*

9. H. H. Bancroft in his "History of Utah" makes the following pertinent remarks upon Bennett and his book: "The role of traitor is not one which in any wise brings credit to the performer, either from one side or the other. However great the service he may render us, we cannot but feel that he is false-hearted and vile. Many of the apostates, though they may not have written books, declare that they joined the sect only to learn their secrets and then expose them. These are the most contemptible of all. There may be cases where a young or inexperienced person, through ignorance or susceptibility, has been carried away for a time contrary to the dictates of cooler judgment; but the statements of such persons are justly regarded with more or less suspicion. Far better is it, far more honest and praiseworthy, for him who, having unwittingly made a mistake, seeks to rectify it, to go his way and say nothing about it; for if he talks of writing a book for the good of others, as a warning, and that they may avoid his errors, few will believe him. If he has proved traitor once, they say, 'he will deceive again; and if he is sincere, we cannot more than half believe him, for such an individual is never sure of himself.' John C. Bennett, general, doctor, methodist preacher, and quack, is from his own showing a bad man. He devotes some fifty pages to the vindication of his character, which would not be necessary were he honest; other fifty are given to the defaming his late worshipful patron Joseph Smith, which would never have been written were he true. When a man thrusts in your face three-score certificaets of his good character, each signed by from one to a dozen persons, you may know that he is a very great rascal. Nor are we disappointed here. This author is a charlatan, pure and simple; such was he when he joined the Mormons, and before and after. We may credit him fully when he says, 'I never believed in them or their doctrines,' although in a letter to Dr. Dyer, dated Nauvoo, Jan. 20, 1842, he declares; 'My heart is filled with indignation and my blood boils within me, when I contemplate the vast injustice and cruelty which Missouri has meted out to the great philanthropist and devout Christian, General Joseph Smith, and his honest and faithful adherents.' When however, he affects patriotism and lofty devotion to the welfare of his fellow-men, pretending to have joined the society in order to frustrate a daring and colossal scheme of rebellion and usurpation through-out the north-western states, . . . a despotic military and religious empire, the head of which, as emperor and pope, was to be Joseph Smith, we know that the writer is well aware that it is all nonsense." (History of Utah, pp. 150-1).

thing," writes the Prophet in his explanation of the matter, "for good men to be evil spoken against, the above letter was kept quiet, but held in reserve."¹⁰

The Doctor kept the fact of his marriage a secret, and began paying his addresses to a young lady, evidently intending to marry her, which President Joseph Smith observing sought to dissuade Bennett from such a course but could not succeed until he threatened to make known the communication charging the Doctor with being a married man. Shortly after this confirmation of the fact of Bennett's being a married man was received by letter from Hyrum Smith and Wm. Law written from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, where they were given further information respecting Bennett's family. Confronted with this new evidence the Doctor admitted its truth and attempted suicide by taking poison. From this he was rescued by antidotes, but only to continue his career of wickedness. Still he was borne with, in the hope of his reformation, especially by President Smith, who sought with all his might to save him but to no purpose; and mean time the Prophet brought upon himself much criticism, and by his persistent friendship for Bennett discredited himself with many both in the Church and outside of it. But loyalty to his friends, or those whom he thought to be so, was of the essence of the Prophet's nature; and truly it was a great virtue; but like many other virtues, followed to excess, it may become a vice.¹¹

In any event Dr. John Cook Bennett proved himself unworthy the sacrifices President Joseph Smith made for him.

10. Address to the Church, Joseph Smith, *Times and Seasons*, Vol. III, pp. 839-842.

11. The principle of mercy by which President Smith was actuated is very well expressed by him in an address he delivered to the Female Relief Society of the Church, on the ninth of June; and in the passage quoted he undoubtedly had in mind the case of Bennett and the criticism of himself in consequence of his excessive mercy: He said: "How oft have wise men and women sought to dictate to Brother Joseph by saying, 'O, if I were Brother Joseph I would do this and that.' "But if they were in Brother Joseph's shoes they would find that men or women could not be compelled into the kingdom of God, but must be dealt with in long-suffering, and at last we shall save them. The way to keep all the Saints together, and keep the work rolling, is to wait with all long-suffering, till God shall bring such characters to justice. There should be no license for sin, but mercy should go hand in hand with reproof." "Documentary History of the Church," Vol. V, p. 24.

HERALDIC CONSIDERATIONS

BY THE VISCOUNT DE FRONSAC

BEFORE the time of Henry VIII, the king, instead of being addressed as "Majesty" was referred to as Queen Mary with her husband Philip were known as "Sovereign Lord Highness."

"King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem and Ireland and Defender of the Faith; Princes of Spain and Sicily; Arch-dukes of Austria; Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, Brabant," etc. Charles II was known as King of Scotland, England, France, Ireland and Virginia. He was crowned in a yellow robe of Virginia silk. The Royal Arms were augmented by those of Virginia with the additional legend of, "En dat Virginia quintum."

Duke is the highest rank of the nobility in Great Britain, next in degree to Prince of the Blood Royal and the four Arch-bishops of Great Britain and Ireland. The first was Duke of Cornwall, created by charter of Edward III, 17 March, 1337, and conferred on his eldest son, Edward Plantagenet of Woodstock, surnamed "The Black Prince" (from the color of his armor). Previously Cornwall had been an earldom. When this duke was invested with his rank, in order to preserve the historic significance of duke (a military chief) he was girded with a sword. When he became Prince of Wales in 1343, he received the gold-ring and silver rod.

The present coronet of duke has eight strawberry leaves about a gold circle, five being visible; the stalks are so entwined as to give the appearance of a wreath. But the coronet of John de la Pole, K. G., Duke of Suffolk (1450) had a circle of fleur-de-lys alternating with three small balls, showing connection with the European coronet.

It was the custom to invest the Percies, Dukes of Northumberland, with the Order of the Garter. When, however, by failure of heirs male, that title passed to a family named Smithson, one of these new dukes demanded the Garter of George III, but was refused. Smithson exclaimed, "I am the first Duke of Northumberland who has been refused the Garter!" "And, replied the King, you are the first Smithson who has had the impudence to ask for it."

The above remark may be compared with that made by King James VI to an importunate petitioner who desired his son to be "made a gentleman." "I can give your son a title of nobility but the Devil himself cannot make him a gentleman," said the King. These two remarks show that there was a difference in Great Britain up to those days between noblesse-de-race and annobli potently and publically recognized.

Marquis is next to duke in degree in Britain. In England he was at first lord of the Marches, or borders. His power was abolished by statute of Henry VIII.

The first English marquise was conferred on Robert de Vere, Marquis of Dublin, in 1389, by Richard II. Was conceded the Marquisate of Dorset in 1397 to John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset.

The coronet of marquis is a gold circle enchased and jewelled, surmounted by four strawberry leaves alternating with four silver balls, over all a cap of crimson velvet turned up with ermine and tipped with a gold tassel. An earl was leader of the British nobility until 1337. He was peer of the king. The coronet of this degree is a gold circle from which arises eight points; each point tipped by a silver ball. Five points are visible from front. An earl is addressed as "Right Honorable" and "My Lord." His eldest son is a viscount; his other sons are lords "by courtesy;" his daughters are Ladies. The title of viscount is next in degree of that of earl. As the name suggests, the viscount was the co-adjutor of the count. This title was introduced into England very early. Henry VI created Lord Beaumont, K. G., viscount by letters-parent, 12 Feb., 1440.

The coronet of viscount in England, is a gold circle with

twelve silver balls placed closely together. The eldest son of a viscount is a lord; the other children are "Honourables."

The degree of baron is from the old Hispano-Gothic "*varon*"—a noble. It was a general term to connote all feudal seigneurs. In Spain those who had fiefs but were not nobles, were termed "*ricos hombres*" rich men). In England under Franco-Norman rule, all tenants in chief of the Crown were barons until the time of Richard II, who created Johan Beauchamp de Holt Baron of Kidderminster by letters-patent, since which time only those who are barons by letters-patent are recognized at court.

The ceremony of creation was performed by the King in person, who in the beginning enrobed the candidate in scarlet. This was the method until the time of James VI, when letters-patent without the ceremony were deemed all-sufficient.

Charles II conceded to the barons a coronet of gold rimmed with six silver balls, four being visible from front.

A baron is addressed as "Right Honourable," and "Trusty and well-beloved cousin," by the King, because at one time, during the feudal régime, the King found himself related to all the barons of the kingdom. This practice of extending a real relationship into a fictitious one, as at the present, in addresses to the barons of to-day, is in keeping with the character of the modern English and with the fictitious position of the Crown in the Realm.

In Great Britain and Ireland, the lowest degree of rank is that of Baronet. Sir Thomas Shirley of Wiston, in 1611, advised King James VI to create this title so as to provide for the settlement of Ulster, Ireland, and to raise that Irish District to the position of a Scottish Province. The fees charged for investiture with this title were one thousand and fifty-five guineas. It was declared that: "None shall be eligible but men of quality, state of living worthy of the same with at least a grand-father who bore arms. Each must have a certain yearly income of one thousand pounds sterling." Sir Charles Bacon, son of the Lord-Keeper, on the 22nd of May, 1611, was created the first baronet. Baronets of Ulster bear as a mark of distinction, either in a canton or in a escutcheon, the red hand of Uls-

ter, in commemoration of the settlement of Ulster for which purpose these baronets were created.

These baronets have perpetual military post of honor assigned them in the Royal Armies near the Royal Standard and for its defence.

Baronets of Nova Scotia of the Empire in America, were admitted to Scottish honors by King Charles I, in 1629.

The following orders of knighthoods have been founded in Great Britain:

In 1348, the Order of the Garter was instituted by King Edward III; the Scottish Order of the Thistle, by King James VI in 1687; the Order of St. Patrick and of St. George by King George III in 1783; the Order of the Bath in 1399; the Order of the Star of India, by Queen Victoria in 1861; the Order of St. Michael and St. George, for colonial service, in 1818.

But in spite of titles by letter-patent both of high degree and of low degree, the fact remains, that these titles, without noblesse-de-race; without the anthropological condition, are futile. Nobility of race, proven by its sixteen quarterings of feudal excellence, alone has right to participate in government with the King. Every individual of this description has a right to vote for a deputy of the nobility, or to be voted for as a representative of the noblesse in the government. And the sum-total of these deputies, chosen like the twenty-four barons of the time of King John, are alone the legitimate Peers of the King in Council of the Empire. The fictitious nobility (that on paper) the *annobli*, like the fictitious "cousining" that has gone along with it, have no more legitimate right to the function than they have to the so-called blood relationship. It is on a par with that utterly farcical "fiction" of the English law, the "King in parliament"—Heaven save the mark!

PERSISTENCE OF ARMS GREATER THAN THAT OF NAMES

The bearing of arms being a race distinction, would naturally be expected to be more persistent than that of the family name, which latter indicates descent alone from some particular person of that race. Families of different names then, have as one proof of their relationship the similarity of their blasonry.

All families that bore arms beyond a certain date, of whatever description those arms may be, are of a blood relationship; that is are of the Gothic race in one of its various offshoots. But when the arms borne by several families of different names of some one nationality of the Gothic race,—Norman, Franc, etc., are discovered to be similar, it is pertinent to look for evidence to discover if they be not one identical family under different names. It is well known that younger sons of the French Nobility so late as the XVII Century were known by the names of the estates which they inherited rather than by their family names. A stranger hearing one called Coligny and another Condé might suppose them to be of different families, when in reality they were brothers. Many a young student in American schools is not aware that Bienville, Iberville, Chateauguay and Longüeul were not only the same family but were also brothers. One fact might be noticeable in both these cases, namely, that the first two bore the Royal arms of France and in the latter case, the arms of Lemoyne. The arms in both these instances showed the relationship of those who bore them rather than the name.

Such relationship has been established in Britain between families of different names, although the custom of each member of a family taking a name from some particular feudal holding ceased before the time of Edward III.

Some of the most prominent examples of the same family under different names, showing connection by similarity of arms, are to be found scattered throughout the records of the Three Kingdoms.

Examples:—The family of Argent is armorially identical with that of De Argentan of that barony in Berri. David de Argent, brother of Geoffrey, sire de Argentine who lived in 1082, held Wyndmondley, Cambridge, by grand-serjeantry. Giles d'Argentine had writ of military summons in 1243 and Reginald, one as a baron in 1296. The English line substituted covered cups for the torteaux, as borne by the family in France, in allusion to their tenure by presentation of a cup at the Royal Coronation.

The family of Ashburnham are descended from de Criol,

having the same arms. In 1086 the Ashburnham *seigneurie* belonged to Robert, Count d'Eu from whom it was held by Robert de Criol, who held also lands in Boxhall and Hou. His son, Simon de Criol was father of Esseburne who held two fees of the Earl of Eu in 1165, and whose son, Stephen de Ashburnham confirmed to Battle Abbey the gift of land at Hou and Denne and sold lands as "S'tephen de Criol" to Roberts bridge Abbey. The name occurs in the XII Century in connection with the family as Cruel, Crieul and was the same as Criol, Kriel, a Norman baronial family of Kent derived from Robert, Count d'Eu, who had been in possession of Criol near Eu in Normandy.

The Ashburnhams bear the arms of Criol next their own. Some branches of the Criols of England bear the arms of Eu, i. e.:—bendy; and one of their blason is similar to that of the Ashburnham;—on a fess three mullets between three fluer-de-lys, which is cognizance of the Earls of Asburnham.

The family of Burke, or Burgh, traces to William FitzAdelm, trmpo Henry II. His son, Ralph de Burgo, was progenitor of Sir Alan de Aldfield who confirmed gifts made by the former at Fontaines to the Abbey. His father, William FitzAdelm, had a barony of three fees in Hants and Essex with the office of Marshal to the King, which he had obtained by marriage with the daughter of Doinall. This family had the same arms as de Vesci [who were of the elder line of the same house], namely—a cross. From this house descended the Earls of Ulster, Marquises of Clanricard and the Earls of Mayo.

Caverndish derives from Gernon, or de Montfichet. The Gernon were a branch of the Montfichet of Normandy. The Castle of Montfichet was standing for many centuries. In 1050 Robert Guernon, Baron of Montfichet witnessed a charter of Duke William. Among his sons, besides William de Montfichet, was Robert Gernon who obtained from the Conqueror a great barony in Essex in 1086. From his eldest son, William de Montfichet, descended the barons of that name whose seats were at Stantstead, Montfichet, Essex. The younger branch retained the name of Gernon. Alured Gernon, brother of William De Montfichet, had estates in Essex and Middlesex in 1130. His

son, Matthew, was father of Ralph, who in 1165, held fiefs from Montfichet in Essex and was granted Bakewell, Co. Derby, by Richard I; his second son, Godfrey, assumed the name of Caverndish from his manor at Caverndish where he resided in 1302. From him was descended Sir John Caverndish, Chief-justice in the rein of Richard II. According to all the Eastern counties' Heraldic Visitations, the Caverndishes and the Gernons bear the same arms, and were of the same race as the Montfichets. The present head of the Caverndish family is the Duke of Devonshire.

The Codringtons bear, argents, a fess gules, differenced by lions' heads, or fluer-de-lys. The de Cantelupe family of Normandy bore the same arms. In tracing back, it is found that Codrington is derived from ancient Gotherington, near Gloucester. Roger de Canteloup in 1201 had lands in Wapley and Gotherington, and with his son, Roger, made grants to St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol. Geoffrey de Codrington was grandson of Richard de Cantiloupe of Codrington. Roger de Cantiloup, ancestor of the Codringtons, was brother of William de Cantiloup, first baron of Brecknock.

The ancestor the Douglasses was Theobald le Fleming, who received about 1147 the lands at Douglas, Co. Lanark, from Arnold, Abbot of Kelso. He was brother of Baldwin le Fleming, who about the same time, was Viscount of Lanark. William FitzBaldwin, his son, held lands in Devon in 1165 with Archibald le Fleming, his cousin. From the Devonshire branch descended the le Flemings, Barons of Slane, Ireland—Baldwin le Fleming of Biggar, Viscount of Lanark, was ancestor of the le Flemings who held the earldom of Wigton in the XIV Century—Theobald le Fleming of Douglas, had a son, William, whose son Archibald was ancestor of the Earls of Douglas, Angus, Morton, Selkirk, etc. The arms of the Earls of Wigton (a cheveron) are the same as the Bethunes, or de Arras, family to which William de St. Omer belonged. Baldwin le Fleming of Biggar, whose grandfather was Archibald le Fleming, 1086, was of a branch of the house of Bethune.

The arms of Forsyth, free Barons of Dykes, Co. Lanark in 1488, contained a fess lozengé of three between three crosses-

crosslet. The banner of Charlemagne, King of the Franks, according to "*Les Drapeaux de France*," had a number of crosses-crosslet alternating with roses. The shield of the old Counts of Angoulesme was lozengé d'or and gules. This family was united by several marriage alliances with the Forsaths, Vicomtes de Fronsac. In 786 Charlemagne built the Castle on the hill of Fronsac as the capital of the military district of the West. He named it Forsith, of Forsath, after the Hero-King of the Franco-Goths of Central Europe. This Forsith had been deified as a god of war from whom Charlemagne descended. The last mention of this castle which gave a name to this family of Forsyth, may be seen in Froissart's "*Chronicles*" in relation to the Earl of Derby's invasion of Aquitaine—the English edition preserves the spelling "Forsath". In 1030, Grimouard de Forsath Vicomte de Fronsac had a daughter who married William, Count of Angoulesme. Her mother was Marie de Monténac. The Count of Angoulesme claimed a part of Fronsac from this relationship. Other claimants arose through other intermarriages with this last representative line of the old Carolingian House of Heristall. The Crown of France itself intervened, so that between all parties the castle was destroyed in the eleventh century (although rebuilt after) and the cadet line of the Forsaths, the last descendants of the Emperor Charlemagne in the male-line, was dispossessed. In 1223, the cadet, Osbert de Forsath, passed to England when the Princess Eleanor Béranger, daughter of the Count of Provence went over as the bride of the English King. His son settled in Peebles, Scotland, and was one of the feudatories of the kingdom who signed the "Ragman Roll" in 1296, as William de Forsith. His son, Robert, and grandson, Osbert de Forsyth, were at the Battle of Bannockburn and Osbert's son Robert de Forsyth was Constable of the Royal Castle and District of Stirling before 1360, direct ancestor of the Forsyths of Dykes who bore in France and later in Canada, the old title of Fronsac, and added griffins to their arms after the demi-griffin crest of Roland, nephew of Charlesmagne. The estates of Fronsac had in the meantime passed various intermarriages in female-lines into the families of Lustrec, who were Marquises de Fronsac, and

to a branch of the Bourbons who were dukes of Fronsac until it passed by a claim of the Cardinal, Duke de Richelieu, derived through his grandmother's family, into the family of Duplessis de Richelieu with the rank of Duke in 1623.

William de Graham who settled in Scotland in 1128, obtained the fiefs of Abercorne and Dalkeith. He came from Grantham, from which the Graham name is derived. The family of de Tankerville held the barony of Grantham from the Crown after 1060, and for about a century after. The Grahams and Granthams both bore in their arms, three escallops. The William Graham referred to, has been claimed to have been a younger son of Baron de Tankerville who was Senechal of Grantham. * * * The family of Tankerville is from Tancred, the Norman of 912, whose fief in Normandy was called Tancardivilla. Ralph de Tancarville was guardian to Duke William and hereditary chamberlain of Normandy and founder of Boucherville Abbey. William, his son, had Rabel, ancestor of the Chamberlains of Normandy and William de Graham from whom descended the celebrated Marquis of Montrose, and the gallant viscount Dundee.

The name Grosvenor, derived from the office of venor (hunter) to the Dukes of Normandy, is borne by the Dukes of Westminster, the Earls of Wilton and Lord Ebury. Walter de Venor was distinguished at the Battle of the Fords in 960 between Lothaire, King of France and the Normans. The ancient seat of the Venors was at Venables, near Evreux, and their gold or silver shield was charged with an azure bend, the same as the Grosvenors of England. Three brothers of this family came to England with Hugh Lupus: I. Gislebert Venator, or Venables, ancestor of the Barons of Kinderton. (The French line of le Venur also descends from him and bore for arms, argent a bend azure, fretty, d' or). II. From another brother derive the Butlers, Barons Warrington, who bore, argent, a bend azure differenced by the wheat-sheaves of Chester. III. The third brother was Ranulph, a Baron of Chester, in 1086, whose family bore d' or, a bend azure until the XIV Century. His son, Robert, in 1153, had a charter for Stanlaw Abbey. Ralph Gros-venor, his son, was ancestor of the Gros-

venors of Cheshire. In the reign of Richard II, Lord Scrope, who had the same arms, objected to the use of them by the Grosvenor family, but although at the trial, the Grosvenor right was proven beyond a doubt, yet the influence of Lord Scrope was so great, that as one of the parties has to change, Grosvenor was obliged to alter his arms.

Walter FitzAlan, created Steward of Scotland, by King David I, was ancestor of the Royal Family of Stuart, whose patronomic was derived from their office. He was son of William FitzAlan, son of Alan FitzFlaad, Baron of Oswaldestrie, Sallop and Mileham, Norfolk, who came to England with the Conqueror in 1066. Alan FitzFlaad in 1098 granted the church of Gugnau, Bretagne to the Abbey of Combourg, where the great castle of the Viscounts of Dinan existed since 1000, who were said to be descended from the Princes of Bretagne. It is well to close with "lordly Marmion," whose name haunts the page of History, Poësy and Romance. At the Battle of the Dunes in Normandy, Ralph Tesson, together with his brother, William Marmion, brought 120 knights of his dependance to the aid of Duke William in 1047. The son of William Marmion was Robert Marmion, Viscount of Fontenay le Tesson. He was one of the great lords of Normandy who followed Duke William into England in 1066, where he held seventeen fees besides the five in Normandy. The Tessons of Normandy bore gules, a fess ermine: the Marmions, vair, a fess gules. The Tessons were the greatest baronial house of Normandy and so continued until the reign of Richard I. The Tesson barony consisted in 1165 of 60 knights fees. Ralph Tesson was a Franc of Anjou in the X Century, who, with his son Ralph Taxo, a companion of Fulco, Count of Anjou, witnessed a charter of King Robert in 1028, and acquired a barony in Normandy, founding there the church of Fontenay. Not only were the Marmions descended from this great house of Tesson, but the families of Byron and Percy as well, the latter of whom sprang from Erneis Tesson, brother of Ralph and co-founder of Fontenay (1050). He had: I, William; II, Serlo, and III, Ralph de Perci, who came to England in 1066, and from whom the mighty lords of the North, the Percies of Northumberland, derive. The arms of these fam-

ilies show their common origin. The Tessons bore a fess as well as the Marmions; the Percies, a fess indented; the Percies of the South, a fess d' or barry; the Byrons, bendy, or fessy; the distinction between these is made mainly by tinctures.

Among a few examples of arms of the Feudal Régime may be cited the following:

Duke of Orleans; Azure, three fleur-de-lys d' or, between a bend argent.

John de Mundgumbrie; (1170), Azure, a fleur-de-lys d' or.
Hapsburgh; Gules, a fess argent.

Knights of St. John; Argent, a chief gules charged with a cross d' or.

Neville; Gules, a saltire argent.

Erskine; Argent, a pale sable.

St. George; Argent, a cross gules.—St. Andrew; Argent, a saltire azure.

Aragon; Paly of ten, argent and gules.

Frangipani; A franco-banzo, or free-man, ppr.

Mortimer; Barry, a chief paly, its corners gyrony d' or and azure, an escutcheon argent.

Ferrers, Earl of Derby (1246); Argent six fers-de-cheval 3, 2, 1, sable.

Beauchamp; Gules a fess between six crosses-crosslet d' or.

Royal Arms, North Wales; Four lions passant in quarterly counter-charged d' or and gules.

Royal Armes, South Wales; Gules, a lion within a bordure indented d' or.

Royal Arms Powyss; Argent, a lion sable.

Bohun: Azure, on a bend argent, cotised d' or six lioncels of the first.

HERALDRY OF THE AMERICAN PROVINCES OF THE EMPIRE

In 1492, learning and strength were walking hand-in-hand. It is recorded that a part of every knight's paraphernalia for war was a manuscript of philosophy tucked in his saddle-bag. The noblesse were feverishly alert for all manner of advancement while the churchmen, who had hitherto monopolized lit-

erary affairs, were anxious to restrain this advance. The church, seeing that the Aristocracy were striding away from superstition and prejudice through which many had been controlled, called on Bigotry as an ally.

Ferdinand and Isabella were King and Queen of Castile and Leon and in 1492 were urging on a fight against the Mohammedan civilization in Spain. A little earlier in the same epoch, the rare and radiant glories of Albegeois, Beziers and Toulouse were blotted out in blood and ruin—a calamity brought on those cities on account of their liberality, learning and religious toleration.

Count Raymond of Toulouse, the Lord of Beziers and the King of Aragon were involved in this strife, which represented the poetization of Life, Liberty and Happiness against the blind bigotry of Popedom, Slavery and Superstition.

Columbus, a descendant of Colombo, a Norman warrior, who had come into Italy with Tancred about the X Century, but whose immediate parents were of humble circumstances, sailed to the discovery of America in 1492. He was imbued with this Aryan and Oriental philosophy, which had been employed so forcibly by the Aryan Goths in the civilization of the World. His features, the aquiline nose, tall slender form, clear gray eyes, proclaimed his Gothic race from amidst the crowd of short, swart dagoes who were beginning to multiply in places of authority as the nobler race diminished and fell away.

The Spanish followed after Columbus to America first, instead of the French and German, and they came to a land called Mexico, where there was a civilization equal to their own and a history more ancient.

The Mayan Empire, which had occupied the whole of Central America, Mexico being but a province thereof, was at the height of its splendor 200 years before the Christian Era. From its national emblems which have been found on ruins discovered in the buried city of Palenki in Yucatan, this race has evidence of having been derived from the former Assyrian Empire, which at the beginning of history had been deemed to have been universal. The Assyrians were an Aryan people, but lost their power and station by an admixture with inferior races.

The national emblem of the Assyrians was a winged-lion. Their national literature was in cuneiform inscriptions. Their physiognomies are known from their sculpture. Similar representations, inscriptions and faces are found among the ruins of Palenki—winged-lion among them—suggesting a relationship between the Assyrian Empire and the Empire of the Mayans. When the Spanish landed in Mexico, that province was the largest and most flourishing State of the ancient and then dismembered Empire. The Spanish were animated but by two motives; first, the hope of plunder; secondly, for the overthrow of any other religion but their own.

All that now may be known of this ancient Mayan race, so completely blotted out, whose records were burned as heresies, is derived from its emblems carved in stone and in the legends of its cuneiform characters. The Mayans preserved enough of the essence of the Aryan within them to express the same primary ideas regarding the elements of human life. They had a landed aristocracy, purer of blood than the rest of the people, tracing their ancestry to the "children of light." Their class-color was red. The color mark of the imperial household was green.

The common class were defined in their stations. Conditions were hereditary as in Europe, and physical traits, of superiority were cultivated as natural badges or rank, with accompanying mental superiority. They had a code of honor; hospitality was a virtue, and skill in arms and in the instruments of Mayan art were accessories to a polite education.

The Spanish priests themselves have recorded, like Torquemada, of the great beauty, grace and physical symmetry of their aristocracy—the result of inherent purity of blood more than from the practice of art.

But all this was overthrown by Catholic Christian Bigotry and hate. The Imperial Family were murdered, the aristocracy decimated in battle were dispersed; the common people enslaved; their nationality effaced; the proud edifices which had withstood the hurricanes of centuries and had been respected in native warfare, were cast down; the place of cities became deserts.

To counteract to evil effect of this Catholic "Christian" influence, the Emperor, Charles V, introduced Feudal Orders in America.

After the establishment of seigneurial holdings, titles and representation in America by the Emperor Charles V, in 1540, Francis I, his rival, not only for Imperial fame, but for Imperial grandeur, commissioned from his own private purse, Jean Verazzani, as early as 1534, to discover lands in America for him. But, although Verazzani raised the Standard of Francis I, in 1534, on the shores of New Brunswick, the King of France made no effort either to colonization or for exploitation.

Henry IV, surnamed the Great, had come to the throne through the power of the Barons by tenure in France [who took the "huguenot" side of the dispute that then raged in France], to humble and drive from control the papal tyranny. Such swords as those of Condé, Coligni and Rohan engirt the throne in the name of freedom of thought.

According to precedents of the Salic and Feudal law, King Henry IV issued a commission to his first viceroy in America, the Marquis de La Roche, to divide the great fief of New France into lesser fiefs by subinfeudation to the nobility that stood next to the Crown, that any member of the same settled in the country might have the territorial sovereignty of lord and the legislative prerogative of noble, that was his birth-right in old France. For the carrying out of this the Marquis was ordered to concede, "fiefs, seigneuries, comtés, vicomtés, baronies et autres dignités relevant de Nous à la charge qu' ils serviront à l' entretient et défense desdits pays." Lareau, "Hist. du Droit Canadien," p. 159.

When Richelieu formed the Company of "One Hundred Associates" among the nobility for the government of New France, for which purpose he had obtained authority from the King, Louis XIII, he continued the concession of seigneuries. Twenty-nine of these were granted at first (Garneau. "Hist. du Canada," Vol. I, p. 171).

The earliest lordship of this description was a barony granted to William de Caen of Normandy at Cape Tourment in 1611,

The second was to Louis Hébert, Apothecaire du Roi, in the *seigneurie* of Espignay. Thus established by the sword, they were capable of supplying their own men and material for the defence of the country and for maintaining themselves independent of government, office or other commission.

These seigneurs and nobles had two separate rights:—

I. A hereditary family right derived from race-origin, prescriptive and inalienable to participate with the governor in the administration. At first five seigneurs were chosen, finally twelve as councillors representative of the nobiliary corps in the country.

II. The right of erecting their lands if of more than 3,000 acres, into seigneurial fiefs with local majestacy and captaincy.

Turcotte, in “Canada Sous L’Union,” p. 244-245, says:—“From the beginning the seigneurs had played a noble part,—that of protectors and councillors of the colonists. They had in their hands the civil and military authority which they had conquered by their education, rank and fortune. They showed themselves generous and tolerant towards their tenants and these noble qualities had been transmitted to their descendants.”

Papineau, Seigneur de Montebello, condemned the conduct of those who agitated for the abolition of seigneurial tenure, that “they were beggars for popularity.” He contended that the “Seigneur was absolute proprietor of his domain—This tenure so much decried, is founded on wisdom and justice and it is absurd to suppose that the seigneurs can be made to cede their seigneuries against their will.”—*Ibid*, p. 163.

In Louisiana comprising the states of Missouri and Arkansas and other adjacent territory, seigneuries had been conceded by the King Louis XIV in 1698. In later days Arkansas was erected into a duchy for the family of John Law, Finance-minister of France, who was of the noble family of Law of Lauriston in Scotland. Here it was also that the Baron Tonti de Paludi laid the foundation of Little-Rock, while in Missouri, Veniard, Seigneur de Bourgmond drew the outlines of his lordship on the shores of the Missouri.

EARLY RECORDS IN THE COLLEGE OF ARMS. CANADA, INTENDANT'S REPORTS. ADMINISTRATIVE RULES.

Letters of Noblesse to Le Ber de Senneville, recorded, 26 Jan. 1717.

Confirmation of Noblesse to Lemoyne de Longueuil, Lemoyne de Serigny, Lemoyne de Chateaquay.

Demands on proof of Godefroy de Tonnancous of the rights of noblesse belonging to the family 11 May, 1717.

Alex. A. D'Ailleboust, garde du corps, confirmed in status of nobility enjoyed by his ancestors and genealogy of his family recorded, 12 May 1720.

List of youth of good family requesting stations in Louisiana, Folio 416.

Berthelot created Seigneur, Folio 155.

Piere Lemoyne d'Iberville in 1690 cedes the fief of Iberville de Restigouch to Richard Denys de Fronsac. The claim to the same in 1753 of Francis Achille de Rey-Gaillard (son of Pierre de Rey-Gaillard by the widow de Fronsac by her 2nd husband.)

A royal brevet dated Versailles, 16 March 1691, confirming a grant made to heirs of Nicolas Denys de Fronsac of Mirimiehi regulated in 1690 by Frontenac and Champigny and limited by the arret due conseil of 10 April 1687 from Trout River, including the same running 1 league to the S.E. and the other 14 m. N. W. with the points and islands for 15 leagues in front to be enjoyed by him, his heirs and assigns (copied and certified by T. H. Cramahe, judge-advocate, 1764.)

NOBLE FEUDAL FIEFS CONCEDED IN CANADA, ETC.

From "Extraits de titres des anciennes concessions des terres enfief et Seigneurie" from the Register of "Foi et Homage" and the "Registers des Intendants du Roi au Canada."

La Fresnay, by Intendant Talon 3 Nov. 1672 to Gamache and Belleavance.

Sainte Claire by Frontenac 17 Mar. 1693 to Rene Le Page.

Vincelotte, by Talon to Lady Amyot, 3 Nov. 1672

St. Roch, by Lauzon to Nicholas Juchereau de St. Denis 1 Aug. 1656

Ste Anne de la Pocadiere by Talon to Lady Lacombe 29 Ocy. 1672.

Riviere Ouille by Talon to de La Bouteillerie 29 Oct. 1672

St. Denis by Frontenac to Joseph Juchereau 13 Mar 1679

Grandeville to Lady de Soulanges 5 Oct 1707

Islet du Portage by Talon to de Grandeville 29 Oct. 1672

La Chenaie by Frontenac to de Grandville 2 Juin 1696

Isle Verte by La Barre to J. B. Cote 27 Apr 1689

Villeray to Rouer

La Mitis by Frontenac to Louis Rouer 1693

Madelaine by Brisay to—Riverin 28 Mar 1689

Grand Vallee les Monts by Frontenac to F. Hazzens 23 Mar 1691

Grande Riviere by Frontenac to Jacques Cochon 31 May 1697

Grand Pabos by Frontenac to Rene Hubert 14 Nov 1696

Port Daniel by Frontenac to Rene d'Eneau 12 Dec. 1696

Pasperbiac by Rigaud to Pierre Leymar 10 Nov. 1717

Schoolbred by Dorchester to Joseph Schoolbred 14 July 1788

Cloridon to Jean C. Louet 3 June 1736

Lac Matapediach by Intendant Rochard to Nicolas J. d'Amours 26 Mar 1694

Beloeil by Frontenac to Joseph Hertel 18 Jan. 1689

Chambly by Talon to Maj. de Chambly 29 Oct. 1672

Lery by Beauharnois to Chaussegros de Lery 6 Apr 1753

Lacolle by Beauharnois to Louis de La Ronde 8 Apr 1783

Faucault by Beauharnois to Faucault 3 Apr. 1733

St. Armand by Barrin to Nicolas R. Lavasseur 23 Sept. 1789

Noyan by Beauharnois to Chavois 8 July 1743

Sabrevois by La Jonquiere to Lord de Sabrevois Nov. 1750

Bleury by La Jonquiere to Lord de Sabrevois 30 Oct. 1750

Monnoir by Rigaud to S. B. N. R. de Ramesay 25 Mar 1708

Rouville by Frontenac to J. B. Hertel 15 June 1694

St. Charles by Frontenac to Hertel de la Freniere 1 Mar 1695

Bourgmarie by Vandreuil to Marie Frezeret and brothers 1 Aug. 1708

Bonsecouers by Calieres to Charon 78 Aug 1702

St. Charles d'Yamaska by Caliere to Rene Fezeret 14 Aug 1701

Bourchamin by Frontenac to Y. F. Bourchemin 22 June 1696
Ramesay to de Ramesay 17 Aug 1710 (see p. 90)

St. Hyacinthe by Barrin to F. R de Vaudreuil 23 Sept. 1751

Deguis by La Jonquiere to Joseph Deguis 23 Sept. 1751

St. Etienne by Beauharnois to F. E. Cugnet 7 Oct 1737

Jolliet by Frontenac to Louis Jolliet 30 Aug. 1697

Ste Marie de La Beauce by Beauharnois to Lord Taschereau
23 Sept. 1736

St. Joseph by Beauharnois to Rigaud de Vaudreuil 23 Sept 1736

Vaudreuil by Beauharnois to Fleury de la Gorgendiere 23 Sept. 1736

Gallion by Beauharnois to Lady Aubert 24 Spt 1736

Lisle by Beauharnois to J. Fleury de la Gorgendiere 24 Sept 1736

St. Paul by Rigaud to Amador Godefroy 20 May 1706

Perrot by Talon to—Perrot 29 Oct 1672

Bizaud by Frontenac to—Bizard 24 Oct 1678

Isle St. Paul by the King to Lord Le Bar 23 Apr 1700

Isle St. Paul by the King Claude Robertel de St. Andre 18 July 1676

Isle Bouchard by Talon to—Fottel 3 Nov. 1672

Isle Ste Therese by Talon to Dugue 3 Nov. 1672

Isle Bourdon by Talon to Lord de Repentigny 3 Nov. 1672

Isle Beauregard by Frontenac to Lord de Beauregard 19 Oct 1685

Isle du Lac St. Pierre by Frontenac to Volant de Radisson,
19 Oct. 1697

Isle Moran by Talon to Sieur Moran 29 Oct. 1672

Isle du Large by Frontenac to Lady de Lanaudiere 6 Apr 1697

Isle deOrleans to Castillon 28 Mar 1674

Isle Ste Marguerite by Frontenac to Lord de Grandville 5 Nov. 1698.

Anticosti by Duchesneau to Louis Jolliet Mar. 1680

Isle de Mignan to Lalande and Jolliet 10 Mar. 1677

Guillaudiere by Talon to L. Borney de Grandemaison 3 Nov. 1672

Vercheres by Talon to Lord de Vercheres 29 Oct. 1672

Bellevue by Talon to Lord de Vitre 3 Nov. 1672

Contrecoeur by Talon de Contrecoeur 29 Oct. 1672

St. Denis by Frontenac to Louis de Gaune de la Falaise 20 Sept. 1694

St. Ours by Talon to Lord de St. Ours 29 Oct. 1672

Sorel by Talon to Lord de Sorle 21 Oct. 1672

Yamaska to Lord de La Valiere 24 Sept. 1683

St. Francis by Frontenac to Sieur Crevier 8 Oct. 1678

Lussandiere by La Barre to La Motte de Ludiere 18 May 1694

Bais St. Antoine by La Barre to Sieur Lafevbre 4 Sept. 1683

Courval by Duquesne to Sieur Cresse, 4 Nov. 1680

Isle de la Fourche by Frontenac to Sieur Cresse 4 Nov. 1680.

Roquetaillarde by Frontenac to Louis Godefroy 22 Nov. 1673

Godefroy by Montmagny to Sieur Godefroy 31 Nov. 1638

Barony of Becancour by the Compagny to Rene Robineau 16 Apr 1647

Dutort to Hertel de Cournoyer (records burned)

Gentilly by Duchesneau to M. Pelletier 14 Aug. 1676

St. Pierre Les Becquets by LaBarre to Sieur Lavrard 27 Apr 1689

St. Jean Deschaillons to Lord de St. Ours 27 Spr 1674

Lotbiniere by Talon to Sieur Chartier 1672

Maranda by Talon to Sieur Dugnet 29 Oct 1672

Gaspe by Beauharnois to Lady Aubert 27 Mar. 1738 (see p. 92)

Lauzon by the Company to Simon le Maitre 15 June 1636

Monta peine to Ch. Denys de Vitre 24 Sept. 1683

Vincennes by Talon to Sieur Bissot 3 Nov 1672

Livaudiere by Beauharnois to Sieur Pean 20 Sept. 1734

Baumont by Talon to Sr. des Isles 3 Nov. 1672

Riviere du Sud by the Company to Lord de Montmagny 5 May 1646

Fournier by Talon to Sieur Fournier 3 Nov. 1672

Belleavance by Frontenac to Louis Gagnier 3 Apr 1675

- Perthuis by Duquesne to Sieur Perthuis 11 Oct. 1753
Jaccartier by the Company to Lady Gagnier widow of Y.
Clement de Wauls Chev. de Monceanx, 29 Mar. 1659
Belair (les Ecureuils) by Talon to Sieur Toupin 3 Nov. 1672
Neuville by the Company to Jean Bourdon 16 Dec. 1653
Bourglouis by Beauharnois to Louis Fournel 14 May 1741
Guillaumebonhomme by Lefevre to Guillaume Bonhomme
24 Nov. 1682
Fossambault by Frontenac to Sieur de Garderville 20 Feb.
1693
St. Gabriel by the Company to Lord Gifford 16 Apr. 1647
Hubert by Frontenac to R. L. Hubert 10 June 1698
Epinay by Ventadour to Louis Hebert 27 Feb. 1626
Countship of Orsainville by the King to Talon 1672
Beauport by the Company to Robert Gifford 31 Dec. 1635
Beaupre by the Company to Chessault de la Regnardiere 15
Jan 1636
LeGouffre by LaBarre to Pierre Dupre 30 Dec. 1682
Les Eboulement to Pierre Tremblay 3 Apr 1723
Malbey by Murray to Capt. John Nairne 27 April 1762
Mount Murray by Murray to Lieut Malcolm Fraser 27 Apr
1762
Lussan by Talon to Lord de St. Lussan 7 Nov. 1672
Mille Vacher to R. Gifford de Beauport by Lauzon 15 Nov.
1653
Mingan by the Company to Fr. Bissot 25 Fen. 1661
Marquisate of Beauharnois by the King to M. de Bousche de
Beauharnois and his brother Claude de Beaumont 12 Feb. 1729
Chateauguay to Lemoyne de Longueuil 29 Sept. 1673
La Salle by LaJonquiere to J. B. le Ber de Sanneville
20 Apr. 1750
Barony of Longueuil by the King to Charles Lemoyne 26 Jan.
1700
Varrennes by Talon to Sieur Gaultier 29 Oct. 1672
Boucheville by Talon to Pierre Boucher 3 Nov. 1672
Montarville by Vaudreuil to Sieur Boucher 11 Oct 1710
LaTrinite to Simon Denys 3 Apr. 1672

Nouvelle-Longueuil to J. Lemoyne by Beauharnois 21 April
1734

Vandreuil by Calieres to M. de Vandreuil 12 Oct. 1702

Soulanges by Calieres to P. J. M. de Joybert 12 Oct. 1702

Argenteuil to Pierre L. Panet 7 Mar. 1725

Terrebonne by the Rigaud to Dantres Deslandes 23 Dec. 1673

LaChesnaye by the Company to Pierre le Gardeur 16 Apr
1647

LaValtrie by Talon to Lord de Merganne 27 Oct. 1672

LaNoraie by de Brisay to Lord de Lanaudiere 7 Apr 1 1688

Dautre by the Company to Jean Bourdon 1638

Vincennes by Talon to Sieur Bissot 3 Nov. 1672

Livaudiere by Beauharnois to Sieur Pean 20 Sept. 1644

Beaumont by Talon to Sieur des Ilets 3 Nov. 1672

St. Michel by Talon to Lord de la Durantage 29 Oct. 1672

St. Michel by Duquesne to Lady La Martinere 20 Sept. 1752

St. Vallier by Talon to Lord de la Durantaye 20 Oct. 1672

St. Vallier by Frontance to Lord de la Durantaye 1 May
1693

Ballechasse by Talon to Chas. Berthier 29 Oct. 1672

Riviere de Sud by the Company to Lord de Montmagny 5
May 1646

Epinay by Caliere 7 April 1701

Ste Claire by Frontenac to Rene Lepage 17 Mar 1696

Vincelotte by Talon to Lady de Chavigny 3 Nov. 1672

Madamaska by LaBarre to Ch. Aubert de la Chenaye 25 Nov.

1683

Matane by Talon to Matheu d'Amours 8 Nov. 1672

Bonsecours by Duchesneau to Fr. Belanger 1 July 1677

Islet St. Jean by Frontenac to Lady Couillard 17 May 1670

Lessard by Frontanc to Pierre Lessard 3 June 1698

St. Jean Port Joly by Frontenac to Noel Langois 25 May
1677

Reaume by Frontenac to Marie A. Juchereau de LaCombe
6 Mar, 1677

St. Roch des Aulnais by Lauzon to N. Juchereau de St. Denis
1 Aug. 1656

Ste. Anne de la Pocatiere by Talon to Lady Anne Juchereau de la Combe 29 Oct. 1672

Bouteillerie by Talon to M. de la Bouteillerie 2 Oct. 1672

“ by La Jonquiere to Lady Boishebert 2 Oct. 1750

Kamouraska by Frontenac to Lord de la Durantaye 15 July 1674

Granville by Vandreuil to Lady de Soulanges 5 Oct. 1707

Islet du Portage by Talon to Lord de Granville 29 Oct. 1672

Verbois by the Company to Sr. Dionis 15 Nov. 1673

Riviere du Loup by the Company to Aubert de la Chesnaye 23 Dec. 1673

Parc and Villeray by the Company to Daulier du Parc 23 Dec. 1673

Isle Verte by La Barre to Rouer de La Cordoniere and d'Ar-tigny 26 April 1684

Trois Pistoles to Ch. Denys de Vitre 6 June 1687

Trois Pistoles by La Jonquiere to N. Rioux 6 April 1751

Rimouski by Denonville to Lady La Cardonniere 24 Apr 1088

Lamolaie to P. Gessart and lady 8 May 1696

Lepage to Louis Lepage 14 Nov. 1696

Thibierge to Gabriel Thibierge 18 Nov. 1696

Neveu by Beauharnois to J. B. Neveu 4 July 1739

Antayo by Talon to Lord de Comporte 29 Oct. 1672

Raudin by Talon to M. Raudin 3 Nov. 1672

Chicot by Talon to Sieur Dupas 3 Nov. 1672

L'Etage by Beauharnois to A. Dandonneau 15 Aug 1739

Carufel by Rigaud to J. Sicard 21 Apr 1705

Lanaudiere by La Jonquiere to C. F. Tarieu 1 Mar 1750

Riviere du Loup by La Barre to Sieur Le Chasseur 20 April 1633

Grandpre by Frontenac to P. Boucher 30 July 1695

Grosbois by Talon to J. Boucher 3 Nov. 1672

Dumontier to Sieur Dumontier 24 Oct. 1708

Gatineau by Talon to Sieur Boucher 3 Nov. 1672

Tonnancour by Beauharnois to R. Godefroy 3 Nov. 1734

Vieupont to Jos. Godefroy 23 Aug. 1678

Labadie by Talon to Sieur Labadie 3 Nov. 1672

Ste. Marguerite by Frontenac to J. Dubois de Bouquenet 27 July 1691

Champlain by de Mezy to E. Pezard de la Touch 22 Sept. 1664

Ste Marie by Talon to Sieur Lemoyne 3 Nov. 1672

La Tesserie by Talon to Lady de la Tesserie 3 Nov. 1672

LeChevrotiere to Lord de Chavigny 1650

Deschambeau by Lauzon to Lady Eleanor de Grandmaison 1 May 1652

Barony dePortneuf by the Company to LeGardeur de Croisille 16 April 1647.

HISTORIC VIEWS AND REVIEWS

MR. WILLIAM S. PELLETREAU, of the National Americana Society, has compiled the following interesting sketch of the career of Stephen Sayre, the Long Island boy who became High Sheriff of London, and who, because of his sympathies for the Americans in their fight for independence, was afterwards charged with high treason.

STEPHEN SAYRE, OF LONG ISLAND

Stephen Sayre was born in South Hampton, Long Island, in 1745, to which place his ancestors came from Lynn, Mass., in 1640. He visited England when about thirty years of age, where he married an English lady of rank, by whom he acquired a handsome fortune. (From the Annual Register 1775: Married—Stephen Sayre Esq. banker, in Oxford Street, to Miss Noel, daughter of the Hon. William Noel Esq.) His acquaintance became extensive, and this, with his very popular manners, caused him to be chosen High Sheriff of the city of London, with William Lee, a brother of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, under the celebrated John Wilkes, in 1774. Having become a banker, he was particularly in the confidence of the Earl of Chatham, at a critical period. His zeal for the independence of his native country was unmeasured. In October, 1775, he was arrested on a charge of high treason, made against him by an adjutant in the royal guards, named Richardson, also an American. He charged Sayre with having asserted that he and others intended to seize the King on his way to Parliament, to take possession of the town, and to overturn the present government. Mr. Sayre was known to be a friend of the patriots, and on this charge Lord Rockford, one of the secretaries of state, caused his papers to be seized and himself to be arrested. He was committed to the Tower, from which he was released by Lord Mansfield, who

granted a writ of habeas corpus. Subsequently he was tried and acquitted. He prosecuted Lord Rockford for seizing his papers, and the court awarded him a verdict of 5,000 pounds damages, conditional upon his proving his loyalty to the King. The condition proved a bar to his recovery of the money, and he was obliged to suffer a heavy pecuniary loss in costs, beside the personal indignity. His confinement produced his ruin.

HIS LATER ACTIVITIES.

His banking-house failed, he lost everything, and was obliged to leave England. He was employed by Dr. Franklin upon several important missions, and was for some time his private secretary. In 1777 he accompanied Arthur Lee on his mission to the court of Frederick the Great, and was there at the time of the robbery of the American Legation. Wraxall, who was in Berlin at the time, in his "Posthumous Memoirs," attributed it to the British Minister. There is extant a MS. narrative on the subject, drawn up by Mr. Sayre himself, in the possession of William J. Duane, Esq., of Philadelphia. After leaving Berlin, at the time of the first suggestion of the project of armed neutrality, Mr. Sayre visited Copenhagen, Stockholm and St. Petersburg, and in each of these capitals procured ample supplies for the support of American independence.

After the peace of 1783, Mr. Sayre and his wife, Elizabeth, returned to this country, with their only son, Samuel Wilson Sayre, and purchased Point Breeze, near Bordentown, afterwards part of the Bonaparte Park. In 1795 he was an active opponent of the administration of General Washington and had a large share in the attacks on "Jay's Treaty."

On the 28th of December, 1801, the trustees, Stephen and Elizabeth Sayre, conveyed Point Breeze to their son, Samuel Wilson Sayre, and on the 2nd of May, 1803, Samuel Wilson re-conveyed the property to William Burns, of Bordentown, in trust for his mother, Elizabeth Sayre. From that time until July 2nd, 1816, Stephen Sayre and family occupied the Park. He had a race-course on part of what is now occupied by the shirt manufacturing company's buildings. Afterwards his son,

Samuel Wilson, went to Virginia, where he married a daughter of Philip Lightfoot Grymes, of Brandon, Middlesex County. She died early, leaving one daughter, Mary, who married Carter Braxton, and had many children, all daughters. He afterwards married Virginia Bassett, by whom he had ten children. Four grew to manhood—two are now living, viz.: Burwell Bassett Sayre, of Frankford, Ky., and William Sayre, of Charleston, S. C. The former has two children, Virginia and Elizabeth; the latter has one child. “Stephen Sayre,” says Mr. Read, “at one time lived in Richmond, Va., where it was understood he was an agent of Miranda. He and his wife died within a few hours of each other, at an advanced age, at the house of their son, S. W. Sayre, at Brandon. They were buried together, on the estate, one funeral service being said for both.” S. W. Sayre died at the same place, December, 1824.

Mr. William Duane, of Philadelphia, found among his father’s papers a pass permitting Stephen Sayre to leave Paris. It was signed by Robespierre and the chiefs of the French Revolution, in red ink—very significant of the bloody hands of the signers.

A “RUSH” LETTER SOLD

A long and interesting letter of Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was recently sold at auction. It is dated Philadelphia, March 9, 1790, is addressed to his sister-in-law, Miss Stockton, and in part is as follows:

This is the anniversary evening of the favorable issue of that illness in which you bore so distinguished a part as a friend and a nurse two years ago. Many of the ideas of that memorable period have lately been familiar to me. The vanity of wealth, the littleness of greatness, the value of time, the evil of sin, the goodness of God, and the grace of a Redeemer have all appeared to me lately, nearly in as strong a light as when I saw them through the curtain of death on the 9th of March, 1788.

I have felt in a particular manner a sense of my obligation to God, in having spared me a little longer to my family. My dear Julia has manifested in a thousand instances how much she merited all the affection. I felt for her in my sickness. I can never forget the anguish of my soul one day in discovering her

eyes fixed intently upon me, as I lay panting for breath under the exquisite pain of my side and head.

“Don’t look at me, my dear,” said I, “for I no longer belong to you!”

“What, then,” said she, “may I not look at you notwithstanding?”

“No,” said I, “you must not, for you look at me as if you still loved me, and that distresses me.”

My children discover daily how much they require the advice and authority of a father, and how much they would have suffered by my death.

Dr. Rush was 45 years old when this letter was written. He lived for twenty-three years more, dying in Philadelphia on April 10, 1813. He was not only a distinguished patriot, but an eminent physician. It was he who, about 1785, proposed in Philadelphia the establishment of the first dispensary in the United States. He was a firm supporter of the National Constitution. During the prevalence of yellow fever in Philadelphia in 1793 it is said that only he treated it successfully, and it was estimated that he saved from death no fewer than 6,000 persons. In one day he treated 100 patients.

ORIGIN OF ARBOR DAY

Although Arbor Day is being observed throughout the United States by universities and school children very few persons understand its real significance or how the idea came to be originated. Not only in the United States has the day come to be observed, but in Europe, Japan and Australia. The idea of planting trees by young children is held to instill in them the love of trees and forestry and to impress upon them that it is better to preserve our forests than to destroy them; also to endeavor to restore the trees by systematic planting which devastation and waste have deprived the Nation of. In the United States Arbor Day is observed in Texas in February, while in Nebraska and

the Middle West April has been selected as the best month for planting. In New York State May is the time. As November is the Emperor's birthday Japan makes that its national day for tree planting.

As far back as 1854 the seed of this national celebration was sown. In that year J. Sterling Morton, first Governor of Nebraska, and later Secretary of Agriculture in Cleveland's second Cabinet, emigrated from Detroit to Nebraska, which then was a wind-swept prairie.

He bought 160 acres of land on the California trail, the favorite pathway for settlers and prairie schooners on their way to Pike's Peak and the Far West, and on a knoll he built a log shack that served for his home. Other settlers took up land about the Morton farm and their first crop showed that they could support themselves. From that time the future of Nebraska as an agricultural State was assured.

Mr. Morton then set the standard for scientific farming in Nebraska, and one of the first things he impressed on people was the importance of tree planting. He imported trees of all kinds, some for fruit, some for shade, some for wood and he preached on the value of the tree year in and year out. His four sons, Joy, Paul (now president of the Equitable Life Assurance society), Carl and Mark, heard tree planting all their lives, and it bore fruit. All his life the father imported rare species of trees into Nebraska. Those set down as impossible of growing in Nebraska by the State Horticultural Society were made to thrive under his wizard hand. For years he was president of the State Agricultural Society.

The idea of setting apart a day each year for tree planting was given by him to the State Horticultural Society in 1872, and the same year the plan was adopted by the State Board of Agriculture, which offered a prize of \$100 to the county agricultural society planting the most trees on that day, and a farm library, worth \$25, to the individual farmer setting out the most trees. Stimulated by the offer, the first Arbor Day in Nebraska resulted in the setting out of more than 1,000,000 trees. That first Arbor Day was April 10, 1872. In March, 1874, J. Sterling Mor-

ton's birthday, April 22, was set apart as Arbor Day by the Governor of Nebraska.

THE BURR-HAMILTON DUEL

In view of the uncertainty that has existed in some quarters as to the movements of Burr and Hamilton during the hours immediately preceding the duel, the following letter, written to the *New York Sun* by Mr. C. L. C. Ditmars, will be read with interest:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir*: In THE SUN of November 22 Mr. A. C. Furlong, of Columbia University, says that Aaron Burr spent the night before his duel with Alexander Hamilton in the old house at the northeast corner of Amsterdam avenue and 160th street, and that both Burr and Hamilton kept their movements secret after the duel was arranged.

As a matter of fact neither of Mr. Furlong's statements is accurate. Burr spent the night before the duel in his home known as Richmond Hill, in Greenwich village, now the lower west side of Manhattan; and he left the house early on the morning of the duel and was rowed across the North River to the duelling ground on the Elysian Fields. After the duel he quietly returned to his home and awaited results. Burr did not reside on Washington Heights until he was an old man, which was many years after the duel with Hamilton.

Hamilton left for the duelling ground from the old house yet standing on Convent avenue which was his home. After the duel he was taken to the home of his physician in lower Manhattan.

Neither Burr nor Hamilton concealed his movements after the challenge was accepted. On the contrary, they both attended a banquet of St. Andrew's Society a few days before the duel; and Hamilton sang a song there in response to an invitation. Each of these enemies glanced at the other, but no word passed between them.

I respectfully refer Mr. Furlong to James Parton's life of Aaron Burr, which is considered to be a standard life of the subject.

THE SOURCE OF A LINCOLN STORY

In connection with the recently published "Life and Letters of James Wolfe," by Beckles Willson, the story is told of tracing back to its source a well known Lincoln story.

Every one has heard the anecdote of President Lincoln and the persons who complained to him that Gen. Grant not only drank whiskey, but even got drunk. "I wish," replied the President thoughtfully, "I knew what brand of whiskey Grant uses. I'd sent a barrel apiece of it to the other Generals."

But the corollary to the story: According to a man who was a telegrapher during the war Lincoln was in the telegraph office waiting for news from the front when some one mentioned the story of Grant and the whiskey and taxed him with being the author of it. Lincoln replied that he could not lay claim to being the author; in fact he had simply adapted an old story to new conditions. The same story, in one form or another, he had found repeated for generations, having for his own satisfaction traced it back to the days of Gen. Wolfe. Some one in the presence of George III. spoke of Wolfe as a madman.

"Mad?" said the King. "Is he mad? Then I wish he'd bite the other Generals."

A FAMOUS EXPEDITION RECALLED

Major-Gen. Wesley Merritt and Brig.-Gen. Eugene A. Carr, who became prominent in the civil war and later through their service with the old Fifth Cavalry in Indian fights, died within a day of each other last December, Gen. Merritt at Natural Bridge, Va., and Gen. Carr in Washington. Gen. Merritt was in command of the Fifth Cavalry from July 1, 1876, until he was given a star on April 16, 1887. He was the fourth colonel of the regiment. While Gen. Merritt was its commander, Gen. Carr was second in command, and had at various times before Gen. Merritt's connection with it been in charge during the absence of its colonel. Both officers served with the Fifth Cavalry in the Big Horn and Yellowstone expedition against Sitting Bull from August 4 until October 24, 1876. Of the twenty-eight officers who

took part in that expedition while serving with the regiment, only four are now on the active list of the army. Fifteen have died, three resigned their commissions, four are on the retired list, and two were dismissed. The four retired officers are Capt. Samuel S. Sumner, a son of the late Gen. Edwin V. Sumner, who has the rank of major-general on the retired list; Capt. Edward M. Hayes, now a brigadier-general, retired; First Lieut. Charles King, adjutant, now captain on the retired list, and First Lieut. Charles D. Parkhurst, a colonel on the retired list.

A MARTHA WASHINGTON LETTER

A fine specimen of rare autograph, a two-page quarto letter of Martha Washington, dated Philadelphia, Feb. 10, 1793, written while George Washington was President, was sold recently by Stan. V. Henkels. It is addressed to Mrs. Francis Washington and is a letter full of sympathy. It is accompanied by a letter of John Burkhardt, giving a history (Henkels calls it "a very scaley one") of how he came into possession of it. He says that it was found near the Washington mansion at Mount Vernon by a member of his company, (Company F, 146th Indiana Regiment,) who presented it to him. Mrs. Washington's letter is as follows:

"Since my last, your letter of the 25th January is come to hand. I am sincerely sorry to hear that the poor Major's complaints continue. The Allwise disposer of events only can relieve him and I trust He will in his good time deliver him from his great distresses and difficulties. I am sorry Dear Little Charles is not well, the Season of the year is bad for all complaints, the weather being so warm; it is happy for you that Marie and Fayette keep well, indeed My Dear Fanny I am very glad to hear from you and am pleased that kind providence has enabled you to support yourself under your great affliction. I can with the greatest truth assure you that the President and myself feel very sincerely for you in your heavy affliction and will take pleasure in doing everything we can do make your troubles as light to you as we can. Thank God we are all well—if Patty Dandridge can be useful to you I hope she will stay with you.

“I will, my dear Fanny, have you a bonnet and cloak made and sent by the first opportunity. At this time there is no vessel here for Richmond, but I expect there will soon be, as the river is free from ice, which is a very uncommon thing at this season of the year. My love [to] the Major and a kiss to the children, in which the President joins me. My love to your brothers and sisters, and to Patty Dandridge; tell her that her brother is very well. Nelly and Washington send their love to you and children, and that you may be enabled to keep your health is the prayer of your most Affectionate.”

WASHINGTON'S ARTIFICIAL TEETH

It may not be generally known that the Father of his Country was one of the first Americans to wear artificial teeth. By the time the War of the Revolution had ended he had parted company with most of the outfit which nature had given him. An ingenious physician and a dentist of New York City undertook the unusual task of re-equipment, and produced at length a full set of artificial teeth, says *Harper's Weekly*. These are now, of course, a dental curiosity, and offer an additional proof of the heroism of our first President, for it is a matter of fact that General Washington wore those teeth for many years, and, so far as we know, never complained of them.

The teeth were carved from ivory, and riveted, wired and clamped to a somewhat ponderous gold plate. Three large clamps, in particular, figure conspicuously in the roof of the mouth, and must have caused difficulty, if not anguish. There were an upper and an under set, and the two were connected and held in position relatively by a long spiral spring on each side.

Nevertheless, Washington wore them long and well, a fact sufficiently attested by the worn and dented condition of both teeth and plate. At the last account these teeth were the property of a dental institution in Baltimore.

THE MARCH FROM VALLEY FORGE

Hon. William H. Pelletreau, of the National Americana Society, supplies us with the following record of the march of the American Army from Valley Forge to White Plains. It is copied from a Sargeant's orderly book now in possession of

Mr. Walter Brewster, of Brewsters, Putnam County, N. Y.
The record is as follows:

Valley Forge, July 18, 1778. The whole army to march to-morrow morning.

July 19th. Dr. Shannons.

July 20th. Burlingham.

July 21st. Cargell's Ferry.

July 23rd. Hart's House.

July 25th. Kingston.

July 26th. Cranberry.

July 29th. Freehold. Congratulated on victory Monmouth Court House.

July 30th. Englishtown.

August 1st. Spotswood.

August 2nd. Brunswick.

August 3rd. Brunswick Landing.

August 4th. Rantin Landing.

August 7th. Scotch Plains.

August 8th. Springfield.

August 10th. Second River.

August 11th. Sloatstown.

August 12th. Paramus.

August 14th. Kakiat (now New City).

August 16th. King's Ferry (now Stony Pt.).

August 19th. To march to White Plains.

August 22nd. Wright's Mills (Kensico).

August 27th. White Plains.

MAY, 1911

AMERICANA

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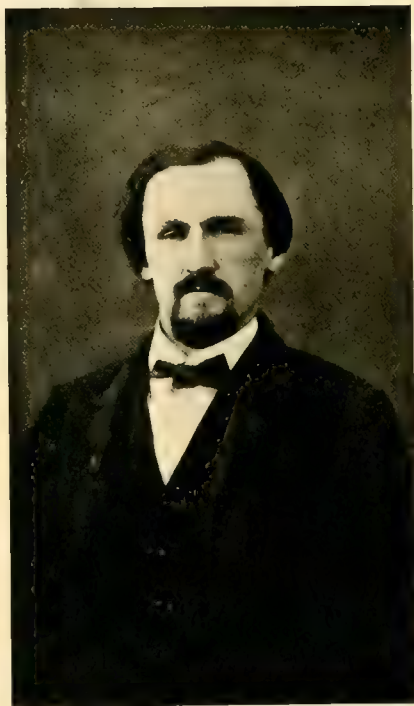
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CAPT. JOHN Y. BEALL
Taken three hours before his death

AMERICANA

May, 1911

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND THE CASE OF JOHN Y. BEALL

BY ISAAC MARKENS

"The proceedings, finding and sentence are approved and the accused John Y. Beall will be hanged by the neck till he is dead, on Governors Island, on Friday the 24th day of February, 1865."

SUCH was the endorsement dated February 18, of John A. Dix, Major General commanding the Department of the East on the proceedings of a military commission convened by his order, in the city of New York for the trial of Beall for violation of the laws of war and acting as a spy. Beall's execution in conformity with the sentence, was therefore the first incident of the kind in the vicinity of New York since that of Nathan Hale eighty-nine years before. From the beginning of the war Beall had engaged in exciting adventure but of a character in keeping with his reputation as a man of refinement and culture. Towards the close he swerved from what was deemed consistent with lawful warfare and for this he paid the penalty with his life.

One of the most interesting phases of Beall's case was its disclosure of President Lincoln in a light that refutes most forcibly the popular impression of his pliancy, lacking in backbone and as easily swayed by appeals for mercy in spite of his four years' previous temporizing with transgressors of every conceivable type. In no instance was his firm and unimpressible side so strikingly demonstrated as in the case of Beall when Heaven and earth were moved to save the life of a brave but misguided soldier. Never before did Lincoln so turn a deaf ear to supplications from all quarters without regard to party, rank or station.

“For days before the execution,” it was said “the President closed the doors of the executive palace against all suppliants, male or female, and his ears against all appeals, whether with the tongue of men or angels in behalf of the unfortunate prisoner. From the first Mr. Lincoln had responded to all applications for his interposition—‘Gen. Dix may dispose of the case as he pleases—I will not interfere!’ Gen. Dix on his part replied ‘All now rests with the President—as far as my action rests there is not a gleam of hope.’ Thus they stood as the pillars of the gallows, on which Beall’s fate was suspended and between them he died.”

The man who thus wrought a change in the attitude of the chief magistrate, heretofore so susceptible, John Y. Beall, was one of seven children of a prominent family of Jefferson County, Va. He inherited wealth and social position, was of exemplary habits, well-read, active in Church work and of philosophic mind. He had taken a three years course in the University of Virginia and while there studied law. A man of action, enamored of movement and change he joined a Virginia regiment early in the war, and was shortly thereafter wounded in the lungs. Thus incapacitated from regular service he embarked in a series of independent enterprises which culminated in his tragic death. He passed much of his time in Canada, the rendezvous of Confederate agents and sympathizers and it was there, presumably, that he conceived the idea of privateering on the Lakes, levying and burning some of the adjacent cities and releasing Confederate prisoners on Johnson’s island in Lake Erie. He flitted between Canada and Richmond, held conferences with the Confederate authorities and was finally given a commission as acting master of the Confederate Navy. As such he soon attracted attention by numerous exploits in Chesapeake Bay and adjacent waters, such as the capture of little Yankee vessels with prisoners and stores, cutting submarine telegraph cables and partially destroying Cape Charles Light House. He was eventually caught, placed in irons in Fort McHenry and when released joined an organization of Confederates armed with revolvers and hatchets who captured two regular freight and passenger steamers on Lake Erie, confis-

ated the cargoes and money, scuttled one of the steamers and put all on board under duress.

Thus far Beall's exploits while reprehensible were far less open to censure than his subsequent doings which comprised three attempts to derail passenger cars near Buffalo, N. Y., with a view of liberating a number of Confederate officers—prisoners of war—being transferred from Johnson's Island to Fort Warren, Boston harbor. By what psychological process this man of excellent antecedents could be brought to engage in operations of this character surpasses comprehension. The fact remains that after two unsuccessful attempts and escape, he was after the third operation on December 14th, 1864, caught while lingering at the railroad station at Suspension Bridge, N. Y., by a local policeman, all of his companions having escaped. He was sent to New York, confined in Police Headquarters and then lodged in Fort Lafayette in the lower bay. There he occupied a room with Gen. Roger A. Pryor recently captured in Virginia. Beall wished Pryor to act as his counsel. Charles A. Dana, as assistant secretary of war objected on the ground that "under no circumstances can a prisoner of war be allowed to act as counsel for a person accused of being a spy." Thereupon James T. Brady, a foremost member of the New York bar, was selected as Beall's counsel. Five witnesses testified for the prosecution. No witnesses were offered by the defense. Brady contended that Beall was no spy nor was he amenable to a military commission. The Judge Advocate, Major John Bolles took the ground that there was nothing of Christian Civilization and nothing of regular warfare in Beall's operations. Beall's conviction followed in quick order and he requested his friend to send to the President a copy of the record of the trial and attach to it this statement: "Some of the evidence is true, some false. I am not a spy or guerrillero. The execution of the sentence will be murder."

Beall's friends were aroused to action, either through Gen. Dix or President Lincoln. It was manifest from the first of Beall's life rests with the former there was no escape. Dix, the man of resolution and iron-will, author of the famous order promulgated on the eve of the war—"If any one attempts to haul down the American flag shoot him on the spot!" was none of

the yielding kind. Moreover in his approval of the death sentence he had said that "a want of flexibility in executing the sentence of death would be against the outraged civilization and humanity of the age" and let it be understood from the start that he would not recede.

At this point the tide turned in the direction of the White House with two close friends and schoolmates of Beall in the University of Virginia in the lead—Albert Ritchie in later years Judge of the Baltimore Supreme Court and James A. L. McClure at a subsequent period prominent in Maryland politics. Andrew Sterrett Ridgely of Baltimore, son-in-law of Reverdy Johnson, was an early caller on the President in behalf of Beall, the result of which confirmed him that Dix was to have his way. Francis L. Wheatly, a leading Baltimorean, went to Washington and joined numerous New Yorkers in a conference with the President. Congressman R. Mallory, of Kentucky, and a party of ladies were received by Mr. Lincoln. There was in Washington at this time Orville H. Browning of Illinois, a close personal friend of the President who had served in the United States Senate as successor of Stephen A. Douglas and his services were retained by Beall's friends. Browning prepared a statement to be laid before the President and called at the White House with Ritchie and others. At one of these interviews Browning was closeted for an hour with the President. On another visit he brought with him a petition bearing the signature of 85 members of the House and another signed by 6 members of the Senate many of which were obtained by the aid of the Rev. Dr. John J. Bullock, of the Franklin Street Presbyterian Church of Baltimore. These petitions together with a letter of Browning, all hitherto unpublished read as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 17, 1865.

THE PRESIDENT:

Capt. John Y. Beall has been tried by a court martial at New York, found guilty and sentenced to be hung as a spy and guerrilla.

The sentence was approved by Major General Dix on the 14th Feb'y, and directed to be carried into execution tomorrow the 18th.

This is brief time for preparation for so solemn and appalling an event. The friends of Capt. Beall desire to appeal to your clemency for a commutation of the sentence from death to imprisonment and that they may have the opportunity to prepare and present to your consideration the reasons which they hope may induce to a commutation.

They now beseech you to grant the unhappy man such respite as you may deem reasonable and just under the circumstances. As a short respite is all that is asked for now and as that can in no event harm, I forbear at present to make any other suggestion.

Most respectfully your friend,

O. H. BROWNING.

Since writing the foregoing the Rev. Dr. Bullock and others have placed in my hands a petition signed by ninety-one members of Congress including Speaker Colfax, which I submit herewith.

TO THE PRESIDENT:

The undersigned members of the House of Representatives respectfully ask your Excellency to commute the sentence of Captain John Y. Beall, now under sentence to be hung on Governor's Island on the 18th (tomorrow).

J. A. Cravens (Ind.)
 W. E. Fink (O.)
 Joseph K. Edgerton (Ind.)
 A. L. Knapp (Ills.)
 W. R. Morrison (Ills.)
 John R. Eden (Ills.)
 Dwight Townsend (N. Y.)
 John V. L. Pruyn (N. Y.)
 M. F. Odell (N. Y.)
 Anson Herrick (N. Y.)
 Wm. Radford (N. Y.)
 H. W. Harrington (Ind.)
 Benj. G. Harris (Md.)
 L. D. M. Sweat (Me.)

Daniel Marcy (N. H.)
 John McNeill (?)
 Charles Denison (Pa.)
 Nathan F. Dixon (R. I.)
 John L. Dawson (Pa.)
 Geo. Bliss (O.)
 James S. Rollins (Mo.)
 H. A. Nelson (N. Y.)
 Francis Kernan (N. Y.)
 E. Dumont (Ind.)
 A. McAllister (Pa.)
 H. W. Tracy (Pa.)
 K. V. Whally (W. Va.)
 John Ganson (N. Y.)

I. Donnelly (Minn.)	S. Colfax (Ind.)
R. Mallory (Ky.)	C. A. Eldridge (Wis.)
A. Harding (Ky.)	Wm. H. Miller (Pa.)
H. Grider (Ky.)	James E. English (Conn.)
Joseph Baily (Pa.)	James S. Brown (Wis.)
Austin A. King (Mo.)	Wm. Johnson (O.)
Geo. H. Yeaman (Ky.)	W. H. Randall (Ky.)
W. A. Hutchins (O.)	Brutus J. Clay (Ky.)
J. W. White (O.)	Lew W. Ross (Ills.)
Jas. R. Morris (O.)	E. C. Ingersoll (Ills.)
J. F. McKinney (O.)	W. H. Wadsworth (Ky.)
W. G. Steele (N. J.)	C. M. Harris (Ky.)
John B. Steele (N. Y.)	James T. Hale (Pa.)
Geo. H. Pendleton (O.)	Wm. G. Brown (W. Va.)
J. W. Chanler (N. Y.)	M. Russell Thayer (Pa.)
John Law (Ind.)	Alexander Long (O.)
Martin Kalbfleisch (N. Y.)	G. Clay Smith (Ky.)
J. C. Allen (Ill.)	Thos. T. Davis (N. Y.)
S. P. Ancona (Pa.)	Henry T. Blow (Mo.)
Fernando Wood (N. Y.)	I. K. Moorhead (Pa.)
W. P. Noble (O.)	S. F. Miller (N. Y.)
Aug. C. Baldwin (Mich.)	R. P. Spaulding (O.)
John A. Griswold (N. Y.)	E. R. Eckley (O.)
Lu Anderson (Ky.)	D. Morris (N. Y.)
A. H. Coffroth (Pa.)	F. W. Kellogg (Mich.)
J. N. Broomall (Pa.)	A. J. Rogers (N. J.)
J. A. Garfield (O.)	W. B. Allison (Iowa.)
Sam'l S. Cox (O.)	T. A. Jenckes (R. I.)
John T. Stewart (Ills.)	C. H. Winfield (N. J.)

Among the foregoing names will be recognized many who attained higher honors in later years including that of James A. Garfield whose signature is preceded by a note reading: "I recommend a temporary reprieve at least."

Henry T. Blow wrote before signing: "I hope that time for preparation will be extended to this man," and J. K. Moorhead the following signer wrote: "So say I."

D. Morris (Daniel Morris of Yates County, N. Y.) took the

precaution before appending his endorsement to insert the words: "If the public safety will admit I concur."

This petition Mr. Browning presented to the President, retaining a copy which he later endorsed as follows: "Feb. 17, 1865. Called on the President and read the original of this paper to him, and left it, together with petition signed by 91 members of Congress with him."

The appeal of the six Senators was in the following language:

WASHINGTON, February 17th, 1865.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT:

Your petitioners respectfully represent that John Yates Beall of Jefferson County, Virginia, was arrested on the 16th day of December last and taken to the City of New York and there tried by a military commission appointed by Maj. Gen'l Dix upon charges, 1st of a violation of the laws of war, and 2nd "Acting as a spy," and after a hasty trial was found guilty and is sentenced to be hung on Saturday the 18th inst. As it is admitted that the said Beall is a Captain regularly commissioned in the rebel service and that Jefferson Davis by a manifesto of the — day of — assumed all responsibility for the acts of Captain Beall and Comrades in capturing the Steamer Philo Parsons and the Island Queen, and thus publicly asserted that the several acts specified in the charges against said Beall were done under his authority and direction, we therefore respectfully recommend your Excellency a commutation of the sentence of death pronounced against him.

Very respectfully,

L. W. POWELL (Ky.)

C. R. BUCKALEW (Pa.)

J. A. McDOUGALL (Calf.)

WM. WRIGHT (N. J.)

GEO. READ RIDDLE (Del.)

GARRETT DAVIS (Ky.)

As might be supposed Browning's influence with Lincoln in this instance, went for naught. As a result of his numerous interviews he brought to Beall's friends no more assurance than a possible commutation of sentence should the inexorable Dix be induced to approve. The President was uninfluenced by the

visits of Richard S. Spofford, librarian of Congress, John W. Garrett, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Mr. Risley, the law partner of Browning, Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, Gov. John Andrew of Massachusetts, George W. Grafflin and Edward Stabler, both prominent citizens of Maryland. When James T. Brady, Beall's counsel, who had served without compensation, sought an interview he was told by the President's secretary that the case being closed he could not be seen. Montgomery Blair was disposed of in like manner despite the fact that he had been Postmaster General in Lincoln's cabinet and the venerable Frances P. Blair of Maryland, who held confidential relations with Lincoln gained nothing by his visit. Accompanying Montgomery Blair was Mrs. John S. Gittings, wife of a well-known Baltimore banker and railroad President. The Gittings were no strangers to the President, Mrs. Lincoln and her two younger sons having enjoyed the hospitality of their home on Mount Vernon place Baltimore when the President elect made the secret night journey to Washington four years before. This fruitless visit of Montgomery Blair with Mrs. Gittings was on the night preceding Beall's execution—February 23d.

The same night witnessed a most remarkable gathering at the White House—a joint call of John W. Forney, Republican editor, Washington McLean, Democrat editor and Roger A. Pryor, Confederate Brigadier, the latter fresh from imprisonment in Fort Lafayette where he had met Beall. The purpose of this call was a double one—to secure the parole or exchange of Pryor and discuss with the President the case of Beall. Lincoln paroled Pryor in the custody of Forney at whose house he remained as a guest for several weeks until he left for Virginia. Next the party took up the case of Beall at great length. Forney, McLean and Pryor urged a respite. Lincoln was much interested in all Pryor had to say of the young man's social standing and high reputation. Finally he showed a telegram from Dix stating that Beall's execution was necessary for the security of the community. Dix undoubtedly had in mind the recent attempt to burn the city of New York and the suspicion that Beall had a hand in it despite Beall's assurance to Pryor that such

was not the case. Finding the President obdurate the party withdrew.

Pryor had with him Beall's diary which he gave to McLean. A copy of this he kept and another copy he gave to Gen. W. N. R. Beall. On his arrival in Richmond three week's later Pryor had an interview with President Davis to whom he fully explained his conference with Lincoln. He then went to Petersburg his old home which was shortly afterward occupied by Gen. Grant. The President at this time made a flying visit to that town. While there he expressed a wish to have Pryor call and see him. Pryor, fearing that his people at this peculiar juncture might misconstrue his motive and resent his intercourse with the "Yankee President" deemed it best to decline the invitation.

This visit of Forney, McLean and Pryor to the White House was probably the last in behalf of Beall and Dix had his way the execution of Beall taking place as ordered on February 24th. In striking contrast with Dix's firm stand against Beall was his complaisance in the distribution of passes to witness the execution. These were given out without question, promiscuously and for the mere asking, the writer of this article being one of the many thus favored.

The execution was scarcely over before the President had before him a letter from Robert C. Kennedy, under sentence of death in Fort Lafayette. He was one of a group of nine Confederates engaged in the plot to burn the city of New York in November, 1864. Kennedy in his letter to the President raised the novel plea that death was too severe a punishment for his offense, that Beall's execution served all purpose. This absurd contention, of course, availed nothing. His execution followed one month after Beall's.

Writing some four months after Beall's death a close friend and school-mate, Daniel B. Lucas, subsequently United States Senator from West Virginia, and judge of the United States Supreme Court of that State, said of President Lincoln's course in the Beall case: "There was one expedient which might have been successful had it been adopted, that was to have purchased the more influential of the Republican journals of New York over in favor of mercy. There was one influence to which Pres-

ident Lincoln never failed to yield when strongly directed against him, the voice of his party; this he did upon principle as the head of a popular government. Unfortunately, neither Beall nor his friends belonged to that party, hence the doors of mercy were closed against him." Lucas was a practicing lawyer in Richmond when Beall was awaiting trial. He wrote to Dix asking that he be allowed to act as Beall's counsel, but Dix made no reply. What Lucas sets forth as to Lincoln's vulnerability must not be too seriously taken, since it was written at a time when party passion ran high and the writer had not yet recovered from the crushing blow occasioned by the execution of his dearest friend. Lincoln in this instance, could not well defy public opinion, supplemented as it was with Dix's previously quoted declaration that "a want of firmness would be against the outraged civilization and humanity of the age," and the no less forcible report of Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt, that "Beall's last enterprise was a crime of fiendish enormity which cries loudly for the vengeance of the outraged law."

From the execution of Beall and the assassination of Lincoln has sprung a weird and lurid story for years industriously circulated and eagerly devoured—that Booth's deed was inspired by the President's broken promise of a pardon made to Booth. These in brief are the alleged facts: Beall and Booth were bosom friends, were before the war much together—as Damon and Pythias—and they had attended the same school. During the war Booth was with Beall on his Lake Erie expedition. When Beall was captured Booth sought Washington McLean, of Ohio, then in Washington, John P. Hale, United States Senator from New Hampshire, and John W. Forney, to aid in Beall's release. Forney was induced to implore the President to exercise clemency. Hale, McLean and Booth, were driven at midnight to the White House, the President was aroused and there was not a dry eye in the room as Booth knelt at the feet of Lincoln, clasped his knees and begged him to spare Beall's life. All present joined in the request. At last Lincoln with tears streaming down his face took Booth by the hands and promised Beall's pardon. The next morning, Seward said when informed by Lincoln what he had done, that public sentiment in the North demanded that Beall

should be hung and he threatened to resign should the President interfere. Seward carried his point and Beall was hanged. The effect on Booth was terrible. He brooded over schemes of vengeance and the assassination followed.

Such is the substance of this remarkable theory of Booth's motive which for years found currency in numerous newspapers and periodicals. The Virginia Historical Society regarded the story as of sufficient importance for incorporation in its official publications. Its genesis is uncertain but there is reason for believing that it was conceived in the brain of Mark M. Pomeroy, the notorious editor of "Pomeroy's Democrat," a sensational weekly published shortly after the war. John W. Forney in 1876 publicly branded the story so far as it relates to his knowing or meeting Booth during his lifetime, as an utter fabrication and he incidentally mentions the name of "Mr. Pomeroy" as the author of the story as originally printed not long before. Forney adds that if Lincoln made such a promise to Booth as alleged he would have fulfilled it at all hazards and that Seward would have been the last man in the world to ask him to break his word.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Booth's designs on Lincoln antedated Beall's operations by a quite remote period. Extensive research fails to disclose the slightest evidence of any acquaintance or intercourse of Beall and Booth prior to or during the war. Finally, the question of Booth's motive in killing Lincoln so far as it involves Beall is disposed of by Booth's own record in his so-called diary of his movements after the assassination wherein is found under date of April 21 the entry: "I knew no private wrong. I struck for my country and that alone." This diary is in the possession of the War Department.

OVER THE HILLS TO PARNASSUS

BY HENRY ALBERT PHILLIPS

MY wife and I did it, and we are going to—as the saying is—put a flea in your ear, Mr. Reader. It is a tickling solution of that vexing annual question: “Where are you going on your vacation?” Each year you wearily sum up the cut-and-dried list of availabilities: (a) somewhere in the country; (b) down on the farm; (c) the delightful seashore; (d) the cool mountains; (e) a tour in the automobile; (f) an extended cruise on our yacht; (g) a trip to Europe. Each of these diversions occurred to my wife and me when that eternal question confronted us. We live in the country on a farm near the seashore—(a), (b) and (c) eliminated. The mountain air gives me the rheumatism, our automobile is now in the garage of our Spanish castle, our yacht is still a rowboat and a trip to Europe—even if I had longer than two weeks—makes my wife seasick. And now for the flea, if you will give me your ear for a few moments. I add with pride that it came from the head of my dear wife here. We answer the infernal question and give you a happy blending of (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f) and (g) at a moderate cost to yourself. Here is the flea recipe:

Take one companion (this is essential).

Take one light straw telescope and fill it with a change of clothes and linen and toilet articles for two (these for comfort and cleanliness); add one umbrella to the companion (this is wise.)

Take sixty dollars of the coin of the realm (this is business.)

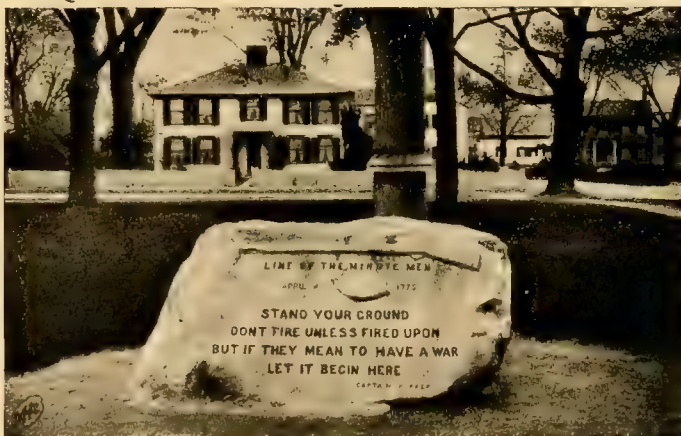
Take a morning train (this for New Haven, Conn.)

That does sound prosaic and smacks of medicine. But an hour after taking it becomes poetry, sir, and this medicine is the tonic



TAP ROOM IN OLD WRIGHT TAVERN, CONCORD, MASS.

Headquarters of the British Officers, April 19th, 1775. Here Major Pitcairn stirred his toddy and made his famous boast that he would stir the blood of the d— Yankee Rebels before night



Line of the Minute Men, Concord, Mass.

you need. Throughout this excursion we are going to indulge in a large quantity of (g) in the following manner:

We are to blame all mistakes to the stupidity of natives; criticize everything we see in the light that we have as good and better nearer home; buy souvenir post-cards of the places we visit; give occasional fees; consult the yellow-covered "Trolleying Through New England—15c"—for all the world like a jaundiced Baedeker—while gaping at the "sights" and pretend we cannot *comprenez-vous* the down-East jargon buffeting our ears—we are to practice these precepts faithfully, mind you, and then a fig for your Europe! Now then, our tour is before us and off we go!

* * * * *

The New Haven "Green" is about four minutes' ride by trolley from the station, and a more peacefully beautiful park in the heart of a thriving town cannot be found—outside of New England. Here we begin to take note of the great elms whose gracefully drooping boughs overshadow nearly all the shrines and beauty-spots of old New England. The Green stands unchanged as it stood when our greatest grandfathers were boys. Here stood the stocks, the whipping post and other playful inventions of the devil and our Puritan fathers. At the further purlieus of the park, with sinister mien as though keeping guard over its moral behavior, stand three severe looking buildings grim in color and outline. These are churches of three denominations that with the aforesaid whipping-post, etc., kept the community pure and upright. A hundred paces beyond and we have passed the portal of Yale. Its grand old buildings picturesquely grouped about an elm-covered campus will bear the eulogy you give it after your visit. If you are interested in Fine Arts and would not miss a few rare treasures, let us drop into the Yale Art Museum.

By now the "flea" must have penetrated gray matter and your understanding wiggled in response. In simple English we are taking a trip from New Haven to the Hub. Our conveyance is a motor-car, so put a check after (e) on the list of availabilities, call it a trolley-car, if you like, but we shan't.

Let us take lunch at yonder little restaurant in dazzling white

just opposite the Yale Art Museum. That finished we take the front seat of the great yellow "motor-car" pulling around the corner—name it a Charmer's Delight, a Dope-Hartford, a Fierce-Sorrow, or a Hope-To-Lead Oh, if you like. And now that we are off we will just lightly note the objects of interest that cannot be duplicated elsewhere.

On the summit of that cliff over there to the right, rising to the height of 387 feet, is the famous Judge's Cave where the regicides of Charles I. hid themselves; a little farther over you may just discern Edgewood where that dear old writer, Ik Marvel, dreamed "The Reveries of a Bachelor."

How do you like this breeze of the green Connecticut hills, sweetening your lungs and blowing your hair about your ears! This up hill and down dale, with sweeping luxurious vistas and quaint rural scenes at every turn! The city's din and business cares evaporate in this atmosphere. Eh! There's that lightning-return conductor, shouting to us through his nose for another fare. Nickles, nickles, nickles!

Yes, sir, that's the gilded dome of the State capitol building, and below it, still obscured by yonder hill, is beautiful Hartford. You would scarcely believe we have come thirty-seven miles.

Yes, we were kept awake last night, too, by those pestiferous Trinity College boys. We were directly over the dining-room which they had hired for the evening for a farewell banquet. Here they rah-rahed until three A. M. That is what comes of taking a friend's recommendation for a hotel; in consequence no recommendations for hotels will pass our lips.

Hartford, as you know, is responsible for innumerable insurance companies, fire-arms, typewriters, automobiles and rubber tires, whose commercial, manufactural and architectural features stand out all over the town. Besides might be mentioned that Hartford is accountable for J. Pierpont Morgan, and that this venerable philanthropist has just given the city a splendid structure in which to house the art treasures which he has given his native town.

Now get your front seat in the motor-car, open wide your lungs, then, ho, for the hills! This beautiful structure over which the car is now bounding is the largest concrete bridge in the

world, and was recently completed amid great pageant and ceremony. No more beautiful and graceful bridge spans the fair Connecticut.

We are going to pass straight through Springfield when we reach it, stopping only long enough to get the motor-car for Holyoke. There is one intervening town four miles this side of Springfield that is worthy of a chapter—Longmeadow. True to its name it is a long meadow—more than a mile in length and fully an acre in width. This splendid green avenue is serried by four majestic rows of trees. The center is an unbroken vista of velvety green lawn, on either edge is a peaceful wagon-road and trolley way, two hundred feet beyond are the old houses just as they stood before the Revolution when this was the Post Road between New York and Boston. The tranquil beauty of this village is worthy of a poet's pen. Over the hills to Holyoke we go!

Holyoke's main street is not prepossessing. It is made up of more than a mile of mills. Four and five deep they stand, being fed by a curious canal that goes up one street and then down another. But wait till you climb yonder slope to your left before you judge the town. What do you find! One of the prettiest and cleanest towns in New England with all its dirty factories relegated far beneath its feet. There is a little hotel some distance down this pleasant business street—if we were recommending hostelryes—where we can get a rich juicy steak, served in a cool shaded room by a rosy-cheeked waitress, and a foaming glass of good lager, if you like. But find it for yourself, we will not be responsible for your good luck. After you get your choice meal, board a car with us again and climb up, up, to a pleasure park far above Holyoke and the Connecticut valley. Here we take the funicular railway, and in a few minutes we are about 1500 feet up basking in the cool air and swishing breezes on Mt. Tom. You will go farther and see less beautiful panorama. Intellectual panorama, too, for a half dozen or more colleges may be discerned with one sweep of the glasses. Here is (d) as cool and picturesque as you like. When you are ready we will return to our pleasant inn for the night.

Springfield is a pretty town but not unlike many large towns

in New England. Our car will pass the United States Arsenal presently which is the chief "sight." But the ride thither to Worcester on an "express" motor-car is one of the most picturesque of its kind to be found anywhere. Its variety is infinite; mountain, valley, plain; forest, farm and river! From village streets to factory town and thence to wilderness again in quick succession. After three most pleasant hours we find ourselves here in the clean, beautiful, thriving city of Worcester. And here let us find a hostelry and plan to spend the night. There are the City Hall, the Court House, the Public Library, and an interesting museum to visit, if we choose.

Morning is come again and we are now to take the last leg of our trip farthest East. It is a stretch of forty miles and scarcely less beautiful than our fair journey of yesterday. If you take notice not a zephyr is stirring yonder trees, yet here are we nearly swept off our seats by an exhilarating gale. All in all it could be worse, eh!

Noon, Boston and we have come together simultaneously. Our immediate object is to get settled at a hotel, take a "tub," and get lunch. The rest is easy, for we have four, five, six days in Boston, just as you choose. During those days we are confronted with the most interesting part of our motor-car journey: Boston Town, Cambridge, Salem, Lexington and Concord, where we shall review in a vivid manner the a, b, c of American history.

Let us take a day and visit Salem with its many literary associations—still via motor-car. Here on Witch Hill were a score of the "possessed" hanged. The "Witch City" in her great days of sea kings, when her ships ranged from China to Peru, was a rival to the maritime glory of Venice. Her final epoch of renown was about 1850. A leisurely tour about town will reveal Hawthorne's birthplace, the original "House of Seven Gables," the Witches' house and the ancient Custom House where Hawthorne was employed and beguiled his leisure in writing "The Scarlet Letter." Beverly, the "summer capital," is but a short ride from Salem.

Cambridge is but a few moments' ride from Copley Square and is ample food for a day's delectation. Picturesque Harvard

with its stolid halls and elm-clad campus, its great library and splendid dining-hall (don't miss seeing this) and particularly the Fogg Museum with its notable collections are worthy of special record. But they are not all. Pass down that beautiful winding avenue flanked with bending elms, cool spreading lawns and stately colonial mansions, and we see one of the best and most wholesome examples to be found of American prosperity, taste and culture in homestead building. Not least among the grand homes are those of Longfellow and Lowell. And now a visit to that which will cause us a yet more exquisite thrill than all these, and we are done with beautiful Cambridge. Mount Auburn, yes, —to nearly quote Goldsmith—Sweet Auburn, loviest cemetery in the world. What nature has left undone, sculptors, architects and landscape artists have supplemented, and at last that imperishable touch given by the bones of the honored dead which add sancity and everlasting fame to its fairness. Here lie Lowell, Holmes, Agassiz, Choate, Sumner, Edwin Booth and many others of America's greatest sons.

Englishmen make pilgrimages religiously to Waterloo; so "should every true born American to Lexington and Concord the cradle and nursery of the liberty they enjoy. Let us take a day—a long day for this trip.

We leave Boston by the very route taken by Paul Revere in his ride when he gave the alarm to every homestead that the Redcoats were coming. The motor-car passes through a lovely countryside and presently we are beside the Green of quaint quiet Lexington. Let us take off our hats to it and the memory of the brave men who here first withstood British fire! Many of the original houses still remain and the monument to the minute men keenly recalls the spirit of the patriots. There are many other sites in the village intimately associated with the British and Lord Howe and his movements.

Concord, an hour's ride beyond Lexington, fairly teems with points of large interest. Yonder on the other side of Monument Square is the famous Wright Tavern, and we trust you resisted hunger and are prepared to lunch here. In this very tap room where we are to lunch, which is excellently preserved in every

detail, Major Pitcairn tipped and boasted, as he stirred his wine with his finger, that so would he stir the rebels' blood! And now let us walk to the famous old Concord bridge where was fired the shot that was heard round the world. Here was the scene of the engagement in which two British soldiers met their death.

But Concord has literary associations, too, which it is doubtful if any other American town can equal. Near the bridge is the Old Manse made dear to memory by Hawthorne's "Tales from an Old Manse," and where that distinguished author lived with his father for many years. Passing by the Green again we soon come to Emerson's home where he practiced hospitality for half a century; beyond is the rustic "school of philosophy" where the "sage of Concord" was associated in a philosophic movement with Thoreau, whose rude hut on the banks of Walden Pond is but two miles away. But there are other famous homes—there is the Orchard House where Louisa M. Alcott lived and created "Little Women" to delight our youth, and yonder is The Wayside with its cupola room designed by Hawthorne for seclusion and in which he wrote "Tanglewood Tales."

As a fitting close of our Concord pilgrimage, we shall visit Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, so different from the luxurious and artistic Auburn, but none the less beautiful in all its surroundings of pure and peaceful nature, and so symbolic of the final peace enjoyed by its inhabitants. Hawthorne felt its spirit of tranquility and chose here the site of his own grave. Near him lie Thoreau, Emerson, Louisa M. Alcott and George Frisbie Hoar. We owe New England mothers much!

If we have not seen historic Boston we now turn our attention to it. The Boston Library with its rightly famous paintings by Puvis de Chevannes, Abbey and Sargent, not to mention the exquisite building which houses them; then there's the Museum of Fine Arts, Faneuil Hall, the old and new State Houses, the Public Gardens, Trinity Church, and a host of other places which stare us in the face.

Parnassus has now been ascended, seen and conquered. We know more, we feel better and the little journey has been an inestimable pleasure. A holiday we shall ever remember.



BIRTHPLACE OF NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, SALEM, MASS.



THE OLD MANSE, CONCORD, MASS.

We still have (f), an extended cruise on our yacht, to eliminate. This is easy; for already we have planned to take one of "the large, fast and commodious steamers" which sail around Cod and so up the Sound, to New York. Here we leave you, on the deck in the moonlight stretched out on camp stools, lord of all you survey through the brown wreaths of the steamer's curling smoke.

THE LITTLE WARS OF THE REPUBLIC

BY JOHN R. MEADER

PART IX. THE PREACHERS' WAR

AMONG the martial events that have occurred to disturb the peace of the American nation it is doubtful if there is a solitary incident that has been more thoroughly forgotten than the trouble that was known in Georgia as "The Preachers' War." Not that the affair was such a veritable tempest in a teapot that it was unworthy of finding a place in the historical annals of the country. To the contrary, it represented issues in which several vital principles were at stake—principles that, had they been fought for a little more strenuously, or had the authorities at Washington been prepared to defend their rights of jurisdiction somewhat more consistently, might have made the Preachers' War one of the most memorable of national uprisings instead of leaving it, as it is to-day, one of history's faintest memories.

If you doubt that a matter of such intrinsic importance could have arisen, disturbed the minds of many men for a few years, and then have passed so thoroughly into oblivion, turn to your histories and your books of reference and search for the facts concerning the Preachers' War. One or two of the older volumes that lay particular stress upon happenings in Northern Georgia refer casually to the incidents that led up to and followed this easily-suppressed insurrection. In general, however, to find the facts for which you are seeking, you will have to consult even more obscure authorities. Some of these references are to be found in dusty volumes of the reports on Indian affairs; some are tersely noted in army records; some are spread excitedly upon the reports of missionary associations; some trickled into the debates on the floor of one of the houses of Con-

gress; others appeared in the President's message, and some have been preserved in the columns of the old *National Intelligencer*.

If it is not easy to unearth facts that can be accepted as anything like authentic reports of these disturbances, it is infinitely more difficult to ascertain the full truth about the affair, for the contestants maintained positions that were so diametrically opposed to one another that it seems scarcely reasonable to suggest that there might have been right on both sides. One was right and the other was wrong, and while the obtainable facts in the case seem to suggest that the poor preachers were badly mistreated by the State of Georgia, the theory is a theoretical one and is based purely upon an assembling of all procurable facts and a decision as to the righteousness of the cause that is founded solely upon the ordinary laws of common sense. In other words, a careful examination of the facts gives the student the impression that this was but another of the incidents in which "might" was made to play the role of "right," to the material disadvantage of the unfortunate individuals who were compelled to enact the part of the "under dog."

It is often humiliating to admit how ignoble a part our ancestors have played in the adjustment of the early affairs of the country, especially in instances where great benefits have since been derived as the direct result of the selfishness—not to use a more emphatic term—that they displayed, and, so far as can now be ascertained, the causes that resulted in the preachers' uprising were not of a sort to reflect much credit upon those who instigated them.

In the first place, the troubles began in the settlement of affairs with the Indians. Of course, as one writer has said, it is safe to assume that "the Indians were liars," for that the attitude that we have invariably taken towards them, whether such assumptions were supported by historic facts or not. In this particular case it was the Cherokee tribe that suffered for having had over-much confidence in the integrity of the whites and their sincerity as treaty-makers.

We have the authority of a student of Indian lore for the statement that the term "Cherokee" was not properly the name of

this tribe of red-men—that, in fact, it was not a tribal name at all, but rather an expression of opprobrium was used by the tribe's rivals, or enemies, when they felt that it was safe to use terms of derision. The word meant "cave men," and was applied quite appropriately in view of the fact that the Cherokees' natural haunts were the mountains, where they were supposed to take advantage of the opportunities for protection offered by the natural caves.

As a matter of fact, the Cherokees came from the Iroquoian stem, and had many qualities in common with the parent tribe. Individually, they called themselves "Ani-Vun'wiya," or "the real people," implying that "we alone are true men, and those who are not of this tribe are dogs, or some other variety of animals."

And, in many respects the Cherokees lived up to these self-assumed characteristics. When they wandered down into the southern ranges of the Appalachian mountains they brought with them no enmity for the whites. All they asked was that they might be left alone in their rocky fastnesses, that they might hunt and fish, and till a bit of land in their primitive fashion, and, as the years passed, they showed themselves quite ready to adopt the customs and even the higher culture of their white neighbors. It was because of this friendly feeling towards the whites that other Indians disapproved of them and referred to them derisively as "the cave men," as though the fact that they had selected the mountains as a place of habitation was positive evidence of their cowardice.

Although the Indians may have expressed such opinions, history proves conclusively that there was no warrant for them in fact. No sooner did they become acquainted with the whites than they commenced to take an interest in their affairs, and, as early as 1711, they were the allies of the English settlers in their battles against the Tuscaroras.

Later, it is true, they became affiliated with the Indian League, and made their peace with the Five Nations, but, eventually, their friendship for the British triumphed and they again made an alliance, which was kept so consistently that they not only fought with the British forces against the French, but remained

their allies throughout the War of the Revolution. None fought more conscientiously than the Cherokees and, when Cornwallis had surrendered, and the thirteen colonies had become thirteen States, they still fought on, nor did the war end for them until 1794, when they made their own separate peace with the new nation.

Prior to this time—or in 1785—the Hopewell treaty had been concluded between the United States and the Indians, and this as well as all subsequent documents of this character—there were sixteen of them signed between 1785 and 1819—not only acknowledge the red men to be wards under the protection of the Federal Government, but also set apart certain tracts of land to be their hunting grounds to be held in perpetuity, and granted them the right to govern themselves in their own way without interference from the United States authorities.

In speaking of these treaties and the position of the Indians in insisting that all the provisions be carried out, one writer has said:

“This (the Hopewell treaty) was not the only treaty with the Cherokees. There were not less than sixteen of the most solemn engagements to preserve to these Indians their lands and their self-government. The Government through a long series of commissioners was sedulous to encourage the Indians to advance along the path of progress on which they had made a beginning—to become farmers, to educate their children, to ordain a regular government for themselves. So strongly accented was this purpose on the part of the general Government—at least in the profession of lip service—that the provisions in the treaty of 1819, which empowered the sale of the northern part of the reservation, expressly ordained the investment of the avails as a permanent endowment for the education of the Cherokees.”

That the Cherokees in northwestern Georgia had absolute faith in the integrity of their white neighbors is a matter beyond question, and such was the situation when, in 1820, taking advantage of the often repeated instructions from Washington, the members of the tribe proceeded to form a government of their own. In this work they were ably assisted by several missionaries, preachers of the United Brethren denomination who had

been working among the red men for many years—probably since about 1800. At this time, however, the Cherokee mission was under the charge of Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, who was financially supported by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions.

While it is possible that the Federal authorities were sincere in their attitude towards the Indians, it is very apparent that, in such a case, they much exceeded their authority, for they had led the red men to suppose that they had full power to enter into any agreements at which they might arrive, and nothing that was said even raised the suspicion that the State of Georgia had the slightest voice in the matter. Accordingly, the Indians proceeded to organize their government, taking, as far as possible, the United States Government as a model, and it was not until the work had been practically completed that they became aware of the fact that the State Government was not in sympathy with the course which they had pursued.

So far as the State Government of Georgia was concerned, it had never been satisfied with the position that the Federal Government had taken towards the Indians. It did not approve of the manner in which the Indian lands had been apportioned; it did not feel that the Federal Government had any right to exert its authority within the State boundaries, and when, at the advice of Washington, the red men set up a government of their own, Georgia announced that it would not tolerate such a condition of affairs. While willing to admit that the Federal Government was possessed of certain powers within the State, Georgia would not agree that this authority extended so far as to permit the institution of "a foreign sovereignty within the borders of an already-sovereign State."

It was upon this ground that the State held that, so far from having the right to govern themselves, even the Indians' title to their lands were worthless, and that, were they to continue to occupy them, it must be under conditions exacted by the State authorities. To enforce its stand on this question, the State soon served notice upon the Cherokees, ordering them to remove as trespassers, and, at about the same time, the Federal Government was duly informed that the State of Georgia in-

sisted that all titles to lands, supposed to be vested in the Indians, should be extinguished immediately, either by diplomatic negotiations or by force of arms.

As a further assertion of authority the Georgia Legislature immediately began to pass laws expressly directed against the Cherokees, and by the close of the second year, these enactments had become of a most oppressive character, one of the latest making it a penal offence for any white man to dwell among the Indians, for any purpose whatever.

Naturally the first course of the Indians was to turn to the Federal Government upon whose advice they had been acting, but, as appears from President Jackson's first message, they received scant encouragement. He said:

"The Constitution declares that 'no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State' without the consent of its Legislature. If the general Government is not permitted to tolerate the erection of a confederate State within the territory of one of the members of this Union against her consent, much less could it allow a foreign and independent Government to establish itself there.

"Georgia became a member of the confederacy which eventuated in our Federal Union as a sovereign State, always asserting her claims to certain limits, which have been originally defined in her colonial charter, and subsequently recognized in the treaty of peace, she has ever since continued to enjoy, except as they have been circumscribed by her own voluntary transfer of a portion of her territory to the United States in the articles of cession of 1802.

"Actuated by this view of the subject, I informed the Indians inhabiting parts of Georgia and Alabama that their attempts to establish an independent government would not be countenanced by the Executive of the United States, and advised them to emigrate beyond the Mississippi, or submit to the laws of those States."

In view of the fact that each step that they had taken had been upon the direct advice of the Federal Government, the Indians then appealed to Congress for relief, and the matter was thus brought to the general attention of the country. It began to be

talked about in public assemblies, and the columns of the newspapers were filled with it. The missionary society called for aid, and a sentiment of sympathy for the oppressed Indians continued to spread through the northern sections until a man named Milner, a New Yorker, inadvisedly sent a communication to the missionary associations in England asking for British intervention. Though designed to help the Indians and frustrate the attack upon their liberty, this letter had quite the contrary effect, costing the Cherokees all their northern supporters, with the exception of a small body of outspoken abolitionists who were themselves so little in favor with the public as to have practically no influence in questions of legislation. Thus, all things were turned to the advantage of the Georgia Legislature.

In the meantime, things were going far from smoothly on the Indian lands. The missionaries positively refused to leave the Indians, insisting that the State had no right to interfere with their educational and religious work. To this the State practically replied that it had all the power that was necessary and it proceeded to demonstrate the fact. In an effort to maintain their position, the militant preachers attempted resistance, but they and their flocks were powerless to oppose the armed force that was sent against them, and they were finally expelled, anything but gently, from the Cherokee lands and with a warning that their return would be at their own peril. Four of the preachers who resisted the State most violently, were arrested, and two, Rev. Mr. Worcester and Dr. Butler, a medical missionary, were convicted and sent to prison for four years.

As the imprisonment of the missionaries aroused no little feeling in religious circles, the matter was carried to the United States Supreme Court, and, on March 3, 1832, an order for their release was issued. So far from doing the prisoners any good, however, this action made their position as prisoners still more secure, for the State positively refused to honor the papers, and insisted that the full term be served. Nor was this the only occasion—at this time—that the authority of the highest tribunal in the land was set at naught by the officials of the State of Georgia. About this time, George Tassels, a Cherokee, in attempting to aid the missionaries, killed a white man, and was promptly con-

victed of murder. Before sentence could be executed an appeal in his behalf was made in Washington, and a writ of errors was issued ordering a stay of proceedings. In spite of this fact, Tassels was duly hanged on the day appointed, and once more the Supreme Court was defied.

Of course, so one-sided a contest could have but one ending. It was a foreseen conclusion that the State must have its way, for it had the power of might behind its enactments—the armed forces to carry them out—and a President and Congress that was ready to support its actions against the Indians, though sixteen solemnly-explicit Government treaties might plead to the contrary. On December 29, 1835, therefore, another treaty was signed—the treaty of New Echota, which arranged for the purchase of the last Indian rights and their bodily removal to their new hunting grounds in western Arkansas.

As soon as possible the provisions of the new treaty were ordered carried out and more than 16,500 Indians were started for the new reservations. As it was in the coldest part of the winter, fully twenty-five per cent. of the number perished. A few of the red men refused to comply with the order and retreated to the mountains in which their ancestors had once lived so contentedly. While every possible effort was made to exterminate them, they clung to their mountain home until 1842, when they accepted the privilege of going to a reservation in North Carolina, and their peaceable departure from Georgia removed the last evidence of the Preachers' War.

HISTORY OF THE MORMON CHURCH

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church.

CHAPTER XLIV

PRESIDENT JOSEPH SMITH CHARGED WITH COMPLICITY IN AN ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE EX-GOVERNOR BOGGS OF MISSOURI— HIS TRIAL AT SPRINGFIELD

AN attempt was made upon the life of ex-Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, of Missouri, on the 6th of May, 1842. The ex-Governor was seated in a room by himself, when some person discharged a pistol loaded with buckshot, through the adjoining window. Three of the shot took effect in his head—one of which, it was said, penetrated his brain. His son, hearing the shot, burst into the room and found his father in a helpless condition. The pistol from which the shot was fired was found under the window and there, too, were the footprints of the would-be assassin.

No sooner was the news of the affair heard than speculation was rife as to the parties who had perpetrated the deed; and in consequence of the part taken by Boggs in driving the Saints from the State of Missouri, during the period that he was Governor, it was not long before “Joe Smith and the Mormons” were accused of the deed. The *Quincy Whig*, in its issue of May 21st, after detailing the particulars of the assault, said:

“There are several rumors in circulation in regard to the horrid affair; one of which throws the crime upon the Mormons, from the fact, we suppose, that Mr. Boggs was governor at the time, and in no small degree instrumental in driving them from the State. Smith, too, the Mormon Prophet, as we

understand, prophesied a year or so ago, his death by violent means. Hence, there is plenty of foundation for rumor."

To this charge of complicity in the attempted assassination President Smith entered a most prompt and emphatic denial. "My hands," said he, "are clean and my heart pure from the blood of all men." He also denied having predicted Boggs' death by "violent means," which denial he sent both to the Quincy *Whig* and the Nauvoo *Wasp*.¹ Orrin Porter Rockwell² was accused of making the assault upon Boggs; and as soon as the ex-governor recovered sufficiently from the effects of the assault to do so he went before a justice of the peace, and made affidavit charging Rockwell with the crime; and subsequently made a second affidavit charging President Joseph Smith with being accessory before the fact, saying in the body of the affidavit that he believed, "and has good reason to believe, from evidence and information now in his possession, that Joseph Smith, commonly called 'the Mormon Prophet, was accessory before the fact of the intended murder, and that the said Joseph Smith is 'a citizen or resident of the State of Illinois.' '" Boggs applied to Thomas Reynolds, then governor of Missouri, to make a demand on the governor of Illinois, to deliver up Joseph Smith to some person authorized to receive him on behalf of the State of Missouri, to be dealt with according to law.

Governor Reynolds promptly granted the request and made the demand on the governor of Illinois for the surrender of President Smith to one E. R. Ford, who was appointed the agent of Missouri to receive him. In making the demand, Governor Reynolds said:

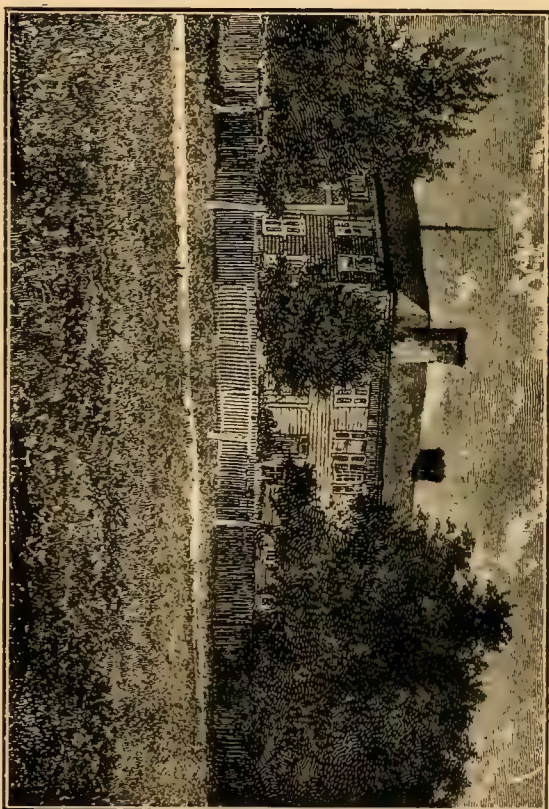
1. These denials appeared in the impression of May 23rd of *The Wasp*, and notwithstanding this emphatic denial H. H. Bancroft in his History of Utah says that the attempt upon the life of Boggs "was of course charged to the Mormons," and that, "if we may believe their enemies, they did not deny it." (Hist. of Utah, p. 156). Bancroft for his conclusion relies chiefly upon the statements of John C. Bennett, whom he elsewhere discredits. See footnote 9, Ch. XLIII, this History.

2. The Rockwells were a New York family living near the Whitmers in Seneca county. Four members of the family joined the Church very soon after its organization on the 6th of April, 1830; of whom Orrin Porter was the first (See Documentary History of the Church, Vol. I, p. 79). He was but a lad of seventeen at the time. The Prophet speaks of him most affectionately "as a noble boy," and he prays that God would deliver him from his pursuers. "He was an innocent and a noble child, and my soul loves him." (*Ibid*, Vol. V, p. 125).

3. Documentary History of the Church, Vol. V, p. 226. The affidavit of Boggs occurs in the body of Judge Pope's decision. Also both Boggs' affidavit and Governor Reynold's requisition are published in Gregg's "Prophet of Palmyra," pp. 201-3.

“Whereas it appears * * * that one Joseph Smith is a fugitive from justice, charged with being accessory before the fact, to an assault with the intent to kill, made by one O. P. Rockwell, on Lilburn W. Boggs, in this State (Missouri); and is represented to the executive department of this State as having fled to the State of Illinois; now, therefore, I, * * * do by these presents demand the surrender and delivering of the said Joseph Smith, etc., etc.

This extract is given from the requisition *verbatim*, because, in the first place, the affidavit of Boggs, upon the strength of which Governor Reynolds made his demand for the surrender of Joseph Smith, does not claim that the latter was a fugitive from justice, or that he had fled from the State of Missouri to Illinois; but on the contrary, the Boggs affidavit says that “the Mormon Prophet” was a “*citizen or resident of the State of Illinois*,” hence the statement of fact in the affidavit was not sufficient to justify the demand for Joseph Smith to be surrendered to Missouri. A person resident in one State may not be delivered up to the authorities of another State for alleged offenses, unless it is represented that he has fled from the State making the demand for his surrender. This charge was not made by Boggs in his affidavit, which was Governor Reynold’s only authority for making the demand. But in what Boggs failed, Governor Reynolds made up; and upon his own responsibility, in his demand on Illinois, charged that Joseph Smith was “a fugitive from justice,” and had “fled to Illinois;” a statement that was at once untrue, and wholly gratuitous on the part of the executive of Missouri. Governor Carlin, however, responded to the demand of Missouri, and issued a warrant for the arrest of O. P. Rockwell as principal, and Joseph Smith as accessory before the fact, in an assault with the intent to kill upon Governor Boggs. The papers were placed in the hands of the deputy sheriff of Adams county, who, with two assistants, at once repaired to Nauvoo, and on the 8th of August, 1842, arrested the above named parties. There was no evasion of the officers, but the municipal court of Nauvoo, at once, on the application of the parties arrested, issued a writ of *habeas corpus*, requiring the officers having the prisoners in charge, to bring them before that tribunal, in or-



"THE NAUVOO MANSION,"

Home of Joseph Smith, Nauvoo, Ill., 1843-1844

der that the legality of the warrant under which they were arrested might be tested. This the sheriff refused to do, and he claimed that the municipal court had no jurisdiction in the case; but he left the prisoners in the care of the city marshal, without, however, leaving the original writ upon which alone they could be held. The deputy sheriff and his assistants returning to Quincy, the prisoners were left to go about their business.

During the absence of the deputy sheriff, President Smith secured a writ of *habeas corpus* from the master in chancery, for the district of Illinois in which Hancock County was located, as it was questionable⁴ if the municipal court of Nauvoo had the authority to issue such writs in cases arising under the laws of the State or of the United States. Two days after the first arrest the officers returned from Quincy to again take their prisoners, but in the interim it had been decided by President Smith and his friends, that the best thing for himself and Rockwell to do, in the then excited state of public opinion, was to keep out of the way for a season; so that the officers upon their return to Nauvoo were unable to find them.

This decision sent the President of the Church into seclusion practically for the remainder of the year 1842, although on several occasions he made his appearance in public during the time of seclusion, and throughout was able from his place of concealment to give general direction to the affairs of Nauvoo and the Church.

It was during this enforced retirement that he wrote two remarkable letters since published in the Doctrine and Covenants on the subject of Baptism for the Dead, and that are now made part of the New Dispensation's doctrinal literature-scripture. Incidentally these letters shed some light upon the Prophet's character;⁵ his carefulness as to his business obligations, for instance:

4. I say "questionable" as representing the views of some of the Prophet's friends. As a matter of fact, there could be no such power vested in the municipal court. If the letter of the Nauvoo charter justified the conception that the municipal court possessed power to interrupt the process of the State or United States courts, it was a manifest defect in the wording of the charter, a solecism that would render that part of the charter void.

5. See Note 1 end of chapter.

“I would say to all those with whom I have business, that I have left my affairs with agents and clerks, who will transact my business in a prompt and proper manner, and will see that all my debts are canceled in due time, by turning out property or otherwise, as the case may require, or as the circumstances may admit of.”

The spirit in which he met his trials:

“As for the trials which I am called to pass through, they seem but a small thing to me, as the envy and wrath of man have been my common lot all the days of my life. * * * Deep water is what I am wont to swim in—it has become as second nature to me, and I feel like Paul, to glory in tribulation; for to this day has the God of my fathers delivered me out of them all, and will deliver me from hence forth.” * * * “Let all the Saints rejoice, * * * and be exceedingly glad, for Israel’s God is their God.”

In the second letter there is an ecstatic review of the early events—visions, angelic visitations, and revelations in which Mormonism had its origin, and upon which he builds an admonition to his people of great force and beauty.⁶

Several attempts were made on the part of the officers of Missouri and Illinois to re-arrest President Smith during his period of seclusion, but without avail, although he had several narrow escapes from their hands. Following the second attempt to arrest President Smith it was rumored that the officers on leaving Nauvoo breathed out threats of returning with sufficient force to search every house in the vicinity; and Sheriff Ford, the agent of Missouri, threatened to bring a mob against the Mormons, if necessary to arrest the Prophet. Hearing these rumors President Smith exchanged several letters with Wilson Law, who had been recently elected major-general of the Legion, *vice* John C. Bennett, cashiered; in which he admonished him to have all things in readiness to protect the people in their rights, and not for one moment to submit to the outrages that were threatened. “You will see, therefore,” said he, in a letter written on the 14th of August, to Law, “that the peace of the city of Nauvoo is kept, let who will endeavor to disturb it. You will also see

6. See Note 2 end of chapter.

that whenever any mob force or violence is used, on any citizen thereof, or that belongeth thereunto—you will see that that force or violence is immediately dispersed, and brought to punishment, or meet it, and contest it at the point of the sword, with firm, undaunted and unyielding valor; and let them know that the spirit of ‘old Seventy-six,’ and of George Washington yet lives, and is contained in the bosoms and the blood of the children of the fathers. If there are any threats in the city, let legal steps be taken against them; and let no man, woman or child be intimidated, nor suffer it to be done. Nevertheless, as I said in the first place, we will take every measure that lies in our power, and make every sacrifice that God or man could require at our hands, to preserve the peace and safety of the people without collision.” To these sentiments there was a willing acquiescence on the part of the major-general, and he pledged himself to carry out faithfully President Smith’s orders, provided the emergency for doing so should arise.⁷

Meantime the whole case charged against President Smith and Rockwell was presented to Governor Carlin in the hope that he could be induced to annul the requisition, but this was without avail; on the contrary, and in spite of all the protest made by the people of Nauvoo, Governor Carlin issued a proclamation to the effect that whereas Joseph Smith and Orrin P. Rockwell had resisted the law by refusing to go with the officers who had taken them in custody, and had made their escape, he offered a reward of two hundred dollars for the apprehension of each or either of “those fugitives from justice.” The Governor of Missouri offered a reward of three hundred dollars for the arrest of each or either of them.

A tide of popular prejudice arose about this time which seemingly threatened to overwhelm the Church; and consequently a special conference was called for the 27th of August to appoint Elders of the Church to go through Illinois and the East, to counteract, if possible, this prejudice, aroused in the

7. The correspondence conducted in the high sounding phraseology characteristic of the times will be found at length in Documentary History of the Church, Vol. V, Chs. V and VI.

main, by the misrepresentations and slanderous assaults of Dr. John C. Bennett.⁸ In the midst of the conference, much to the joy of the Saints, President Smith appeared upon the stand and addressed the conference. His presence was all the more welcome because many of the people believed he had gone to Washington, others to Europe. Naturally his appearance created great cheerfulness and enthusiasm. President Smith, by nature impulsive and emotional, was overjoyed to stand once more before his people. He addressed them in more than his usually spirited manner, and called upon the brethren to go through the eastern states taking documents with them, "to show to the world the corrupt and oppressive conduct of Boggs, Carlin and others, that the public might have truth laid before them." In response to this call to sustain the Prophet's character, three hundred and eighty Elders volunteered their services, and announced their willingness to go immediately, and really took their departure within a few days.

About the first of October, Elder Rigdon and Elias Higbee were in Carthage, and from a conversation with Judge Stephen Douglass, they learned that Governor Carlin had purposely issued an illegal writ for the arrest of President Smith, thinking he would go to Carthage to be acquitted on *habeas*

8. John C. Bennett labors hard to prove by statements alleged to have been made to him by the Prophet, and subsequently by Rockwell, that they were jointly guilty of the attempted assassination of Boggs, but there is no weight of evidence in his presentation of the case; nor is there any evidence that the Mormon people or the officials of the Mormon Church approved of revenge by acts of assassination. Bennett in his book, "The History of the Saints" (p. 282), makes a quotation from the *Nauvoo Wasp* in which he charges editorial expressions of approval of the deed, as follows:

"The *Nauvoo Wasp* of May 28, A. D., 1842, a paper edited by William Smith, one of the Twelve Mormon Apostles, and brother of the Prophet, declared ['Boggs is undoubtedly killed according to report, but] *Who did the Noble Deed remains to be found out.*'"

This, however, is not an editorial expression of the *Wasp*; but is found in a communication, on the editorial page it is true, but signed by a now unknown writer, under the *non de plume* of "*Vortex*." It is this now unknown writer in the *Wasp* that refers to the then supposed assassination of Boggs as a "noble deed," not the editor. The editorial comment of the *Wasp* on this communication from "*Vortex*" is as follows: "We admit the foregoing communication to please our correspondent, not that we have faith that any one has killed Governor Boggs. The last account we have received is that he is still living and likely to live." On the same page of the *Wasp* is published Joseph Smith's denial of complicity in the then supposed assassination of Boggs, and also a denial of having made any prediction of a violent death for him. It is only justice to the Prophet's memory to say that in all the investigations had upon the subject, historically, or judicially, his denial is not confuted. See Note 3 end of the chapter.

corpus proceedings before Judge Douglass—known to be the Prophet's friend—when an officer of the State would be present with a legal writ and serve it upon him immediately, and thus drag him to Missouri. The plot, however, was discovered in time to thwart it.

Meantime, through Major Warren, master in chancery, President Smith's case was presented to Justin Butterfield, Esq., of Chicago, United States attorney for the district of Illinois. He wrote an elaborate review of the case in which he claimed that President Smith could be released on a writ of *habeas corpus*; that he would have the right to prove that he was not in Missouri at the time the alleged crime was committed; that of necessity, if he was guilty of the crime with which he was charged, he must have committed it in Illinois, and therefore was not a fugitive from justice—and the governor of Illinois had no right to surrender him to the authorities of Missouri as such.

"I would advise," said Esq. Butterfield, "that Mr. Smith procure respectable and sufficient affidavits to prove beyond all question that he was in this State (Illinois) and not in Missouri at the time the crime with which he was charged was committed, and upon these affidavits, apply to the governor to countermand the warrant he has issued for his arrest. If he should refuse so to do, I am already of the opinion that, upon that state of facts, the supreme court will discharge him upon *habeas corpus*."

President Smith acted upon this advice, and sent agents with all the necessary papers to Springfield and applied to Governor Ford—Carlin's term of office in the meantime having expired—to revoke the writ and proclamation of ex-Governor Carlin for his arrest. The supreme court being in session, Governor Ford submitted the petition and all the papers pertaining thereto for their opinion, and they were unanimous in their belief that the Missouri writ was illegal, but were divided as to whether it would be proper for the present executive to interfere with the official acts of his predecessor, and therefore Governor Ford refused to interfere; but said, in a personal letter addressed to the Prophet:

"I can only advise that you submit to the laws and have a judicial investigation of your rights. If it should become necessary, for this purpose to repair to Springfield, I do not believe that there will be any disposition to use illegal violence towards you; and I would feel it my duty in your case, as in the case of any other person, to protect you with any necessary amount of force, from mob violence whilst asserting your rights before the courts, going to and returning."

This reply was endorsed by Mr. Butterfield and James Adams. In conformity with this advice, President Smith was arrested by Williw Law, on Carlin's proclamation. Application was made at Carthage for a writ of habeas corpus and an order for such a writ was issued on the master in chancery, and with that document President Smith in company with his brother Hyrum, John Taylor and others, and in charge of Wilson Law, started for Springfield, where they arrived the 30th of December, 1842.

Judge Pope had continued his court two or three days in order to give The Prophet's case a hearing, and in the first interview the judge had with him, agreed to try the case on its merits, and not dismiss it upon a technicality. The deputy sheriff of Adams county was present, but refused at first to say whether he had the original writ or not; but finally King, his associate, admitted that they had it in their possession.

Fearing that it was the object of these men to hold the original writ until after proceedings had concluded and thus create more trouble, a petition was made to Governor Ford to issue a new writ, that the case might come up on its merits, which was granted, but as several days must elapse before a hearing could be had, President Smith was placed under \$4,000 bonds, Wilson Law and General James Adams being his bondsmen.

At last the day of trial came on and the attorney-general of the State made the following objection to the jurisdiction of the court:

The arrest and detention of Smith, was not under or by color of authority of the United States, or of any officer of the United States, but under and by color of authority of the State of Illinois, by the officer of the State of Illinois.

“When a fugitive from justice is arrested by authority of the governor of any State, upon the requisition of the governor of another State, the courts of justices, neither State nor Federal, have any authority or jurisdiction to inquire into facts behind the writ.”

These points were argued *pro et con* by Mr. Butterfield for the defense, and the attorney-general for the State. After a patient hearing, the court gave its opinion, saying in relation to the first objection, that, “the warrant on its face purports to be issued in pursuance of the Constitution and laws of the United States, as well as of the State of Illinois;” and therefore the court had jurisdiction.

“The matter in hand,” said Judge Pope, “presents a case arising under the second section of Article IV. of the Constitution of the United States, and an act of Congress of February 12th, 1793, to carry it into effect. The Constitution says: ‘The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law or equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, and which shall be made under their authority.’” Therefore, on that line of reasoning, the judge concluded the court had jurisdiction. As to the second objection—the right of the court to inquire into facts behind the writ—the judge held it unnecessary to decide that point, as Smith was entitled to his discharge, for defect in the affidavit on which the demand for his surrender to Missouri was made. To justify the demand for his arrest the affidavit should have shown: “First, that Smith committed a crime; second, that he committed it in Missouri. And it must also appear ‘that Smith had fled from Missouri.’” None of these things the affidavit of Boggs did, and the judge held that it was defective for those reasons, and added:

“The court can alone regard the facts set forth in the affidavit of Boggs as having any legal existence. The misrecitals and overstatements in the requisition and warrant are not supported by oath and cannot be received as evidence to deprive a citizen of his liberty, and transport him to a foreign State for trial. For these reasons Smith must be discharged.”

President Smith had thus secured another notable victory over his old Missouri enemies, and over his new ones in Illinois. On

his arrival at Nauvoo, where news of his victory had preceded him, the people turned out *enmass* to meet him, and never did triumphant hero receive more sincere or heartier welcome from his people than did President Smith from the citizens of Nauvoo. He arrived in that city on the tenth of January, and the 17th day of that month was set apart as a day of humiliation, fasting, praise, prayer and thanksgiving "for the deliverance God had wrought for his servant." The Bishops were instructed to provide places in the respective wards of Nauvoo—there were now ten ecclesiastical wards in the city, with a bishopric over each—for the gathering of their people, and it was arranged that one or more of the brethren who had been at the Springfield trial would be present to detail its chief events, all of which was carried out with great enthusiasm.

Rockwell, charged as the principal in the assault upon ex-Governor Boggs, had spent several months in the east pending the subsidence of the excitement following his own and the Prophet's arrest at Nauvoo; but returning to the west he was arrested on the fourth of March, 1843, in St. Louis, where he was recognized by a Mr. Elias Parker, who made affidavit that he was the person wanted for the assault upon Boggs. Rockwell was taken to Independence for trial, and his bail fixed at five thousand dollars; but as the Missouri court would only take some responsible resident of Missouri for surety, bail could not be obtained for him. He suffered great cruelty while in prison, but when his case came before the grand jury, the evidence was insufficient to warrant an indictment.⁹ But in the meantime he had made an effort to escape, and was held on the charge of jail-breaking, for which, when he came to be tried, he was sentenced to *five minutes imprisonment*, though they kept him for several hours while an effort was made to trump up new charges against him.

9. The *Independent Expositor*; *Niles Register*, Sept. 30th, 1843, has the following statement on the Rockwell case:

"Orrin Porter Rockwell, the Mormon confined in our county jail some time since for the attempted assassination of ex-Governor Boggs, was indicted by our last grand jury for escaping from the county jail some weeks since, and sent to Clay county for trial. Owing, however, to some informality in the proceedings, he was remanded to this county again for trial. There was not sufficient proof adduced against him to justify an indictment for shooting at ex-Governor Boggs; and the grand jury, therefore, did not indict him for that offence." Quoted by Bancroft, *History of Utah*, p. 156.

One incident occurred during Rockwell's imprisonment that ought not to be passed without notice. Sheriff Reynolds made an effort to induce him to go to Nauvoo, and as the Prophet had great confidence in him, Reynolds proposed that Rockwell should drive President Smith in a carriage outside of Nauvoo, where the Missourians could capture him; and then, as to himself, he could either remain in Illinois, return to Missouri, or go where he pleased. "You only deliver Joe Smith into our hands," said Reynolds, "and name your pile." "I will see you all d—ed first, and then I won't," replied Rockwell.¹⁰

After meeting with many adventures in making his way out of Missouri, Rockwell finally arrived in Nauvoo on an evening when there was a social party in progress at President Smith's house, where he received a hearty welcome.

NOTE 1: JOSEPH SMITH IN SECLUSION: During these days of enforced seclusion following the attempt to hale him back to Missouri on the charge of being accessory before the fact to the murderous assault upon ex-Governor Boggs, one gets a rare glimpse of the Prophet's private life and character, that in part explains the mystery of his power and influence over his friends and people. He kept by him a specially prepared book in which he recorded the names of those who ministered to him in kindness; there he recorded the names and pronounced blessings upon his special friends and companions in developing the New Dispensation. This book he called the "*Law of the Lord*" ("Documentary History of the Church" Vol. V, p. 124); and during his seclusion he made many entries in it that are of great value both as revealing the character of men with whom he labored, and also as revealing his own character; for if as a man thinketh and speaketh so is he, then we get a self-revelation of Joseph Smith from these en-

10. It is claimed by one writer that Rockwell admitted to General P. E. Connor, of California, who commanded a United States military force in Utah, 1862-65, and for whom Rockwell guarded stock,—that he made the assault on Boggs at Independence and expressed regret that he had not killed the ex-governor ("*Mormon Portraits*" Appendix, p. 255). The "admission," however, is reported only by Dr. Wyl, and has no other basis. One has but to read the book of that writer to be convinced of his utter insincerity, bias and bitterness. His work is after the same order as John C. Bennett's; ribaldry is its chief characteristic. Reporting Bennett's falsehood that the Nauvoo *Wasp* gave editorial indorsement of the assault on Boggs, by referring to it as a "noble deed," Wyl says, in a footnote, "This is correct. The author saw the *Wasp* in the Historian's office at Salt Lake" ("*Portraits*," p. 33, footnote). By consulting footnote 8 of this chapter, the reader will see how entirely false is this declaration. Linn also quotes Wyl's statement, "*The story of the Mormons*," p. 245, note.

tries in the "Book of the Law of the Lord" that is quite a convincing refutation of the calumnies fulminated against the "Mormon Prophet." For example: on one occasion during his seclusion he met at night a number of his friends on the Island in the Mississippi, midway between Nauvoo and Montrose, and of that meeting, in the "Book of the Law of the Lord," he says:

"How glorious were my feeling when I met that faithful and friendly band, on the night of the eleventh [of August], on the Island at the mouth of the slough between Zarahemla [Montrose] and Nauvoo. With what unspeakable delight—and what transports of joy swelled my bosom—when I took by the hand, on that night, my beloved Emma—she that was my wife, even the wife of my youth, and the choice of my heart! Many were the vibrations of my mind when I contemplated for a moment the many scenes we had been called to pass through, the fatigues and the toils, the sorrows and sufferings, and the joys and the consolations, from time to time, which had strewed our paths and crowned our board. Oh, what a commingling of thoughts filled my mind for the moment! And again she is here, even in the seventh trouble—undaunted, firm and unwavering—unchangeable, affectionate Emma!

"There was Brother Hyrum, who next took me by the hand. * * * Thought I to myself, Brother Hyrum, what a faithful heart you have got! Oh, may the Eternal Jehovah crown eternal blessings upon your head, as a reward for the care you have had for my soul! Oh, how many are the sorrows we have shared together! and again we find ourselves shackled by the unrelenting hand of oppression. Hyrum, thy name shall be written in 'the Book of the Law of the Lord,' for those who come after to look upon, that they may pattern after thy works."

Some years before this, in December, 1853, the Prophet had said of Hyrum: "I could pray in my heart that all men were like my Brother Hyrum, who possesses the mildness of a lamb, and the integrity of Job, and in short, the meekness and humility of Christ; and I love him with that love that is stronger than death, for I have never had occasion to rebuke him, nor he me."

Of Newel K. Whitney, the Bishop of the Church,—who was among those who visited him upon the island—he said:

"Here is Brother Newel K. Whitney also. How many scenes of sorrow have strewd our paths together; and yet we meet once more to share again. Thou art a faithful friend in whom the afflicted sons of men can confide, with the most per-

fect safety. Let the blessings of the Eternal also be crowned upon his head. How warm that heart! how anxious that soul for the welfare of one who has been cast out, and hated of almost all men! Brother Whitney, thou knowest not how strong the ties are that bind my soul and heart to thee!"

So he goes on to call the faithful by their names and record their virtues and their deeds of love manifested towards himself, and pronounces his blessings upon them; and if, as one of old said, "We know that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren"—surely Joseph Smith possessed that witness—he loved his brethren better than his life! Later in "The Book of the Law of the Lord" he said:

"There are many souls whom I have loved stronger than death. To them I have proved faithful—to them I am determined to prove faithful, until God calls me to resign up my breath. O Thou, who seest and knowest the hearts of all men—Thou Eternal, omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent Jehovah—God—Thou Eloheim, that sittest, as saith the Palmist, 'enthroned in heaven,' look down upon Thy servant Joseph Smith at this time; and let faith on the name of Thy Son Jesus Christ, to a greater degree than Thy servant ever yet has enjoyed, be conferred upon him, even the faith of Elijah; and let the lamp of eternal life be lit up in his heart, never to be taken away; and let the word of eternal life be poured upon the soul of Thy servant, that he may know Thy will, Thy statutes, and Thy commandments, and Thy judgments, to do them" (Documentary History of the Ch., Vol. V, Chapter V and VI).

As this "Book of the Law of the Lord" was never intended for publication, we have here revealed the soul-thoughts of Joseph Smith; and as a man thinketh, so is he! (*Proverbs* xxiii.7).

NOTE 2: JOSEPH SMITH'S ECSTATIC REVIEW OF EVENTS IN WHICH THE NEW DISPENSATION HAD ITS ORIGIN: Here follows the Prophet's Review of those early events in which the New Dispensation had its origin, mentioned in this chapter, at note 7.

"Now, what do we hear in the Gospel which we have received? A voice of gladness! a voice of mercy from heaven; and a voice of truth out of the earth, glad tidings for the dead, a voice of gladness for the living and the dead; 'glad tidings of great joy; how beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those that bring glad tiding of good things; and that say unto Zion, behold! thy God reigneth.' As the dews of Carmel, so shall the knowledge of God descend upon them.

"And again, what do we hear? Glad tidings from Cumorah! Moroni, an angel from heaven, declaring the fulfillment of the

prophets—the book to be revealed. A voice of the Lord in the wilderness of Fayette, Seneca county, declaring the Three Witnesses to bear record of the book. The voice of Michael on the banks of the Susquehanna, detecting the devil when he appeared as an angel of light.¹¹ The voice of Peter, James and John in the wilderness between Harmony, Susquehanna river declaring themselves as possessing the keys of the Kingdom, and of the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times.¹²

“And again, the voice of God in the chamber of old father Whitmer, in Fayette, Seneca county,¹³ and at sundry times, and in divers places through all the travels and tribulations of this Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. And the voice of Michael, the archangel; the voice of Gabriel, and of Raphael, and of divers angels, from Michael or Adam, down to the present time, all declaring their dispensation, their rights, their keys, their honors, their majesty and glory, and the power of their Priesthood; giving line upon line, precept upon precept; here a little, and there a little—giving us consolation by holding forth that which is to come, confirming our hope.

“Brethren, shall we not go on in so great a cause? Go forward and not backward. Courage brethren; and on, on to victory! Let your hearts rejoice, and be exceedingly glad. Let the earth break forth into singing. Let the dead speak forth anthems of eternal praise to the King Immanuel, who hath ordained before the world was, that which would enable us to redeem them out of their prison; for the prisoners shall go free. Let the mountains shout for joy, and all ye valleys cry aloud; and all ye seas and dry lands tell the wonders of your eternal king. And ye rivers, and brooks, and rills flow down with gladness. Let the woods and all the trees of the field praise the Lord; and ye solid rocks weep for joy. And let the sun, moon, and the morning stars sing together, and let all the sons of God shout for joy. And let the eternal creations declare his name forever and ever.”

NOTE 3 OF JOSEPH SMITH'S DENIAL OF COMPLICITY IN THE ASSAULT UPON EX-GOVERNOR BOGGS NOT BEING CONFUTED: Those who charge Joseph Smith with having planned the assault upon ex-Governor Boggs are utterly unworthy of belief. They are John C. Bennett and Wm. Law. On the first enough already is known to discredit him. Wm. Law's statement in the

11. Except for this allusion to it, this event is lost to our annals.

12. Doubtless having reference to the visit of these Apostles to himself and Oliver Cowdery, on the occasion of their being ordained Apostles of Jesus Christ (Doc. and Cov. Sec. 27; 12).

13. See Doc. and Cov. Sec. XX, the revelation was given at sundry times.

body of an affidavit that Joseph told him "that he sent a man to kill Governor Boggs of Missouri," was not made until the 17th of July 1885, and was not published until 1910. It was published for the first time in "The True Origin of Mormon Polygamy," by Charles A. Shook—1910—pp. 130-5. One other statement of the same import as this of the affidavit, is accredited to Wm. Law, and published in the Salt Lake *Tribune* in 1887, two years after the above mentioned affidavit was made. This alleged statement was said to have been made to Dr. Wyl, a German writer, and author of a vicious anti-Mormon book under title "*Mormon Portraits*"—published 1886 in Salt Lake City. It follows very much in the style and tone of Bennett's *Expose*, and severer criticism than this could not be passed upon it. (See foot note 9 Ch. XLIII). This purported interview is published in the Appendix of Gregg's "Prophet of Palmyra"—1890—pp. 504-517. Of this "Interview" reported by Dr. Wyl, and of the statements made by the Nauvoo seceders generally, Gregg himself remarks:

"The statements of the interview must be taken for what they are worth. While many of them are corroborated elsewhere and in many ways, there are others that need verification, and some that probably exist only in the mind of the narrator. One fact, however, will obtrude itself upon the mind of the reader—that while these seceders are making all these damaging statements against the Prophet and the leaders at Nauvoo, it is remembered that only a year or so earlier they were denying them when made by others. It is for them to reconcile these damaging facts" ("Prophet of Palmyra," p. 504).

But as to William Law himself: If the statement made by him in the affidavit of 1885, and that of the Wyl interview of 1887, *viz.*, that Joseph Smith told him that he had sent Rockwell to Missouri to kill Boggs, then why is it that Law remained silent so long upon this important incident? William Law was President Smith's counselor during the time that this case in relation to the attempt on the life of Boggs was before the courts of the country. During the Prophet's seclusion on account of the excited state of the country over Bogg's case William Law was meeting the Prophet and aiding him to avoid arrest and in frequent consultation with him during that period. (Documentary History of the Church, Vol. V, pp. 89-96). When a feast was given at President Smith's house in honor of his victory over his enemies who had trumped up this charge against him, William Law was among the distinguished guests of that occasion (Documentary History of the Church, Vol. V, p. 409);

and continued to occupy the relationship of counselor to Joseph Smith in the First Presidency of the Church up to within two months of the Prophet's Martyrdom. If Joseph Smith either confided as a secret or confessed as a crime his alleged connection in the assault upon Boggs, then it must have been during the time of these confidential relations; and evidently if Joseph Smith made the alleged statement to him concerning his complicity in the assault upon Boggs, William Law kept it concealed during all that time, and hence became *particeps criminis*. The greater likelihood is that William Law becoming embittered against his chief, joined with John C. Bennett and others in slandering him.

CHAPTER XLV

REVIVAL OF OLD MISSOURI CHARGES—TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL OF PRESIDENT SMITH.

Missouri was not content to let her pursuit of President Joseph Smith stop with his acquittal on the charge of complicity in the Boggs affair. No sooner was he released from arrest and departed from Springfield than John C. Bennett arrived there and wrote some of his friends in Nauvoo his intention to leave immediately for Missouri and obtain a new indictment by a grand jury on the old charge of "murder, treason, burglary, theft," etc., brought against the Prophet, Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt *et al*, in 1838; hoping that upon this charge he might succeed in getting out extradition papers on the ground that the Prophet was a fugitive from the justice of the State of Missouri.

An indictment on these old charges was finally obtained, supposedly at the instance of John C. Bennett and the Prophet's old Missouri enemies, at a special term of the Circuit Court of Daviess county, Missouri, on the 5th of June, 1843. Governor Reynolds, of Missouri, issued a requisition on Governor Ford for Joseph Smith on the 13th of the same month, and appointed J. H. Reynolds as agent of Missouri to receive the Prophet from the authorities of Illinois.

Governor Ford, responding to the request of Missouri, issued extradition papers and placed them in the hands of Har-

mon T. Wilson for execution. Friends in Springfield hearing that a warrant was issued for the Prophet's arrest dispatched messengers with that word to Nauvoo. President Smith was absent from the city visiting with his wife her relatives, the Wassons, living near Dixon in Lee county, some two hundred miles north of Nauvoo. Hyrum Smith dispatched two messengers, Stephen Markham and William Claton, to warn the Prophet of his danger, and these messengers reached him before the arrival of the officers. President Smith, however, concluded not to avoid arrest; for he feared that if he started for Nauvoo he might be apprehended *enroute* where he had no friends and be run over into Missouri among his bitterest enemies. A short time after the arrival of Markham and Clayton, the two officers, Wilson and Reynolds, appeared at the Wasson home and very brutally, with oaths and threats and unnecessary violence,¹ placed President Smith under arrest, and were for dragging him into Missouri *sans ceremony*. By the activity and energy of his friends, however, President Smith succeeded in so far delaying the haste of his captors that he obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* at Dixon, made returnable before Hon. John D. Caton, judge of the ninth judicial circuit at Ottawa, Lasalle

1. The following is the Prophet's description of his arrest by Wilson and Reynolds taken from a speech he delivered at Nauvoo in the presence of those officers and many thousands of Nauvoo's citizens, a few days after he was arrested: "The day before I was taken at Inlet Grove, I rode with my wife through Dixon to visit my friends, and I said to her, 'Here is a good people.' I felt this by the spirit of God. The next day I was a prisoner in their midst, in the hands of Reynolds, of Missouri, and Wilson, of Carthage. As the latter drove up, he exclaimed, 'Ha, ha, ha! By G—d, we have got the Prophet now!' He gloried much in it, but he is now our prisoner. When they came to take me, they held two cocked pistols to my head, and saluted me with, 'G—d—n you, I'll shoot you! I'll shoot you, G—d—n you,' repeating these threats nearly fifty times, from first to last. I asked them what they wanted to shoot me for. They said they would do it, if I made any resistance.

"'Oh, very well,' I replied, 'I have no resistance to make.' They then dragged me away, and I asked them by what authority they did these things. They said, 'By a writ from the governors of Missouri and Illinois.' I then told them I wanted a writ of *habeas corpus*. Their reply was, 'G—d—n you, you shan't have it.' I told a man to go to Dixon and get me a writ of *habeas corpus*. Wilson then repeated, 'G—d—n you, you shan't have it; I'll shoot you.'

"When we arrived at Dixon, I sent for a lawyer, who came; and Reynolds shut the door in his face, and would not let me speak to him, repeating, 'G—d—n you, I'll shoot you.' I turned to him, and opened my bosom, and told him to 'shoot away.' I have endured so much persecution and oppression that I am sick of life. Why, then, don't you shoot, and have done with it, instead of talking so much about it? This somewhat checked his insolence." (Documentary History of the Ch., Vol. V, pp. 465-473.)

county. Before starting for Ottawa it was learned that judge Caton was absent from the state and a new writ was issued "returnable before the nearest tribunal in the fifth judicial district to hear writs of *habeas corpus*."

Cyrus Walker the Whig candidate for congress was at Dixon conducting his canvass; and President Smith called upon him to take his case as counsel. Walker refused to take the case unless President Smith would pledge himself to vote for him in the coming election. This agreement was made and Walker began a vigorous counter action against the officers Wilson and Reynolds. Writs were issued against them before the local justice of the peace for threats against President Smith's life; another for violation of the law in relation to writs of *habeas corpus*; and still another, this from the circuit court of Lee county, for private injuries and false imprisonment, claiming \$10,000 damages. As the officers could furnish no bondsman they were under the necessity themselves of obtaining writs of *habeas corpus*. So that while President Smith was the prisoner of Wilson and Reynolds pending the hearing on a writ of *habeas corpus*, the two officers were prisoners under the same circumstances in charge of the sheriff of Lee county. Under these complex circumstances the parties started for Quincy, the nearest point within the fifth judicial district where the cases could be heard, two hundred and sixty miles distant.

Enroute for Quincy President Smith convinced the sheriff of Lee county and esquire Walker—at least Walker pretended to be convinced—that the municipal court of Nauvoo had the right to try cases under writs of *habeas corpus*, and since the writ he had secured was made returnable before the nearest tribunal in the fifth judicial district authorized to hear and determine writs of *habeas corpus*, he insisted on being taken to Nauvoo for the hearing. He prevailed, too, and for that place the party directed its course.

Meantime there were exciting times in Nauvoo. As soon as he was arrested President Smith dispatched William Clayton with the word to his brother Hyrum Smith that his friends might take such steps as would secure to him his rights. Clayton arrived in Nauvoo about two o'clock on Sunday, the twen-

ty-fifth of June, while the regular Sunday services were in progress. Hyrum Smith called upon the brethren to meet him at the Masonic Hall where he imparted to them the information of the Prophet's arrest, and called for volunteers to go to his assistance. Immediately three hundred volunteered, and of these nearly two hundred were accepted, and before sunset were mounted and left the city under the command of Wilson Law and Charles C. Rich, both officers in the Nauvoo Legion.

A company of seventy-five men under the leadership of captain Dan Jones, a Welshman, boarded the *Maid of Iowa*—a small steam boat, purchased by the people of Nauvoo a few months before—and started down the Mississippi for the mouth of the Illinois river, thence up that stream with the view of intercepting any party which might attempt to take the Prophet *via* of the river route into Missouri. It was supposed at Nauvoo that the officers were *enroute* with President Smith for Ottawa, as Clayton had left him before it was learned that Judge Caton was not in the state, which changed the course of those having him in charge in the direction of Quincy.

The force of one hundred and seventy-five men under Law and Rich divided and subdivided into small companies in going northward through the country, and on the third day some of these small companies joined President Smith near Monmouth, in Warren county.

While in the vicinity of Monmouth, Wilson and Reynolds planned a scheme to go into that town, raise a *posse* of men, take President Smith by force and run him into Missouri. The plot was overheard, however, and disclosed, by Peter W. Conover, one of the Prophet's newly arrived friends, whereupon Sheriff Campbell of Lee county, disarmed and took into closer custody the two officers. As the party drew nearer to Nauvoo the small bands of the Prophet's friends were encountered one after another until his escort numbered one hundred and forty mounted men. At noon on the 30th of June he was met a mile and a half north of the city by a great concourse of the citizens of Nauvoo. A procession was formed and with President Smith at its head entered the city amid the enthusiastic cheers of the people, the firing of musketry and cannon, and the music of the band.

The great concourse of people that thronged the streets in the vicinity of the President's house seemed unwilling to disperse until he announced that he would address them in the grove near the temple at four o'clock.

A company of fifty sat down at the Prophet's table to partake of the feast provided, and Wilson and Reynolds, who treated him so inhumanly when he was in their power at Dixon, were placed at the head of the table, and waited upon by Emma, the Prophet's wife, with the utmost regard for their comfort.

In the afternoon, several thousand people assembled at the grove, and at four o'clock, President Smith addressed them in an animated speech of considerable length, in which he related to them his adventures while in the power of his enemies, and contended that the municipal court had the right to hear cases arising under writs of *habeas corpus*. In the course of his speech he allowed himself to be carried away by the fervor of his feelings, that will create no astonishment when the excitement and the indignation under which he was laboring, and that arose out of a sense of outraged justice and humanity, is taken into account. Under such circumstances and from such temperaments as that of President Smith's, we shall look in vain at such times for dispassionate discourse; and more than human must that man be who under the accumulated wrongs of years of oppression, can always confine his speech, when recounting those wrongs, within the lines that cold, calculating wisdom would draw.

There never was any doubt as to the courage of Joseph Smith. From boyhood he had been noted for his fearlessness under trying circumstances, but during the period here considered, when he was the constant object of assault, both by legal processes, under the leadership of cunning, malicious men, and the physical brutality of officials charged with the execution of the law; and both when facing the maliciously skillful in their proceedings under the color of law, and the threats of physical force from brutal captors, the conduct of the Prophet was most admirable. Also in seclusion, when others were easily excited and manifested symptoms of panic under circumstances of conflicting rumors of impending dangers, it is refreshing

to see how calmly he keeps his balance and rightly judges the true status of many trying situations. But what is most pleasing to record of this period of enforced seclusion, while avoiding his enemies, is the development of that tenderness of soul manifested in his reflections upon his friends who stood by him from the commencement of his public career; for his father and mother, for his brother Alvin for Emma, his wife, for his brother Hyrum, the Knights, who were his friends even before the Book of Mormon was translated, and especially for the friends who received him and ministered unto him during his retirement from public view. No act of kindness seems to go unmentioned. No risk run for him is unappreciated. Indeed he gathers much benefit from those trials, since their effect upon his nature seems to be a softening rather than a hardening influence; and the trials of life are always beneficial where they do not harden and brutalize men's souls; and every day under trials the Prophet seems to have grown more tender hearted, more universal in his sympathies; his moments of spiritual exaltation are superb.²

In the meantime, a requisition was made on Sheriff Reynolds, to bring his prisoner before the municipal court of Nauvoo, that the validity of the warrant, by virtue of which he held him, might be tested. Reynolds refused to recognize the summons of the court; therefore, his prisoner petitioned the court for a writ of *habeas corpus* to be directed to Sheriff Reynolds, commanding him to bring his prisoner before said court, and there state the cause of his capture and detention, in order that the lawfulness of his arrest might be determined. Reynolds complied with the attachment, and the Prophet was delivered into the charge of the city marshal. The next day, the municipal court held a session, William Marks, acting as chief justice, D. H. Wells, N. K. Whitney, G. W. Harris, Gustavus Hills and Hiram Kimball, associate justices.

When President Smith was on trial for this same offense before Judge Douglas, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, in 1841, as already related in a previous chapter, the court refused to enter into the consideration of the merits of the case, as the judge

2. See Notes 1 and 2 end of Chapter XLIV.

doubted whether on a writ of *habeas corpus* he had a right to go behind the writ and inquire into the merits of the case. The same point was avoided by Judge Pope in the hearing before his court in the Boggs case. But the municipal court had no such scruples, and at once proceeded to try the case *ex parte*, on its merits; and Hyrum Smith, Parley P. Pratt, Brigham Young, George W. Pitkin, Lyman Wight and Sidney Rigdon were examined as witnesses. Their affidavits before that court concerning events that happened to the Saints in Missouri, afford the most circumstantial, reliable and exhaustive data for the History of the Church while in that state that has ever been published.³

After hearing the testimony of these witnesses, and the pleadings of counsel, the court ordered that Joseph Smith be released from arrest, for want of substance in the warrant by which he was held, as well as upon the merits of the case.

At the conclusion of the trial the citizens of Nauvoo held a mass meeting and passed resolutions thanking the people of Dixon and vicinity, and of Lee county generally, for the stand they had taken in defense of the innocent, and in favor of law and justice.

A copy of the proceedings of the municipal court of Nauvoo, and of all the papers connected with the case, were immediately sent to Governor Ford as also were the affidavits from leading counsel and gentlemen from Dixon, as to the treatment of Wilson and Reynolds, that the governor and the people of the county might know that they had not been injured.

Governor Ford, also at the time, gave a tacit approval of the course taken by the municipal court in issuing the writ of *habeas corpus*, though he afterwards became very pronounced in his opposition to the exercises of such powers by the city. Governor Ford's approval of what was done appears in this: As soon as President Smith was liberated, Sheriff Reynolds applied to the Governor for a *posse* to retake him, representing that the Prophet had been unlawfully taken out of his hands by the municipal court of Nauvoo. The Governor refused to

3. The affidavits in full are published in the Documentary History of the Church, Vol. III, Appendix.

grant the petition. Subsequently the governor of Missouri asked Governor Ford to call out the militia to retake the Prophet, but this he also refused to do; and gave as a reason that "no process, officer, or authority of the state had been resisted or interfered with," and recited how the prisoner had been released on *habeas corpus* by the municipal court of Nauvoo. The governor acted in this instance with perfect knowledge of what had taken place, for the petition and statement of Reynolds were in his possession as were also complete copies of all the documents, which contained the proceedings before the municipal court of Nauvoo; and in addition to these sources of information, the governor had dispatched a trusted, secret agent, a Mr. Brayman, to Nauvoo, who investigated the case and reported the above findings to him.⁴

But whatever opinion may be entertained on the point under consideration, there can be no question but what the broad principles of Justice Joseph Smith ought to have been set free. The state of Missouri had no just claims upon him. He had been arrested and several times examined on these old charges now revived by the personal malice of John C. Bennett, and after being held a prisoner awaiting indictment and

4. The whole subject is reviewed by Ford in a communication to Governor Reynolds, of Missouri, under date of August 14th, 1843, published *in extenso* in "Documentary History of the Church," Vol. V, pp. 533-4, 5, 6. In this communication Governor Ford makes the following statement about the friends of the Prophet who went from Nauvoo to his assistance when *en route* from Dixon to Nauvoo:

"On the road, during their progress, they were met by parties of the citizens of Nauvoo, some or most of whom are said to have been members of the Nauvoo Legion, though there is no evidence that they appeared in a military capacity. There was no exhibition of arms of any description, nor was there any military or war-like array, nor was there any actual force used, though Mr. Reynolds testifies that he left under constraint, and that Smith, soon after meeting the first parties of Mormons, enlarged himself from his custody. * * *

"After arriving at Nauvoo, a writ of *habeas corpus* was issued by the Municipal Court of that city, and Mr. Reynolds was compelled by the authority of the court to produce Mr. Smith before that tribunal. After hearing the case, the court discharged Smith from arrest."

"There is much other evidence submitted; but the foregoing is the material part of it to be considered on the present occasion.

"Now, sir, I might safely rest my refusal to order a detachment of militia to assist in retaking Smith upon the ground that the laws of this state have been fully exercised in the matter. A writ has been issued for his apprehension. Smith was apprehended and was duly delivered by the officer of this state to the agent of the state of Missouri appointed to receive him. No process, officer, or authority of this state has been resisted or interfered with. I have fully executed the duty which the laws impose upon me, and have not been resisted either in the writ issued for the arrest of Smith or in the person of the officer appointed to apprehend him."

trial for five months, so conscious were the officers of the state that they had no case against him that they themselves connived at his escape.⁵ After such proceedings to demand that Joseph Smith be dragged again into Missouri among his old enemies for an alleged trial upon these five-year-old charges, was an outrage against every principle of justice; and he and his friends were justified in resisting such process either by strategy or even by force.

We may conclude the account of this adventure of President Smith's by saying that about a year afterwards, a jury in Lee county awarded fifty dollars damages, and costs, against Wilson and Reynolds, for false imprisonment and abuse of the Prophet—a verdict which, while it confirms the unlawful course of those officers, and the fact that their prisoner was abused, insults justice by awarding such an amount for damages.

CHAPTER XLVI

GROWTH OF NAUVOO: TWO REMARKABLE PROPHECIES

Nauvoo was growing. Early in 1843 her population was variously computed from twelve to sixteen thousand. Her public buildings, chiefly the Temple and the Nauvoo House, were progressing rapidly. More pretentious buildings were being erected, and new additions to the original town plat were made. Among the substantial buildings of Nauvoo completed in 1843, was "The Nauvoo Mansion" the principal hotel of the city, and also the home of President Smith. It was a frame structure built and owned by President Smith for the accomodation of visitors to Nauvoo, now very numerous, pending the erection of the more pretentious "Nauvoo House." President Smith did not long continue in control of it as a hotel, however, but leased it to others, though he continued to make it his home up to the time

5. See this History, Chapters XXXIII and XXXVII.

1. A photogravure of the "Mansion" accompanies this chapter, from a photograph taken by the writer in 1885. It is an "L" shaped building, the west front facing Main street, and the south front Water street. The chief interest in "The Mansion" of course is that it was the home of the Prophet, where he feasted the poor and humble among his own people, as well as some of the first men of the state of Illinois.

of his death, and here it was that his bullet-torn body lay in state after the tragedy at Carthage.

"The Mansion" was said to have been the most commodious hostelry and to set the best table of any public place of entertainment on the upper Mississippi in those days. Among other conveniences it had brick stables with stalls for seventy-five horses and storage for hay and grain for that number of animals.

Early in December, 1842, the city had been divided, ecclesiastically, into ten wards and bishops were appointed to preside over each. The city council was active in passing ordinances to meet growing necessities of a rapidly increasing population, looking especially to the cleanliness, health and morality of the city. In February, 1843, Joseph Smith was chosen a second time mayor of the city, and, all things considered, Nauvoo was rapidly approaching the high water mark of her prosperity.²

But peace is essential to the growth of cities. Commerce flees from strife; and trade sinks into decay where conflicts distract the people. Nauvoo was favorably located and no city in the west gave better promise of becoming an important center of domestic commerce, manufactures, and inland and river trade. With peace it could easily have become the rival of St. Louis or Chicago. In addition to being a center of trade, manufactures and domestic commerce, the presence of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints would have made it a shrine, a gathering place for the faithful from all parts of the world, and an educational center also; for already steps had been taken towards founding a university, and the keen interest which President Smith and his followers had ever manifested in education, gave every promise that Nauvoo in time would be one of the prominent centers of higher education in the United States.

The peace essential to this material and educational growth, however, was not granted to Nauvoo. Sectarian bitterness against the religion of the Prophet and his followers was too deep-rooted; political jealousy was too strong; and hence strife, plots, threats of violence, actual violence, rumors of inva-

2. See note end of chapter.

sions from Missouri, hints of assistance from mobs in Illinois, the frequent arrest of the founder of the city, the false reports that went abroad concerning its inhabitants—all combined to blight the prospects and hinder the growth which otherwise might have been hoped for from Nauvoo's favorable position and early development.

Two great prophecies belong to this period. The first was in relation to the removal of the Saints to the valleys of the Rocky Mountains; the other was a most remarkable prediction concerning Judge Stephen A. Douglas, just then beginning to become prominent in the politics of Illinois.

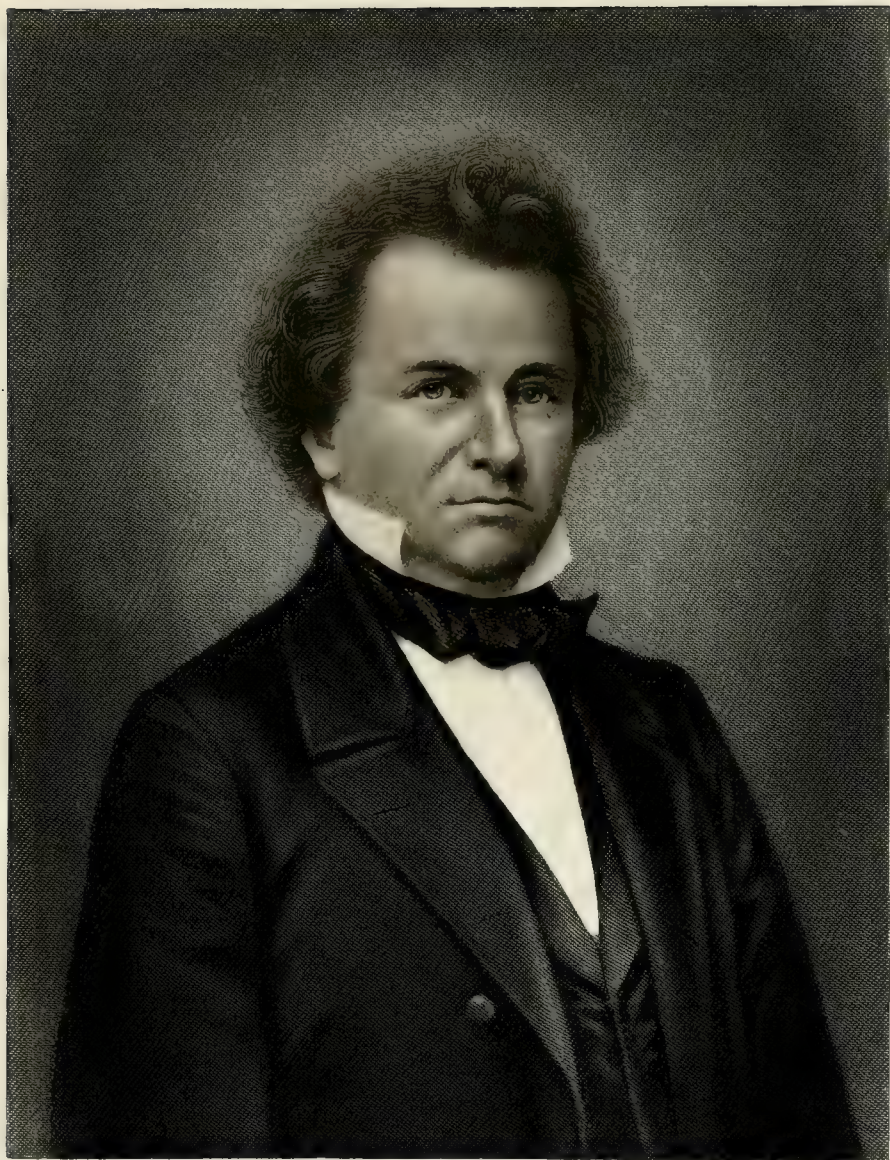
The first of these predictions falls under the date of August the 6th, 1842. The Prophet records the following incident as occurring on that day:

“Passed over to Montrose, Iowa, in company with General Adams, Colonel Brewer and others, and witnessed the installation of the officers of the Rising Sun Lodge of the Ancient York Masons, at Montrose, by General James Adams, deputy grand master of Illinois. While the deputy grand master, was engaged in giving the requisite instructions to the master elect, I had a conversation with a number of brethren, in the shade of the building, on the subject of our persecutions in Missouri, and the constant annoyance which has followed us since we were driven from that state. I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, many would apostatize, others would be put to death by our persecutors, or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease; and some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.³

Of this incident, one of the brethren who was present, Anson Call, according to Edward Tullege, makes the following statement, important as relating to the prophetic incident itself, and also as a description of the Prophet when under the influence of the divine inspiration by which his prophetic utterances were prompted.

“On the 6th of August, 1842, with quite a number of his

3. Documentary Hist. of the Ch., Vol. V, p. 85, and note.



L. Douglas

brethren, he [Joseph Smith] crossed the Mississippi river to the town of Montrose, to be present at the installation of the Masonic Lodge of the "Rising Sun." A block schoolhouse had been prepared with shade in front, under which was a barrel of ice water, Judge James Adams was the highest masonic authority in the state of Illinois, and had been sent there to organize this lodge. He and Hyrum Smith, being high Masons, went into the house to perform some ceremonies which the others were not entitled to witness. These, including Joseph Smith, remained under the bowery. Joseph, as he was tasting the cold water, warned the brethren not to be too free with it. With the tumbler still in his hand he prophesied that the Saints would yet go to the Rocky Mountains; and, said he, this water tastes much like that of the crystal streams that are running from the snow-capped mountains. We will let Mr. Call describe this prophetic scene: 'I had before seen him in a vision, and now saw while he was talking his countenance change to white; not the deadly white of a bloodless face, but a living, brilliant white. He seemed absorbed in gazing at something at a great distance, and said: 'I am gazing upon the valleys of those mountains.' This was followed by a vivid description of the scenery of these mountains, as I have since become acquainted with it. Pointing to Shadrach Roundy and others, he said: 'There are some men here who shall do a great work in that land.' Pointing to me, he said: 'There is Anson, he shall go and shall assist in building up cities from one end of the country to the other; and you, rather extending the idea to all those he had spoken of, shall perform as great a work as has been done by man, so that the nations of the earth shall be astonished, and many of them will be gathered in that land and assist in building cities and temples, and Israel shall be made to rejoice.'"

4. "Tullidge's Histories, Vol. II, History of Northern Utah and Southern Idaho—Biographical Supplement," p. 271, *et seq.* There is some confusion of dates respecting this Call statement. The Prophet fixes the date of his prophesy on Saturday, the 6th of August, 1842. In Whitney's History of Utah, Vol. IV, Biographical Section of the History (p. 143), the date on which Call heard the prophecy is given as the 8th of August, 1842. While in Tullidge's Biography of Call the date is given as the 14th of July, 1843, evidently an error. There is no entry in the Prophet's journal upon the subject for the 8th of August, 1842; and the entries for the 8th of August, 1843, and the 14th of July, 1843, relate to matters of quite a different character. Tullidge, in relating Anson Call's recollection of the incident, also says that J. C. Bennett was present on the occasion, which must also be an error, as the rupture between Bennett and the Church and its authorities occurred and he had left Nauvoo previous to the 6th of August, 1842. In the Call statement, as published by Tullidge, the name of Mr. Adams, the Deputy Grand Master Mason in charge of the ceremonies, is given as "George." It should be "James."

The text of the Call statement given above has been edited to make it conform

We shall see in the progress of this History a wonderful fulfillment of the prophecy.

The prophecy relating to Judge Stephen A Douglass occurred on the 18th of May, 1843. The text of it is taken from the daily journal of William Clayton, then the private secretary of President Smith, and present at the interview described. Under the date above given Mr. Clayton makes the following entry:

“Dined with Judge Stephen A. Douglas, who is presiding at court. After dinner Judge Douglas requested President Smith to give him a History of the Missouri presecution, which he did in a very minute manner for about three hours. He also gave a relation of his journey to Washington City, and his application in behalf of the Saints to Mr. Van Buren, the President of the United States, for redress, and Mr. Van Buren’s pusillanimous reply—‘Gentlemen, your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you;’ and the cold, unfeeling manner in which he was treated by most of the senators and representatives in relation to the subject, Clay saying ‘You had better go to Oregon,’ and Calhoun shaking his head solemnly, saying, ‘Its a nice question—a critical question; but it will not do to agitate it.’

“The Judge listened with the greatest attention, and then spoke warmly in deprecation of Governor Boggs and the authorities in Missouri, who had taken part in the extermination, and said that any people that would do as the mobs of Missouri had done ought to be brought to judgement; they ought to be punished.

“President Smith, in concluding his remarks, said that ‘if the Government, which receives into its coffers the money of citizens for its public lands, while its officials are rolling in luxury at the expense of its public treasury, cannot protect such citizens in their lives and property, it is an old granny anyhow, and I prophesy in the name of the Lord of Israel, unless the United States redress the wrongs committed upon the Saints in the State of Missouri and punish crimes committed by her officers, that in a few years the Government will be utterly overthrown and wasted, and there will not be so much as a potsherd left, for their wickedness in permitting the murder of men, women and children and the wholesale plunder and extermination of thousands of her citizens to go unpunished,

with the facts; that is, the date is given as the 6th of August; the name of John C. Bennett is omitted; and “James” has been substituted for “George,” as the given name of Adams.

thereby perpetrating a foul and corroding blot upon the fair fame of this great republic, the very thought of which would have caused the high minded and patriotic framers of the Constitution of the United States to hide their faces with shame. *Judge, you will aspire to the Presidency of the United States; and if you ever turn your hand against me or the Latter-day Saints, you will feel the weight of the hand of the Almighty upon you; and you will live to see and know that I have testified the truth to you; for the conversation of this day will stick to you through life.*' He [Judge Douglas] appeared very friendly and acknowledged the truth and propriety of President Smith's remarks."

This prophecy was first published in Utah, in the *Deseret News* of September 24th, 1856; it was afterwards published in England, in the *Millennial Star*, February, 1859.⁵ In both instances it is found in the History of Joseph Smith, then being published in sections in those periodicals. It is a matter of Common knowledge that Stephen A. Douglas did aspire to the Presidency of the United States, and was nominated for that office by the Democratic Convention, held in Baltimore on the 23rd of June, 1860. When in the Convention he was declared the regular nominee of the Democratic Party, "The whole body rose to its feet, hats were waved in the air, and many tossed aloft; shouts, screams, and yells, and every boisterous mode of expressing approbation and unanimity, were resorted to."⁶

When Mr. Douglas first began to aspire to the presidency, no man in the history of American politics had more reason to hope for success. The political party of which he was the recognized leader, in the preceding presidential election had polled 174 electoral votes as against 122 cast by the other two parties which opposed it, and a popular vote of 1,838,169 as against 1,215,798 votes for the two parties opposing. It is a matter of history, however, that the Democratic party in the election of 1860 was badly divided; and factions of it put candidates into the field with the following result: Mr. Abraham Lincoln, candidate of the Republican party, was triumphantly elected. He received 180 electoral votes; Mr. Breckinridge received 72

5. Mill. Star, Vol. XXI, No. 9.

6. See "Cooper's American Politics," BK. I, p. 86.

electoral votes; Mr. Bell 39; and *Mr. Douglas* 12. "By a plurality count of the popular vote, Mr. Lincoln carried 18 states; Mr. Breckinridge 11; Mr. Bell 3; and *Mr. Douglas one*.⁷ Twenty days less than one year after his nomination by the Baltimore convention, while yet in the prime of manhood—forty-eight years of age—Mr. Douglas died, at his home in Chicago, a disappointed, not to say heart-broken man.

Let us now inquire in to the relations between the prophecy and Mr. Douglas' failure. Fourteen years after the interview containing the prophecy with which we are dealing, and about one year after the prophecy had been published in the *Deseret News*, Mr. Douglas was called upon to deliver a speech in Springfield, the capital of Illinois. His speech was delivered on the 12th of June, 1857, and published in the *Missouri Republican* of June 18th, 1857. It was a time of much excitement throughout the country concerning the "Mormon Church" in Utah. Falsehoods upon the posting winds seemed to have filled the air with the most outrageous calumny. Crimes the most repulsive—murders, robberies, rebellion and high treason were falsely charged against its leaders. It was well known that Mr. Douglas had been on terms of intimate friendship with President Joseph Smith, and was well acquainted with the other church leaders. He was therefore looked upon as one competent to speak upon the Mormon question, and was invited to do so in the speech to which reference is here made. Mr. Douglas responded to the request. He grouped the charges against the Mormons which were then passing current, in the following manner.

"First, that nine-tenths of the inhabitanst are aliens by birth who have refused to become naturalized, or to take the oath of allegiance, or do any other act recognizing the government of the United States as the paramount authority of the territory of Utah.

"Second, that the inhabitants, whether native or alien born, known as Mormons (and they constitute the whole people of the territory) are bound by horrible oaths and terrible penalties to recognize and maintain the authority of Brigham Young, and the government of which he is the head, as paramount to that

7. History of the United States—Stephens—p. 559.

of the United States, in civil as well as in religious affairs; and they will in due time, and under the direction of their leaders, use all the means in their power to subvert the government of the United States, and resist its authority."

Mr. Douglas based his remarks upon these rumors against the saints, in the course of which he said:

"Let us have these facts in an official shape before the president and congress, and the country will soon learn that, in the performance of the high and solemn duty devolving upon the executive and congress, there will be no vacillating or hesitating policy. It will be as prompt as the peal that follows the flash—as stern and unyielding as death. Should such a state of things actually exist as we are led to infer from the reports—and such information comes in an official shape—the knife must be applied to this pestiferous, disgusting cancer which is gnawing into the very vitals of the body politic. It must be cut out by the roots and seared over by the red hot iron of stern and unflinching law. * * Should all efforts fail to bring them (the Mormons) to a sense of their duty, there is but one remedy left. Repeal the organic law of the territory, on the ground that they are alien enemies and outlaws, unfit citizens of one of the free and independent States of this confederacy.

"To protect them further in their treasonable, disguising and bestial practices would be a disgrace to the country—a disgrace to humanity—a disgrace to civilization, and a disgrace to the spirit of the age. Blot it out of the organized territories of the United States. What then? It will be regulated by the law of 1790, which has exclusive and sole jurisdiction over all the territory not incorporated under any organic or special law. By the provisions of this law, all crimes and misdemeanors, committed on its soil, can be tried before the legal authorities of any state or territory to which the offenders shall be first brought to trial and punished. Under that law persons have been arrested in Kansas, Nebraska, and other territories, prior to their organization as territories, and hanged for their crimes. The law of 1790 has sole and exclusive jurisdiction where no law of a local character exists, and by repealing the organic law of Utah, you give to the general government of the United States the whole and sole jurisdiction over the territory."

I shall so far anticipate historical events, which, if a chronological order were strictly followed, would belong to a later period of our narrative, as to say that the speech of Mr. Douglas

was of great interest and importance to the people of Utah at the time it was made. Mr. Douglas had it in his power to do them a great service because of his personal acquaintance with Joseph Smith and the great body of the Mormon people in Utah, as well as their leaders; for he had known both leaders and people in Illinois, and those whom he had known in Illinois constituted the great bulk of the people in Utah, when he delivered that Springfield speech. He knew that the reports carried to the east by vicious and corrupt men were not true. He knew that these reports in the main were but a rehash of the old, exploded charges made against Joseph Smith and his followers in Missouri; and he knew these Missouri reports to be false by many evidences furnished him by Joseph Smith in the interview of the 18th of May, 1843, and by the Mormon people at sundry times during his association with them at Nauvoo. He had an opportunity to befriend the innocent; to refute the calumny cast upon a virtuous community; to speak a word in behalf of the oppressed; but the demagogue triumphed over the statesman, the politician, over the humanitarian; and to avoid their popular censure which he feared befriending the Mormon people would bring to him, he turned his hand against them with the result that he did not destroy them but sealed his own doom. In fulfillment of the words of the prophet, he felt the weight of the hand of the Almighty upon him.

It was impossible for any merely human sagacity to foresee the events predicted in this prophecy. Stephen A. Douglas was a bright but comparatively an unknown man at the time of the interview, in May, 1843. There is and can be no question about the prophecy preceding the event. It was published, as before stated, in the *Deseret News* of the 24th of September, 1856, *about one year before the Douglas speech at Springfield, in June, 1857; and about four years before Douglas was nominated for the presidency by the Baltimore Democratic Convention.*

Moreover a lengthy review of Mr. Douglas' speech was published in the editorial columns of the *Deseret News* in the issue of that paper for September 2nd, 1857, addressed directly to Mr. Douglas as follows:

“In your last paragraph (of the Springfield speech) you say: ‘I have thus presented to you plainly and fairly my views of the Utah question.’ With at least equal plainness and with far more fairness have your views now been commented upon. And inasmuch as you were well acquainted with Joseph Smith, and this people, also with the character of our maligners, and did know their allegation were false, but must bark with the dogs who were snapping at our heels, to let them know that you were a dog with them; and also that you may have a testimony of the truth of the assertion that you did know Joseph Smith and his people and the character of their enemies (and neither class have changed, only as the Saints have grown better and their enemies worse); and also that you may thoroughly understand that you have voluntarily, knowingly, and of choice sealed your damnation, and by our own chosen course have closed your chance for the presidential chair, through disobeying the counsel of Joseph which you formerly sought and prospered by following, and that you in common with us, may testify to all the world that Joseph was a true prophet, the following extract from the history of Joseph Smith is again printed for your benefit, and is kindly recommended to your careful perusal and most candid consideration.”

Then follows the interview between Joseph Smith and Mr. Douglas as recorded in the journal of William Clayton, as published in the *Deseret News* of a year before Mr. Douglas’ Springfield speech, and as now quoted in this history.

This was boldly accepting the challenge of Mr. Douglas. He raised his hand against the followers of Joseph Smith, despite the warning of the prophet, and his people in the chief organ of their Church, reproduced the prophecy and told him that he had sealed his doom and closed his chance for the presidential chair through disobeying the counsel of the Prophet. The presidential election of 1860, the death of Mr. Douglas in the prime of life the year following, tell the rest.⁸

8. Shortly after the result of the election of 1860 was known in Utah, Elder Orson Hyde, one of the Twelve Apostles, then residing in Sanpete County, Utah, wrote to the *Deseret News* the following letter:

“EPHRAIM, UTAH TER., NOV. 27, 1860.

“Will the Judge now acknowledge that Joseph Smith was a true prophet? If he will not, does he recollect a certain conversation had with Mr. Smith at the house of Sheriff Backenstos, in Carthage, Illinois, in the year 1843, in which Mr. Smith said to him; ‘you will yet aspire to the Presidency of the United States. But if you raise your hand or your voice against the Latter-day Saints, you shall never be President of the United States.’

“Does Judge Douglas recollect that in a public speech delivered by him in the

It may be that by dwelling at such length upon this incident I have wandered from the direct line of historical development of my theme, but this remarkable prophecy, its no less remarkable fulfillment, and the deep interest of it must be my justification. I have nothing further to do with the career of Mr. Douglas than to point out in it the remarkable fulfillment of a prophecy which demonstrates the divine inspiration of the man who uttered it.⁹

NOTE 1: NAUVOO IN 1843: In the spring of 1843 Nauvoo was visited by a Methodist minister, a Mr. Samuel A. Prior, who gave the following description of the city and her people:

“At length the city burst upon my sight. Instead of seeing a few miserable log cabins and mud hovels which I had expected to find, I was surprised to see one of the most romantic places that I had visited in the west. The buildings, though many of them were small, and of wood, yet bore the marks of neatness which I have not seen equalled in this country. The fair-spread plain at the bottom of the hill was dotted over with habitations of men with such majestic profusion, that I was almost willing to believe myself mistaken, and instead of being in Nauvoo of Illinois, among Mormons, that I was in Italy at the city of Leghorn, which the location of Nauvoo resembles very much. I gazed for some time with fond admiration upon the plain below. Here and there arose a tall majestic brick house, speaking loudly of the genius and untiring labor of the inhabitants, who have snatched the place from the clutches of obscurity, and wrested it from the bonds of disease; and in two or three short years, rescued it from dreary waste to transform it into one of the first cities in the West. The hill upon which I stood was covered over with dwellings of men, and amid them was seen to rise the hewn stone and already accomplished work of the temple, which was now raised fifteen or twenty feet above the ground. * * * I passed on into the more active parts of the city, looking into every street and lane to observe all that was passing. I found all the people engaged in

year 1857, at Springfield, Illinois, of comparing the Mormon community, then constituting the inhabitants of Utah Territory, to a ‘loathsome ulcer on the body politic,’ and of recommending the knife to be applied to cut it out?

“Among other things, the Judge will doubtless recollect that I was present and heard the conversation between him and Joseph Smith at Mr. Backenstos’ residence in Carthage, before alluded to.

“Now, Judge, what do you think about Joseph Smith and Mormonism?

Signed

“ORSON HYDE”

See also note 2 end of the chapter.

9. See note 3 end of chapter.

some useful and healthy employment. The place was alive with business much more so than any place I have visited since the hard times commenced. I sought in vain for anything that bore the marks of immorality, but was both astonished and highly pleased at my ill success. I could see no loungers about the streets nor any drunkards about the taverns. I did not meet with those distorted features of ruffians, or with the ill-bred and impudent. I heard not an oath in the place, I saw not a gloomy countenance; all were cheerful, polite, and industrious." (History of the Mormons-Smucker—p. 152-5. Mr. Prior's communication is also published in "Liverpool Route," p. 63.

NOTE 2. AN EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN BETWEEN STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN THE YEAR 1860:

The following affidavit made at the request of the author of this History, cannot fail to be of interest, and is important as testimony to some of the facts of the Douglas incident.

COPY OF AN AFFIDAVIT OF JAMES DWYER.

"In the year 1860 I was on a mission in the Eastern States in the interest of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter-day Saints, having in charge especially the Saints scattered throughout the State of Connecticut. In this capacity I was in the city of Norwich, Connecticut, when Judge Stephen A. Douglas made one of the greatest speeches of the presidential campaign of that year. Thousands of people came from all over the New England States to hear him. As he spoke from the veranda of the hotel at which I was stopping, and where he, too, had rooms, I heard his speech.

After the speaking was over as I was on my way upstairs to my room, a thought came to me that I would like to know from Mr. Douglas himself how he stood in regard to Utah and the Mormon question, since that had become an incident of considerable interest in the campaign. I retraced my steps, knocked on Mr. Douglas' door and was admitted to his presence. I introduced myself and told him that I was a Mormon. When I told him I was a Mormon he shook my hand very cordially and with a smile upon his face said he knew Joseph Smith well. Said he had very important relations with him during those troublesome times in Illinois. Said he always found Joseph Smith to be a perfect gentleman in every sense of the word. I then asked Mr. Douglas the following question:

"Mr. Douglas, I would like to know what your course and policy will be toward Utah and the Mormon people should you succeed in being elected to the presidency." His answer was

this: (In a defiant attitude.) "I hold Brigham Young and the Mormon people in utter contempt, and should I be elected I will use the full power of the law against them."

I then took the liberty of saying to him: "Mr. Douglas, in consequence of the speeches you made against Brigham Young and the Mormon people in Cleveland and which appeared consecutively in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* newspaper at that time, and your present views and intended policy, I feel to say to you with all due respect and candor, you never can reach the White House on such a record."

(Signed) JAMES DWYER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 7th day of March, 1911.

(Signed) ROBERT S. JUDD,
Notary Public.

My commission expires December 19, 1914.

(SEAL.)

NOTE 3: IF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS HAD BEEN TRUE TO THE PEOPLE OF HIS FRIEND JOSEPH SMITH—WHAT? It would be mere conjecture, of course, to say what the result would have been had Stephen A. Douglas been true to the Saints—the people of his friend, Joseph Smith. But certainly had he been elected in 1860 the Southern States would have had no excuse for their great movement of secession as they at least persuaded themselves they had in the election of Abraham Lincoln. And had Mr. Douglas, in the event of his election, followed the counsel given to the government and people of the United States by Joseph Smith in respect of the question of slavery, that evil might have been abolished without the effusion of blood, and no place found in the history of the United States for that horrible conflict known as the American Civil War.

The Prophet's counsel here referred to in respect of slavery was as follows:

"Petition, also, ye goodly inhabitants of the slave States, your legislators to abolish slavery by the year 1850, or now, and save the abolitionists from reproach and ruin, and infamy and shame. *Pray Congress to pay every man a reasonable price for his slaves out of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of the public lands, and from the deduction of pay from the members of Congress.* Break off the shackles from the poor black man, and hire him to labor like other human beings; for 'an hour of virtuous liberty, is worth eternity of bondage.' (Joseph Smith's "Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States?" *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXII p. 743.)

The document from which this counsel is quoted was published in February, 1844. Eleven years later, namely, in 1855, Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson declared that the question of slavery should be met in accordance "with the interests of the South, and with the settled conscience of the North. It is not really a great task," said this eminent writer, "a great feat for this country to accomplish, to buy that property of the planter as the British nation bought the West Indian slaves." He also predicted that "the United States will be brought to give every inch of their public lands for a purpose like this." This plan suggested by Mr. Emerson in 1855, brought to him no end of praise as a sage philosopher and wise humanitarian. But what of Joseph Smith, whose suggestion preceded that of Mr. Emerson by eleven years? Let another—Josiah Quincy—answer:

"We who can look back upon the terrible cost of the fratricidal war which put an end to slavery, now say that such a solution of the difficulty would have been worthy a Christian statesman. But if the retired scholar [referring to Emerson] was in advance of his time when he advocated this disposition of the public property, in 1855, what shall I say of the political and religious leader [referring to Joseph Smith] who had committed himself in print, as well as in conversation, to the same course in 1844? If the atmosphere of men's opinions was stirred by such a proposition when war clouds were discernable in the sky, was it not a statesman-like word eleven years earlier when the heavens looked tranquil and beneficent? "(Figures of the Past—Joseph Smith at Nauvoo?"—Josiah Quincy—p. 398.)

NOTE 4: THE CHARACTER OF NAUVOO'S MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT THE QUESTION OF ISSUING WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS: Very naturally after the experiences of the Mormon people in Missouri, the Prophet was anxious to environ them with conditions that would insure protection to the community; hence for Nauvoo he secured as large concessions of political power as it was possible to obtain, and an examination of the Nauvoo charter proper with its attendant charters providing, as they did for an independent educational system, from common schools to a university; an independent military organization, with a lieutenant-general as its commander; a large grant of commercial as well as municipal power, demonstrates how well he succeeded. Commenting upon the charter immediately after its passage by the State legislature had been formally announced, he said: "The city charter of Nauvoo is of my own plan and device. I concocted it for the salvation of the church, and on

principles so broad, that every honest man might dwell secure under its protective influence without distinction of sect or party." On another occasion when defending the right of the city to issue writs of *habeas corpus*, even against processes of the State, he held: "If there is not power in our charter and courts, then there is not power in the State of Illinois nor in the Congress or Constitution of the United States; for the United States gave unto Illinois her constitution or charter; and Illinois gave unto Nauvoo her charters conceding unto us our vested rights which she has no right or power to take from us. All the power there was in Illinois she gave to Nauvoo. * * * The municipal court has all the power to issue and determine writs of *habeas corpus* within the limits of this State that the Legislature can confer. This city has all the power that the State courts have, and was given by the same authority—the legislature. * * * 'But,' says the mob, 'what dangerous powers!' Yes, dangerous, because they will protect the innocent and put down mobocrats. There is nothing but what we have power over, except where restricted by the Constitution of the United States. * * * If these powers are dangerous, then the Constitution of the United States, and of this State are dangerous; but they are not dangerous to good men; they are only so to bad men who are breakers of the laws. * * * The lawyers themselves acknowledge that we have all power granted us in our charters that we could ask for—that we have more power than any other court in the State; for all other courts were restricted while ours was not."

Such views in relation to an ordinary municipal government would unquestionably be regarded as preposterous. No such powers as are here claimed are accorded to any ordinary city government in Illinois or any other of the States of the American union. What then may be said of the Prophet's claims in respect to the municipal powers of Nauvoo? Nothing in way of defence, except it be held that Nauvoo was not an ordinary municipality; that Joseph Smith had sought for extraordinary grants of power for the city of Nauvoo and had obtained them; that his personal experiences and the experiences of his people in Ohio and Missouri, had taught him the necessity of having officers charged with the duty of administering government, wherein his people were concerned, who were friendly disposed and whose interests were largely identical with those of the Saints: *local self government was an imperative necessity to them.* The things which the Prophet and his people suffered justified both him and them in seeking for and obtaining such powers as had been conferred by charters upon the city of

Nauvoo; and under these granted powers, as he conceived them, the Prophet was wholly within the lines of right conduct when he invoked municipal powers in his own protection against the aggressions of his old enemies in Missouri and his new betrayers in Illinois. But whether the legislature of Illinois was fully aware of the extraordinary powers it was conferring upon the city of Nauvoo, or being aware of the import of their action the party in control of the legislature was willing to grant the extraordinary powers in the hope of currying political favor with the Saints, may not be determined; but in any event these extraordinary powers were granted; and wittingly or unwittingly a "*city state*" had practically been established within the State of Illinois. Nothing short of this descriptive term can adequately set forth the municipal government of Nauvoo. It seems to be an unconscious reversion, in an incipient way, to the "*city states*" or "*city republics*" of the old Greek confederacies, or the "*free towns*" of medieval times, when the cities were more potent than nations in commerce and even in politics. Whether or not the State courts of Illinois and United States courts would have sustained the Nauvoo charters if the matter of their validity had been referred to them for adjudication, may not be determined; but the likelihood is that they would not have been sustained; on the contrary they would have been most likely declared anomalous to our system of government. But certainly if the experiment of such a municipal government had not been interrupted in its progress, it might have been an instructive object lesson in the government of cities; and even as it is, the founding of Nauvoo, the "*city state*," suggest an important idea which may yet work out great practical reforms in municipal government in our country.

The founders of our government dealt with conditions which government in its various forms, municipal, state and national, is confronted with to-day. The municipal problems which now vex the people had not then arisen above the horizon of their experience. The American commonwealths of the early decades of the nineteenth century were practically rural commonwealths.

Nothing like the growth of urban population within the United States during the last fifty years has been known in the history of the world, and it has brought to the inhabitants of these cities problems undreamed of by the founders of our government. Every year discloses more and more distinctly the fact that between these condensed communities and the town, village and rural population of the States in which they are

located, there are very distinct interests and governmental problems of widely differing character. The differences which justify distinct local governments in the State of New York and the peninsula of Florida are not more insistent than the differences between the great commercial city of New York and the state of the same name. Without entering upon elaborate discussion of these questions I venture the suggestion that separate and complete state governments for our large cities, or the elevation of them into what I have called "city states," such as Nauvoo was, in an incipient way, will be the solution to most of the problems of municipal government in our very large cities. It would greatly enlarge in them the government powers essential to their more perfect peace, security and prosperity. Also it would separate them from embroilment in those questions of the state governments in which they are now located, and in which they have so little interest—often indeed, there is sharp conflict of interests, engendering bitterness and strife which hinders progress for both city and State. Besides, granting complete statehood to our larger cities would be but a proper recognition of the right of those great aggregations of citizens with their varied industries, their immense wealth and distinct interests, to that measure of influence in our national affairs which their numbers and intelligence and interests justly demand.

HISTORIC POINTS OF INTEREST

THE BROWN HOMESTEAD

BY LYMAN HORACE WEEKS

AMONG the first settlers of the town of Rye were the two brothers Thomas and Hachaliah Brown. They were of a younger branch of the Browns of Beechworth in the county Kent, England, among whom were Sir Stephen Brown, Lord Mayor of London in 1439, and Sir Thomas Brown, sheriff of Kent in 1444 and 1460. Thomas Brown, the emigrant was of Rye, County Sussex, England, and came to Massachusetts, about 1632, settling first in Concord and afterward in Cambridge. His sons, Thomas and Hachaliah, were among the first pioneers from Massachusetts to the Connecticut colony, whence, in 1664, they moved on to the new settlement established a few years before on Manussing Island. Then they joined their neighbors in taking possession of the mainland opposite the island, in territory which had long been claimed by the Dutch of New Amsterdam but which the English from Connecticut had little difficulty in holding.

Hachaliah Brown became one of the leading men in the new community. He built his first house on the bank overlooking the beach directly opposite Manussing Island. In the beginning the island village took the name of Hastings, but when the other began to assume importance so that the former was almost entirely deserted, the mainland village was named Rye, probably after the English birthplace of the two Brown brothers which indicates the prominent position which they held among their neighbors.

In 1666 Hachaliah Brown bought from John Coe, who was one of the original purchasers of the territory from the Indians in 1660, one-half of a twelfth lot which, in the bill of sale, is said

to be "seven acres more or *less*." Four acres of this land were part of the town plot, known in early times as "The Plains," bordering on Blind Brook, at the upper end of the village. They also adjoined the land of Thomas Brown. All these home lots fronted on Milton road which was the only village street and they extended back to the eastern bank of Blind Brook. There Hachaliah Brown built his homestead and there it remained for more than a century, probably the structure was similar to its neighbors, (some of which have lasted until the present generation, a long narrow story and a half structure of stone or heavy timbers standing gable end to the street, with the entrance on the side, a kitchen and living room below, and sleeping rooms up under the sloping roof.

The house was occupied by the pioneer and his descendants until 1760 when it was destroyed by fire. His son, also named Hachaliah, succeeded to the property. The second Hachaliah was even more prominent in public affairs than his father had been. For many years he was a justice of the people and in 1756 he was the major in command of the Westchester troops who served in the French-Indian war under General Amherst. While he was living in the old homestead, the building was destroyed by fire, about 1760. It appears to have been rebuilt and in 1770 it was again burned. The New York Journal, or the General Advertiser of April 19, 1770, gives this account of the fire:

"About One of the Clock in the Morning of Sunday the first of April Instant, the Dwelling House of Major Hachaliah Brown in Rye took fire and burnt down; the Family being asleep, before they awaked the Fire was so advanced, that their Lives were endangered, and had not Time to save but a very few Articles above Stairs, and a part of the Goods below. Major Brown had the Misfortune to have his House, and almost all his Furniture burnt about Ten Years ago; at which Time his Loss was judged to be upwards of One Thousand Pounds. Altho' his second Loss is not so great as the first, being about Five Hundred Pounds, a Circumstance attending it makes it more melancholy, viz: His supposing, and there being little or no reason to doubt, it being set on Fire by some wicked Person, who seemed to have a particular Malice at the Major, the Fire being set to the Corner of the



THE BROWN HOMESTEAD, RYE, N. Y.

House where he slept; but had not the Smoke awoke him as it did, his two Sons and two Grand Children, and a young Woman in the Chamber, who were all in a sound Sleep in that dead time of Night, and with some Difficulty, awaked by him, in a few minutes must have all perished in the flames, with a Number of Servants. It is a dreadful Consideration not only to him, but to the Neighborhood, that there should be a Person in it, undiscovered, so utterly lost to all Humanity, as to be guilty of an Attempt to destroy not only the estate but the lives of Men, Women and Innocent Children."

Another house was built upon the spot in 1774 and this was successively occupied by Josiah, the sixth son of Major Hachaliah and by Hachaliah, the third, of the name, only son of Josiah. The last named Hachaliah Brown lived until 1861 and after his death the property, which had remained in possession of the family for four generations—a period of two hundred years—passed into other hands, becoming part of the Anderson estate. The house was long occupied by C. V. Anderson, and a few years ago it was bought by Warner Van Norden. Although changes and additions have somewhat altered its original appearance it still remains an interesting example of an old colonial home.

PATRIOT OR TRAITOR—WHICH?

BY SANFORD TALLMAN

WHILE historians differ and will probably always differ over the question of the bravery and loyalty of Jacob Leisler, who was hanged as a traitor about on the spot where the Pulitzer Building now stands in New York City, the United German Societies are so thoroughly convinced of his patriotism that, on April 23, they planted a tree to his memory. This oak was brought from Frankfort-on-the-Main, Leisler's native city, and was the gift of the burgo-master, who is one of those who believe that the colonial adventurer died a martyr to British tyranny.

The trouble which brought death to Jacob Leisler began about 1689, when the opposition to the tyrannical governor, Sir Edmund Andros attained such proportions that a representative of the people was sent to King James II to ask for his removal. Before definite results could be secured, however, the king was succeeded by the Prince of Orange, and the unsettled conditions that followed this change in sovereigns gave Leisler the opportunity for which he apparently had been seeking. Gathering about him a number of merchants and colonists who were at loggerheads with the Customs House, he persuaded them that they were not obliged to pay the duties imposed upon the commodities that they had imported, giving, as an excuse, that the collector of the port was not only a Roman Catholic but that the government officials had no standing since the dethronement of the king.

Had the Lieutenant Governor, Francis Nicholson, been a man of strong character, he might easily have quelled the disturbance, but, instead, he was so utterly unfitted for his responsible position that he lost his temper when talking with the insurgents, and shouted: "I would rather see the city on fire than take the impudence of fellows like you."

This was enough. Immediately the news was sent to all sections that Nicholson intended to burn the town, and, seizing the opportunity that the subsequent excitement afforded, Leisler took possession of the fort and assumed the entire command of city affairs. A few days later, Nicholson sailed for England.

For months Lesler ruled autocratically, assisted by his son-in-law, a fanatic Englishman named Jacob Milborne, but at last, Frontenac, the French governor of Canada, commenced to make trouble for him. He sent a party of French Canadians and Indians to attack the border settlements of New York province. After terrible hardships they flung themselves one midnight on the little hamlet of Schenectady, "haggard and glaring, maddened with suffering, with crouching stealth and exultant spring, like a band of tigers," as the historian, Fiske, tells. The inhabitants awoke only to be cut down. The few who escaped took refuge in Albany, and Leisler sent Milborne with 160 soldiers to defend that town.

His next step was to call a congress of American colonies to resist Frontenac's attacks. This was the first of a series that culminated in the Continental Congress of 1776. It met at New York on May 1, 1690, with representatives from New York, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Maryland, and an invasion of Canada was decided upon. It was a fizzle. Leisler, seeing in the expedition ill-success and undermining of his power, raved madly, and vented his fury on those New Yorkers who were opposed to him. Seizing Nicholas Bayard and William Nicolls, the Attorney General, he put them in irons and flung them into cells.

The Colonial Congress was still sitting at New York when Joost Stoll, Leisler's wine-bibbing envoy, arrived from England with very bad news for his chief. King William had refused to see him; no one had paid the slightest attention to him. Nicholson, whom Leisler had driven away, was in royal favor, and had been made Lieutenant Governor of Virginia. And, worst of all, Col. Henry Sloughter was on his way to New York, bearing in his pocket King William's appointment as Governor.

"Only on the supposition that Leisler's mind was half-dazed can we explain his subsequent conduct," says Fiske. His pow-

er was crumbling; people on the street howled epithets at him "Dog Driver," "General Hog," and the like. Finally Major Ingoldsby, Sloughter's lieutenant, reached New York Harbor with a force of English regulars. He demanded admittance to the fort. Leisler, now at the height of his madness, refused it.

Four days later Ingoldsby landed his troops somewhat north of Leisler's fort, quartering them at the City Hall. He made friendly advances to the fiery German, who rejected them all with scorn.

Finally, on March 17, Leisler served an ultimatum on Ingoldsby, ordering him to disband his forces and giving him two hours to reply. At the end of that time he ordered his men to fire the cannon of the fort on the British troops. Several of the latter were killed and wounded.

In a couple of days Sloughter arrived, took the oath at the City Hall, and sent Ingoldsby to demand Leisler's instant surrender. Leisler refused. He declared he would wait until he got a written order from King William.

Then Sloughter ordered the garrison of Fort William to surrender. They immediately obeyed. Leisler was left helpless, at the mercy of his foes. He was promptly cast into the dungeon in which he himself imprisoned Bayard and Nicolls.

Leisler and his son-in-law, Milborne, were tried before a court over which presided Joseph Dudley, who had been among Andros's leading adherents. The trial lasted a week. Its outcome was a sentence of death for Leisler and Milborne.

"On a dark and rainy morning in May," says John Fiske, "the unfortunate Leisler and his daughter's bridegroom were led to the gallows, which stood near the present site of the World Building, in Park Row."

John Fiske, who throughout his remarks on Leisler, speaks with striking fairness and impartiality, sums up about him in these words:

"Concerning Leisler's essential integrity of purpose there can be little doubt. His methods were arbitrary and many of his acts tyrannical, and the bitter hatred felt for him had doubtless adequate cause.

"It has been the fashion with some writers to treat him as a

mere demagogue actuated by no other motive than vulgar ambition. But this theory does not explain his conduct.

“Insane as was his persistence after Ingoldsby’s arrival, it is not reasonable to suppose that during the two years of his rule in New York he can ever have deliberately intended to resist King William and bring about a revolution. Nor can it for a moment be allowed, as has sometimes been insinuated, that an anti-Catholic panic was either got up by Leisler or used by him as a blind for concealing his real intentions.

“There can be no doubt, as we have already seen, that there was plenty of apparent ground for the panic, or that Leisler’s impulse in assuming the Government was thoroughly honest. Unquestionably he believed himself, in holding New York against Papist conspirators, to be doing a great and needed service to his Protestant King; and when he found himself simply ignored and set aside without a word, his mind was confronted with a fact too deep for him to fathom. There is something very pathetic in his utter inability to grasp the fact that there was nowhere a missive from the King addressed to him by name.

“Even as it is, in spite of his blunders and his failures, in spite of the violence and fanaticism which stain his record, Leisler stands as one of the early representatives of ideas since recognized as wholesome and statesmanlike. Moreover, the name of the man who called together the first Congress of American Colonies must always be pronounced with respect.”

HEROES OF THE ALAMO

BY JOHN SAVAGE

THE Fort and Mission of San Antonio were established in 1718 by Martin de Alarcon: The famous Alamo was the chapel of the above named Mission. The Town of San Antonio was founded in 1731. The mission, after 1793 was occasionally used as a fort. The mission consisted of such buildings as were necessary for the housing of the Franciscans, monks who established it and also separate buildings in which dwelt such Indian converts as were made by the Fathers; in addition was the Alamo, (meaning Poplars) a name given to the Chapel. There was also a Hospital building and plaza or square of about 2 1-2 acres in size; all of which was protected from possible Indian attacks by a wall 8 feet high and nearly 3 feet thick.

In the last days of February and the beginning of March 1836, this Fort, or the Alamo as it is all called, was the scene of the most desperate defense ever offered by a hand full of men against overwhelming numbers. The men, although nearly all Americans, were fighting under the Mexican flag for Mexican States Rights, against President Santa Anna, whose aim was to establish a concentrated Government in the City of Mexico, with himself as Dictator.

These men who were thus struggling for Home Rule for Texas came from the most adventurous Spirits of the South and Southwest. They were all really inspired with the desire of forming a new nation—the Republic of Texas. Santa Anna wished to crush them before they grew stronger. The Fort was commanded at first by Col. Bowie with a few men, afterwards Col. Travis was sent with re-inforcements to take command, and Bowie being too sick to object, there was no conflict of authority. The names of but few of the garrison are to be found in such volumes as I have searched through, but those few I will mention.

William Barrett Travis was born in North Carolina, but lived from his infancy in Alabama. He taught school in Alabama, afterwards he read law and practiced at Claiborne in this State in 1830 and '31, where he married one of his former pupils. In 1832 he moved to Texas and joining the Revolutionary forces was captured by the Mexicans, but was released. In May, 1832, he with 17 others, who objected to the Texan ports being blockaded, was arrested, thrown into jail and treated as a common criminal. Being released, he is next found practicing law at San Filipe. In 1835 Travis, at the head of a body of Texans captured the Town and garrison at Annahuac, because they objected not only to the excessive Mexican taxes, but also to the insolence of the soldiers. In personal appearance Travis was tall and well built; his carriage was soldier like, and his countenance was attractive. He died at the early age of 27, and left behind him a widow and two children.

David Crockett was born in Tennessee in 1786; and was a typical frontiersman, hunter, soldier and politician. His training was such as frontier States afforded in the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. He received little if any schooling; but he had considerable native intellect and wit. His outdoor life made of him a very skillful hunter. He served under Andrew Jackson against the Creek Indians. Crockett, when a young man, felt that the Lord had called upon him to go to Washington and make laws for his Country. He was a great stump speaker and very popular and so was easily elected, and twice-re-elected to congress where he attracted no little attention by his eccentricity of manner and dress; soon his life was full of trouble—City life was a bore—social formalities a nuisance—parliamentary rules were unknown to him, and a speech to be heeded in Congress must be far different from a stump speech in the Wild West; he was forever getting into awkward positions—and finally gave it up. Soon after leaving Congress we find him in Texas fighting against the Mexicans; and at the Alamo he is said to have been one of the last to be massacred. He published several books of travel and adventure, among which were: "A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett." "A

Tour to the North and down East," and "Exploits and Adventures in Texas."

His grammar is said to be bad, humor coarse; but his plain common sense is always conspicuous. Crockett either never knew Mr. Tony Weller (of Pickwickian fame) or else he coldly ignored that gentleman's opinion that "Poetry is vulgar," as the following couplet will prove:

"I leave this rule for others when I am dead,
Be always sure you're right,
Then go ahead."

Major Evans of whom we can learn nothing was killed while attempting to blow up the magazine. Col. J. B. Bonham, whose people are honorably known to all in South Alabama came from South Carolina.

Lieut. Dickinson had his family with him, and left the fight for a moment to kiss his wife a last farewell. James Bowie has been wrongfully represented as a bully and duellist. James Bowie was born in Georgia, but spent the early part of his life in Louisiana: he and his brother Rezin, were great hunters, Rezin, invented the famous Bowie knife, which was attributed to his brother. He presented the first knife he made to James Bowie for a hunting knife. While Galveston Island was under the rule of Lafitte, the famous pirate and patriot, (Wonderful combination: for he plundered only the Spanish Ships, and fought with Jackson against the British in Louisiana) Col. Bowie and his brothers are said to have cleared over \$65,000 in the slave trade—importing negroes into Texas contrary to the laws of Spain.

In 1819 Col. Bowie joined Long's unsuccessful expedition to redeem Texas from Spain. The U. S. had acquired Texas as a part of Louisiana Purchase, and afterwards ceded it to Spain in exchange for Florida. In 1835 Col. Bowie was at the first battle of Goliad, and also at the battle of Concepcion—the famous fight where 94 Texas farmers whipped 400 Mexican soldiers.

The Mexican army reached San Antonio suddenly Feb. 22nd,

1836, after capturing the Texan out posts. The soldiers withdrew into the fort from their quarters in the City. Mrs. Dickinson, one of the survivors, says: "While I was sitting at my doorway, listening to the alarm bells, my husband rode up and said: 'The Mexicans are here, give me the baby and jump up behind.' " The enemy closed around the fort in overwhelming numbers—and on the 24th Col. Travis issued an appeal for help to the people of Texas, in which he said among other things: "I am besieged by over a thousand Mexicans, I have sustained a cannonade for over 24 hours and have not lost a man. They have demanded our unconditional surrender and I have answered with a cannon shot. I shall never surrender or retreat, I am determined to sustain myself as long as possible, and die like a soldier who never forgets what is due to his own honor and to his country." The appeal was unanswered. The enemy increased day by day till they numbered 6,000—their lines drew closer and closer—shot and shell poured unceasing upon the fort. The Texans looked for aid day after day; finally 32 men made their way through the enemy's lines into the fort and raised the total of the defenders to 180 men—180 heroes holding six thousand foes at bay.

Their spirit never failed: Crockett often played his violin to delight the weary men, once he said, "I think we'd better march out in the open air and die, I don't like being cooped up." Travis, in one of his last letters, said, "I am still in good spirits and well to do—I shall hold the fort or die in its defense—take care of my little boy, if I live I'll make him a splendid fortune: but if I perish he will have nothing but the proud recollection that he is the son of a man who died for his Country."

On March 3rd the enemy ceased cannonading and drew back a piece from the fort. The Texans, exhausted by 10 days and nights toil and watching, sank down to rest. Travis knew this was the only lull before the last fury of the storm. He ordered the men drawn up in single line and made his last and most famous speech. He said: "There is nothing for us now but death, and the question is how shall we die—I see three ways to die: 1st, to surrender and be massacred, 2nd, to attempt to cut our way through, but then we would all be shot down without

doing them any appreciable damage, 3rd, to stay in the fort and kill—kill—kill as long as one of us is left to shoot. He gave every man his choice, but said he would stay—then with his sword he drew a line upon the ground and called for those who would stay with him to step across. All came over—save one—(Moses Rose, a Frenchman—a veteran of Napoleon's, who had survived Moscow and Waterloo, and who had no idea of dying unless the Emperor should come back to life and tell him he must.) Bowie, too sick to walk had himself carried across. On the 4th day of March a Mexican woman slipped out of the fort and told Santa Anna how weak the Texans were. Shortly after midnight the enemy surrounded the fort: just before daylight the assault was commenced by 4,000 infantry with cavalry behind them to drive them forward and cut off any escaping Texan. The cannon roared, the bugles sounded "no quarter;" and the battle was on. Assault after assault was repulsed with fearful loss to the Mexicans, but at length the walls were scaled, the building is captured: Travis falls—an officer rushes forward to finish him; but Travis with a final effort rises and runs the Mexican through the body with his sword, then drops dead. Next Bonham dies, then Crockett falls surrounded by a score of Mexicans to show how he died. Bowie, too weak to leave his bed, while his nurse is giving him medicine, sees the enemy enter his room, but before they can finish him he kills two of them. Mrs. Dickinson was in the church when her husband rushed to her and said, "Great God Sue, the Mexicans are in the building, if your life is spared, saved our child." Then he kissed her farewell, drew his sword and rushed back to the fight, and disappeared from her forever. He was killed a half hour later while trying to escape through a window. A few escaping men were killed by the Cavalry outside the walls. The whole action lasted less than an hour. Santa Anna arrived after it was over and heaped every indignity upon the dead bodies, and finally ordered them burned. Half an hour later a few men were found concealed beneath some mattresses and the cruel Santa Anna had them shot.

Mrs. Dickinson and her baby—another American woman and her baby—two or three Mexican women, and one negro boy

were the sole survivors, unless we except the veteran Rose, who was accused, justly or unjustly, of being a deserter. One of the children was ever afterwards known as the daughter of the Alamo.

In 1837 President Houston ordered the bones and ashes of the heroes to be collected and buried,—but, alas! the burial place was not properly marked and it is not exactly known to this day. In 1883 the State of Texas bought the old Alamo church; and with stones from the old fortifications the State erected near the Capitol at Austin a monument to the Heroes of the Alamo; with the names of Travis, Bowie, Crockett and Bonham standing out in bold relief, one on each of the four sides. On the East side the monument bore this inscription: Thermopylae had her messenger of defeat; the Alamo had none.

That monument was destroyed when the Capitol was burned down, but there is now a new monument more beautiful than the first and upon it are enrolled the names of all those who fell at the Alamo.

A RE-ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF THE WAR OF 1812

BY HOWARD T. LEWIS

(University of Wisconsin, formerly of Lawrence College)

Author of *The New Individualism*, *The University as a Political Factor*, *The General Property Tax as a State Tax*, Etc.

PART I

TO him who seeks to discover the causes of the war of 1812 from a careful study of the annals of Congress, there must come the idea that among the several things which helped to bring that memorable war to pass none were so important as the question of neutral rights and impressment. The debates in Congress are full of discussions bearing on the subject of trade, of neutral rights, of impressment, and of national honor. Only occasionally is allusion made to other factors as justifying the declaration of war. Hence it is quite natural that among the subsequent historians this should be selected as the chief cause of the war. For instance Roosevelt, in his "Naval War of 1812" (I-33) says, "The wrongs inflicted upon our sea-faring countrymen by their impressment into foreign ships formed the main cause of the war." So in the *Nation Series* (XIII-37) we find "The quest of the Floridas and of the Indians on the frontier concerned chiefly new and remote sections; they were merely perplexities of an administration which was at the same time wrestling for its life with matters pertaining to the relations of the U. S. to Great Britain and France which vitally effected markets, persons, and policies of the nation." On page 73 of the same series the statement is made that "conditions in England were making imperative upon the ministry the revocation of those orders (Orders in Council) which constituted the chief cause of the war." The *Cambridge Modern History* (VII-335) says, "The outbreak of the war of 1812 between U. S. and

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Great Britain was the result of the causes described in the previous chapter." (The chapter in question deals with impressment and neutral rights in Main.) Schouler in his history of the U. S. says, "Peace and free commerce were desirable, but they could not be had together." (II-355). McMaster and Mahan both take this same position on the causes of the war. So Hart in his "Formation of the Union" gives the impressment, the Orders in Council, and the British blockade as three out of the four causes of the war, referring to the Indian troubles as the fourth. Channing and Ridpath take the same position. Walker, in his "Making of the Nation" (1783-1817), says, "But for these (Clay and Calhoun) it is probable that the result of the war would not have been reached. The U. S. had borne with the injurious acts of France and England for six years. Two years more would have seen all the issues * * * disappear in the downfall of Napoleon and the restoration of peace in Europe." (Page 222) Thus Walker alone recognizes the West as the decisive factor in the declaration of war.

Yet does it not strike one as peculiar that if the real causes for the war were as the majority of historians have said and as the debates in Congress would lead one to believe, that New England, which of all the sections of the country was most effected by England's position on the two great questions of the hour (impressment and right of search) should vote almost solidly against the war? Yet when the bill passed the House the states north of Pennsylvania gave seventeen votes in favor of and thirty-two adverse to the declaration of war. Pennsylvania and the states to the west and south gave sixty-two in favor of and seventeen against it. (The total vote being seventy-nine to forty-nine.) Moreover, some of the states as N. Y. and Penn. were in part as thoroughly western, geographically considered, as were Kentucky or Ohio.

In addition to this the causes ordinarily given for the declaration of war do nothing toward explaining why the war should be declared against England rather than against France, who was actually a *greater* violater of what was then considered international law by the U. S. than was England herself. The French decrees of Milan and Berlin were never repealed, and though the U.

S. for a time thought they were, they learned the truth in ample time to rectify any illusions they had suffered under previous to that time. The duplicity of Napoleon we would naturally suppose would have angered the people of the U. S. more than the far opener discriminations of England. More than this. According to the document sent to Congress just before the close of the session (American State Papers, Vol. III, Foreign Relations, Vol. III, page 523-538, etc.) the number of English seizures and captures of American vessels since the recommencement of the Continental War was 917, of which 528 had occurred previous to, and 328 since the passage of the Orders in Council in Nov. 1807. Thus it is at once apparent that the Orders in Council as such afforded no cause for the declaration of war. The French seizures during the same period had been 558,208 before, and 317 under the Berlin and Milan decrees and 45 since their alleged repeal. The recent Danish captures amounted to 70, and those at Naples to 47, both of which must be attributed to French influence and responsibility. No account was taken in this report of the Dutch and Spanish seizures, which as well as those of Denmark and Naples properly belong to the French account. Nor did it take notice of the still more significant fact that the number of French confiscations, including vessels burned at sea and excluding those of Denmark, Naples, Holland, and Spain nearly equalled those of Great Britain. But most of all it failed to take into account this fact—more than half of the British seizures were declared illegal and restoration ordered, while in France, less than a quarter of the vessels captured experienced a like good fortune. It would thus appear, the prevailing opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, that the amount of direct pecuniary spoilage inflicted by France and the nations immediately under her influence exceeded that experience from England. It might be suggested that New England, knowing these facts to be true, for that reason did not wish war with Great Britain. But though it is probable that the true situation *was* understood, yet it was not the reason for wishing to avoid war, for the people from the northern states were equally averse to a war with France, and for reasons we believe have hitherto been overlooked.

At the outset let us call attention to one or two important but

comparatively less influential things which must be considered in this analysis.

The first is that, contrary to the generally prevailing opinion in this country, England was not at all desirous of engaging in a war with the U. S. This fact is substantiated at the present time by both British and impartial American historians. In a dispatch sent to Sir G. Provost, the Governor of British North America in 1812, the English government frankly avowed its purpose to preserve peace with the U. S. in order that it might pursue uninterruptedly and with all the available force of the nation the greater interests at stake with Napoleon. Yet to withdraw the Orders in Council and to abandon the right of search would have been to surrender two weapons almost indispensable for the successful promotion of that conflict. She even went so far, however, as to actually repeal even these measures, important as she deemed them, when there seemed no other way of avoiding the war into which the U. S. was forcing her. Unfortunately her action came too late to accomplish the end in view. It is barely possible that with able management the war might have been averted, but on neither side was diplomacy able, and in spite of their desire to avoid the war the British ministers were forced into it.

In the next place it is well to note that original war party was composed of two elements, the domestic and the foreign. The domestic consisted, to quote Hildreth, of "men of irrepressible imagination, of inveterate and unyielding prejudices, of violent and uncontrollable tempers, with whom hatred of England roused by revolutionary struggle or sucked in with their mothers milk during that embittered struggle, had become an inseparable part of their natures." The foreign element was made up chiefly of political exiles from Great Britain and Ireland, who were over-flowing with that uncompromising hatred for their native country which political exile is so apt to inspire. The influence which this class exerted upon American politics at this critical moment (and in fact for twenty years previous to this time) was indeed remarkable. The demand for editors and printers could not be supplied from domestic sources, and as many of these political exiles had been connected with the press at home, many of

them indeed having been driven into exile in consequence of publications issued against the government as libelous or seditious they naturally adopted the same calling in America, and thus converted into mouthpieces of the Democratic party, they obtained and exercised an influence out of all proportion either to their numbers or their talents. Randolph, then representative from Virginia, complained that nearly every landing paper of the time was in favor of war, and was conducted by men who had but recently escaped from the tyranny or the justice, whichever it might be, of the British government. He cited in proof of his position the *Aurora* and the *Democratic Press*—the leading papers of Philadelphia,—the *Whig* of Baltimore, and the *Intelligence* at Washington, all of which gave to the public exaggerated ideas of the grievances against Great Britain, depreciating those against France. Foster, the British minister at Washington when war was declared, stated in the British House of Commons soon afterwards, that among those who had voted for the measure were no less than six late members of the Society of United Irishmen.

In the next place, it is well to bear in mind that there were a considerable number of American manufacturers who favored the war because of their belief that it would create a home market for their articles, not only through the exclusion of British goods but by securing a good customer in the government, and being men of wealth and position, their influence was great. Within the five years preceding the war, American manufactures had taken a vigorous start and those concerned in them were largely Republicans.

To turn now to the more important and deeper causes of the war, let us call to mind again the two facts which the declaration of war on the basis of neutral rights and impressment alone, or even chiefly, does not explain. The first was that an examination of the geographical distribution of the vote on the war measure shows that New England voted almost solidly against the war, though it was the section most vitally effected by the question of maritime rights. An explanation of this is sometimes offered in this,—that being the sea-faring section of our land she did not wish to hazard her livelihood by a

war which was to be inevitably a naval war. This explanation is not, it seems to the writer, adequate to meet the situation, and for the following reasons. First, New England was also, though not *the* greatest, yet an important manufacturing center, and the influence of the manufacturing class, for reasons stated above, would tend to neutralize that of the merchants. In the second place, it is an acknowledged fact that blockade running and smuggling were both very common, and the risk that the merchants voluntarily ran, not only in avoiding American revenue cutters, but French and English warships as well, could hardly be greater than in the case of actual war.

The writer is of the opinion, for reasons to be stated in the following pages, that the real explanation of this fact and of the second significant fact mentioned above (why war was declared against England rather than again France) lies in the influence hitherto largely under estimated and neglected, of that great expanse of territory lying to the westward of the Alleghenies, and which may very properly be called the West. We shall consider this factor under two general heads first, the influence exerted by virtue of imperative demand for more territory into which the western immigrant might go and still be within the jurisdiction of the U. S., and secondly, the direct and active influence of the West in Congress.

As to the fact of expansion there is no question at all, as an examination of the census reports of the period will show. The population grew as follows:

1750.	1,370,000*
1775.	3,000,000*
1790.	3,929,214 (3,170,000 Whites)
1800.	5,308,483-35 per cent. increase
1810.	7,225,000-40 per cent. increase

From 1789 to 1817 the center of population had moved from a point only thirty miles east of Baltimore to one a hundred and twenty miles west of that point.

Room for expansion then, was absolutely necessary. The only question was where. Three alternatives presented themselves to

*Estimated by Hart, Formation of the Union, 1750-1829. Pages 4 and 74.

the colonists; they might acquire, peaceably or otherwise, land then held by the Indians, or, they might expand southward into Florida, or, lastly, they might go northward into Canada. As a matter of fact all of these plans were tried. Let us consider them separately.

Let us bear two essential facts in mind, however, before continuing. In the first place, France had ridded herself of all her American possessions, and to encroach upon French territory was impossible. The exact opposite held in the case of England. Her western possessions encircled those of the States, and any question of future ownership had to consider English claims and hopes. The second thing to remember is that the West abounded in French population, whose interests were essentially antagonistic to the English by nature. Their active influence among the emigrants is never to be lost sight of. Particularly is this true when we recall that the Continental war was then in progress, and the French, wherever they were to be found, had interests in embarrassing the English in every possible way.

Now as to the Indian lands. Up to this time the United States had always acquired land from the Indians, usually by purchase but often thru war, into which they might expand. The purchase of Louisiana from the French still left the Indian question unsettled, and dependent for solution upon whatever terms the government might be able to secure from their red neighbors. Some of the tribes were willing and even anxious to sell their eastern possessions to the whites in order that they might move farther westward and away from all Englishmen. Others were not so willing, and still cherished hopes that such land as still remained in their hands might be kept from coming under the grasp of the intruders. Probably nothing would have occurred in the way of serious opposition more than always accompanied the sale of Indian land but for the fact that just at this time there sprang up in the West an Indian leader of unquestionable ability and of immense influence. Tecumseh (Teuskwatawa—the open Door) was a man with great love for his people and one who believed that his race was being defrauded of their just lands by an avaricious enemy. Acting in conjunction with his brother, the Prophet, he planned a general uprising against the Americans.

The Prophet was essentially a religious leader, depending for his hold upon the Indians upon his witchcraft combined with a great power of eloquence. He had succeeded in gathering at his town at Greenville (established in 1806) near the western boundary of Ohio on land already ceded to the Whites a large following and one which grew steadily. In 1808 the Prophet moved his town to Tippecanoe on the northern branch of the Wabash; a spot owned by the Miamis and Delawares but which he held in spite of their opposition. To this town gathered great numbers of Wyandots, Delawares, Miamis, Ottawas, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes, and Chippewas all completely under the almost magic influence of the two Shawanese brothers. All evidence goes to prove that the meeting was in the beginning a purely religious one, and that it thrived wonderfully in spite of the bitter opposition of the other tribes and of the leaders of many of those actually represented.

While his brother was winning adherents in the north, Tecumseh was going from tribe to tribe in the south and central territories organizing an alliance. He did not believe that the whites could be destroyed thru any interposition of Heaven, but he did think that by a combination of the Indians the westward march could be effectively checked at the Ohio river. His plan was to unite the northern and southern tribes, at that time nearly separated by the cessions made by the Indians in the past.

In September, 1809, General Harrison signed a treaty with certain Delaware, Pottawotamy, Miami, Kickapoo, Weas, and Eel River Indians, in which these tribes granted him all lands extending up the Wabash above Terra Haute and including the middle waters of the White River in consideration for annuities and presents amounting in all to \$10,550. When Tecumseh heard of the treaty he threatened all the chiefs concerned in making it—a threat all the more formidable in consequence of the late acquisition to the Prophets's party of the Wyandots, a small tribe on Lake Erie, who were, however, far famed warriors and held in respect by all the northern tribes. Tecumseh claimed that this, and the Greenville Treaty of 1795, following Wayne's famous victory, were invalid because the Ohio was the only true boundary as established in 1768, and that all future cessions must have the sanction of all tribes claiming rights in that region.

As the tribes were constantly shifting about, following the game in its migrations, he held that no one tribe had any possessory rights to the land while in actual occupancy and that any sale of lands to be valid must be sanctioned by all tribes concerned. His claim was certainly founded in justice, but the government refused to admit the principle in theory although repeatedly acting upon it in practice, for every important treaty made thereafter in the Mississippi Valley was a joint treaty since it was found impossible to assign the ownership of any considerable section of land to any one particular tribe.

In consequence of repeated reports of intended hostilities, Harrison invited the Prophet and his brother to an interview. Nothing, however, was accomplished and on August 12th, 1810, a second meeting took place just outside the village of Vincennes to which Tecumseh brought some four hundred followers. The meeting broke up in a quarrel and Tecumseh returned to Tippecanoe. Shortly afterward Tecumseh started south alone in hopes of bringing the Creeks, Choctaws and Chichasaws into his confederacy, leaving instruction with the prophet, not to begin hostilities until he had returned. In the meantime, however, numerous complaints were made from the frontier of horses being stolen, houses plundered, and of alleged murders, and, the people of Vincennes and its neighborhood being in constant fear of sudden attack, Harrison was obliged to begin hostilities and, aided by a regiment of regular infantry under Boyd which had been sent to his aid from Pittsburg, he decisively defeated the Prophet and his followers at the famous battle of Tippecanoe.

Important as this Indian war is as illustrating the inevitable conflict between the Indians and the expanding Whites, it was no less important in creating a hostile feeling with the English, for it is doubtful if the movement would ever have become formidable if it had not been incited and assisted from across the line. In the American State Papers on Indian affairs, Volume I, pages 797 to 799, are to be found extracts from forty-seven letters dated from various points in the northwest from May 24th, 1807, to November 23rd, 1811, bearing on the influence of English agents on the Indian tribes of the northwest and on evidences of hostilities among the Indians prior to the actual out-

break of hostilities. Among these letters are to be found extracts such as the following:—

Detroit, July 27, 1807.

Large bodies of Indians from the westward and southward continue to visit the British post at Ambertsburgh, and are supplied with provisions, arms, ammunition, etc. Much more attention is paid to them than usual.

Gov. Hull.

Vincennes, July 25, 1810.

There can be no doubt of the designs of the Prophet and of the British agent of Indian affairs to do us injury. This agent is a refugee from the neighborhood of —, and his implacable hatred to his native country prompted him to take part with the Indians in their battle between them and General Wayne's army. He has ever since his appointment to the principle agency used his utmost endeavor to excite hostilities and the lavish manner in which he is allowed to scatter presents among them shows that his government participates in his enmity and authorizes his measures.

Governor Harrison.

Fort Wayne, Aug. 7, 1810.

Since writing you on the 25th ult., about a hundred sulkies have returned from the British agent who supplied them liberally with everything that they stood in need of. The party received 47 rifles with plenty of powder and lead. This is sending fire-brands into the Mississippi country inasmuch as it will draw numbers of our Indians to the British side in hopes of being treated with the same liberality.

Captain Johnson.

Aside from this seeming absolute proof other significant points are to be noted leading to the same conclusion. At least twice prior to this time the English had been known as an absolute fact to have incited opposition to the Americans. When Dunmore was governor of Virginia in 1775 he issued a proclamation inviting the negroes to join his standard, to cut the throats of their masters and promised them a pardon. (See Annals of 12th Congress, debate in the House Dec. 1, 1810. Speech of Wright

of Maryland.) In 1793 Lord Dorchester in a speech to the Indians advised them to use the tomahawk and scalping knife. This fact was attested by the newspapers of the day and had universal credit. It is also noteworthy that immediately after the defeat of Tippecanoe that Tecumseh and his brother joined the English army and were prominent in battles along the Great Lakes thereafter throughout the war. It is thus evident that the people of the west had just reason for complaint against the English, in spite of professions of doubt expressed by certain opponents of the war, in Congress.

(To be Continued.)



"OLD PIERCE MILL."

Rock Creek Park, Washington, D. C., now a Red Cross Station and the scene of many social functions. It is a favorite resort of President Taft and President Roosevelt was always "Delighted" to stop at the "Old Mill."

HISTORIC VIEWS AND REVIEWS

THE FATHER OF MODERN PHOTOGRAPHY

THE hundredth anniversary of the birth of Professor John William Draper, the first person to take a photograph of the human face, was celebrated at New York University on May 5. Dr. Draper's interest in photography was purely that of the scientific investigator and his achievements along these lines have been outlined by Professor Arthur B. Ladd.

DR. DRAPER'S ACHIEVEMENTS

"Dr. Draper's most notable achievement," he said, "was his improvement of the novel photographic process of Daguerre, whereby he won the historic distinction of being the first to photograph the human features. Daguerre and other scientists of the time had maintained that it was impossible to photograph human beings. Draper, however, had already made important discoveries regarding the chemical action of light, and was thus qualified and prepared to attack the problem successfully. His first photograph or daguerreotype, as it was called, is reproduced in the accompanying illustration, and is a portrait of Dr. Draper's sister, Miss Dorothy Catherine Draper. "She well deserved this signal honor at his hands, for throughout his studies she had always been his faithful assistant.

"The first photograph gallery ever established anywhere was opened in 1840 by Dr. Draper, on the roof of the old New York University building. Here Draper, who was professor of chemistry in the University, and Professor Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, who taught fine arts in the same institution, took the photographs of nearly all the notables of the period. Professor Morse posed the sitters and attended to the artistic details, while Professor Draper operated his camera, made from a cigar

box and a spectacle lens, and developed the photographs. On the twenty-third of March, 1840, Dr. Draper presented to the New York Lyceum of Natural History the first photograph ever taken of the moon."

HIS HISTORICAL AND LITERARY WORK

Dr. Draper was born in the parish of St. Helen, not far from Liverpool, England, came to this country when twenty-two years old. He was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with the degree of doctor of medicine, and later became professor of chemistry in Hampden-Sydney College, Virginia. His reputation gained for him the professorship of chemistry in New York University soon after, and he occupied that chair until his death on Jan. 4, 1882. Dr. Draper founded the university's medical department, where he lectured with brilliancy on chemistry. Princeton conferred on him the degree of doctor of laws. The versatility of Draper may be noted in that his great learning and keen thinking was not confined to scientific works, but manifested itself in historical and literary productions. More than a hundred books were published by him, and they included a history of the civil war in three volumes, which was extremely valuable, in that he was allowed free access to official and secret departmental records in the course of his researches. A deep impression was created in intellectual circles, both here and abroad, by the publication of his greatest work, "The History of the Intellectual Development of Europe."

IN MEMORY OF FRENCH ALLIES

On the campus of St. John's College, at Annapolis, Md., there was unveiled on April 18, a bronze tablet erected by the General Society of the Sons of the Revolution to the memory of the nameless French soldiers and sailors who in 1781 laid down their lives in the cause of American independence. President Taft and Ambassador Jusserand both made addresses, and representatives of the Sons of the Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Society of the Cincinnati, the Maryland Historical Society, and the Daughters of the American Revolution were

in attendance. Following the presentation of the pink granite monument bearing the tablet to St. John's College as custodian, by Edmund Whitmore, acting president of the General Society of the Sons of the Revolution, the memorial was unveiled by Miss Amelie de Pau Fowler of Baltimore, a descendant of Admiral Count De Grasse, commander of the French fleet at the siege of Yorktown. In a brief speech Dr. Thomas Fell, president of St. John's accepted the monument on behalf of the college. The addresses of President Taft and Ambassador Jusserand followed.

THE AGE OF THE "MANOR HOUSE"

The city officials of Yonkers, N. Y., recently discovered that the "Manor House," which many local historians thought was erected in 1682, was not built until 1729. Hence the gold figure set upon the roof of the Manor House, "1682," was a lie and has been taken down. The date "1682" was at total variance with the tablet upon the side of the building, which said "the Manor of Phillipsburg" was created by royal grant in 1693, or eleven years after the year set by the numerals on the roof. Recently the Yonkers Historical Society undertook the restoration of the old Manor House at an expense of \$50,000. Judge T. Astley Aikins, vice-president of the society who has this work in charge said: "The date 1682 has remained upon the roof long enough to mislead many persons. The first lord of Philipse, who was the first Frederick Philipse, who was only a boy in 1682. When he received the manor in 1693 he built and lived in a castle at Pocantico. He died in 1702."

A NEW INTERNATIONAL HIGHWAY

The proposition to name the proposed international highway from New York to Montreal in honor of President Taft and King Edward has met with instantaneous approval by all classes, especially in Canada. George Simard of Montreal, chairman of the Canadian committee, has received a letter from Lord Grey approving of the proposition to name the road after King Edward and will recommend to the Secretary of State for Colonies that the request be granted. A proposition for the erection of a

peace monument on the new road at the Canadian border will also be pushed.

A LETTER TO BENEDICT ARNOLD

An interesting letter of Gen. Ira Allen, a Revolutionary patriot of Vermont, and one of the founders of that State, was sold at Freeman's in Philadelphia recently. The writer was a younger brother of Ethan Allen of Fort Ticonderoga fame, and himself served at the battle of Bennington. The letter, which is two pages folio, is dated June 20, 1775, and is addressed to Col. Benedict Arnold. It has two lines indorsement in Arnold's hand, and relates to the latter's expedition into Canada. The letter in part is as follows, with Ira Allen's own spelling, &c.:

Shall Preseed on my Scout as fast as May be: Have but one Request to Make to you, (which I hope & Expect will be a Gree-
abl, as I send a man on Purpass) it is that you Send no Scout after me: or at Least Not under Nine Days from this Date I shall Go Principally in the Night so as to Get Down undiscovered to them. I take men with me that are well acquainted Both By Land & Water I'll Take all Possible Care that no army or Scout Shall Pass by Me with Out Giving You immediate notice; if there Should another Scout Come Perhaps They would Not Know the Make of the Country So well as we Do and Might Be Discovered that would flustioart our Plans: if there Don't None Come—I'll Loose My Life or See St. Johns & Know their Numbers and motion and Whether there is any Canadians or Indians Joind them. There is Creeks and Places that we Know of that We Can Hide our Botes in & Go as Many as is Proper & View their Motion Till Shall Be fully Satisfied.

One would not imagine the writer of that letter was an author, yet Ira Allen's "Natural and Political History of Vermont" was published in London in 1798. As a senior Major General of the State Militia in 1795 he went to Europe to purchase arms for his Commonwealth, but on his way home was captured, taken to England, and charged with being an emissary of the French, and as intending to supply the Irish revolutionists with arms. After long litigation the matter was settled in Allen's favor. He died in Philadelphia in 1814.

LINCOLN'S FIRST DEGREE

While cleaning out a case of old books in the basement of the Columbia University library one of the boys attached to the staff discovered a dusty catalogue of Columbia College of 1861, which contains the record of the granting of the degree of LL.D. to Abraham Lincoln, who had been inaugurated as President of the United States in the preceding March. It was the first college degree that Lincoln received. The catalogue contains fewer than one hundred pages, and in addition to the announcement of the college proper, the law and the medical schools, it contains the report of the grammar department, long since discontinued. The total number of students was 541, not one-tenth of the number registered at the present time. The total teaching staff numbered thirty-nine. The honor men of the classes of 1860 and 1861 are listed, those in 1860 being William F. Whitehouse, John Howard Van Amringe, who has just retired after fifty years of service in the university; Egerton L. Winthrop, father of the President of the Board of Education, Frederick K. Tracy and Robert Goelet, Jr. The honor men in 1861 were Frederick Cope Whitehouse, William Alexander Rice, Samuel Baldwin Ward, William Halstead Caswell and Elisha Horton. The catalogue is said to be the only one in existence.

An interesting holograph letter of George Washington, said to be unpublished, was sold at Sotheby's in London recently. It was written when Washington was only 20 years of age, and is dated King George City, (sic) June 10, 1752. The year previous despite his youth he had received an appointment as Adjutant General, with the rank of Major, to inspect and exercise the militia in one of the districts into which Virginia was divided in fear of French encroachments and Indian depredations. The letter in part is as follows:

“Honble Sir: Being impatient to know Col. Fitzhugh's result, I went to Maryland as I returned Home. He is willing to accept the Adjutancy of the Northern Neck (of Virginia) if he can obtain it on the terms he proposes, which he hardly expects will be granted him. The inclosed is his letter, wherein I believe he informs of his intention. He told me he would, when convenien-

cy admitted, build a House in Virginia, at which he should sometimes reside. If I could have the Honour of obtaining that, in case Col. Fitzhugh does not, or either of the other two, should take the greatest pleasure in punctually obeying from time to time your Honour's commands."

On the second blank page, in another hand, are these written comments:

"I hope Capt. Mackay will have more sense than to insist on a very unreasonable distinction, tho' he & his have commissions from his Majesty. Let him consider that we are greatly inferior in respect to profitable advantages, yet we have the same spirit to serve our gracious King as they have, & are as ready and willing to sacrifice our lives for our country's good as them, and here once more and for the last time I must say that will be a canker that will grate some officers of this Regiment beyond all measure to serve upon such different terms when their lives, their fortunes, & their characters are equally and, I daresay as effectively exposed as those who are happy enough as to have King's commissions."

Washington, notwithstanding this opposition, was appointed and in the following year made his famous trip through the Wilderness from Williamsburg to Venango, as Gov. Dinwiddie's Commissioner to remonstrate against the aggressions of the French.

THE REMAINS OF JOHN PAUL JONES

A writer in the *Syracuse* (N. Y.) *Post Sentinel* calls attention to a very important fact, and, incidentally, asks some quite pertinent questions, in the following brief article:

It is six years since the bones of John Paul Jones, discovered in Paris and disinterred because of the patriotic initiative of Horace Porter and at his expense, were brought to America. The authorities of several cities begged for the honor of receiving the dust that had lain for so long in the French burial ground and for the privilege of building a memorial to the naval hero. President Roosevelt decided that the fitting place of final burial was at the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and that the monument to stand above the bones should be placed there by the United States

Government. The propriety of this decision we have never heard questioned.

Six years ago with impressive ceremonial the bones of John Paul Jones were taken into the chapel at Annapolis and were reverently delivered into the keeping of the Government of the United States. Ever since the box has rested on two saw horses underneath a stairway in one of the academy halls.

No city and no civic association would have dared show the disregard of its accepted duty, the disrespect to a holy charge, that the United States Government has shown its first great naval commander.

Congress should not delay longer making the appropriation necessary to take John Paul Jones out from underneath the stairs even though it gives him only the headstone which the Government allows all war veterans.

JUNE, 1911

AMERICANA

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FAMOUS CHILKAT INDIAN BLANKET

The only one of its kind in existence

AMERICANA

June, 1911

HISTORIC INDIAN BLANKETS

BY CHALMERS LOWELL PANCOAST

THE study of Indian blankets of unusual make results in an unending experience of romance and mystery. To the average person a blanket is a mass of color, with a distinct utilitarian purpose. But to the collector, expert and the student that is only the obvious, commonplace meaning.

All American Indian Blankets have their special significance more or less hidden from a casual observer. It may be a cross, a bird, a tree, a stiff animal, or a cabalistic mark—there is a deep meaning in each.

When one learns that the beautiful blankets, woven by various weaving tribes, are human documents, it is only natural to behold a combination of odd designs and striking colors with awe and deep reverence. There is always an overwhelming desire to learn the story that is woven into the ever-changing strands, or to hear of the tales of woe, suffering, or joy and happiness the gaudy colors would tell, had they the power of speech.

The photograph shown here was made of the famous Chilkat blanket, which hangs in the Indian Curio Building at Albuquerque, New Mexico. The unique hieroglyphics in the Historic Chilkat Blanket tell a wonderful story of romance, pathos and happiness. It was made in Alaska, and is the only one of its kind ever made. Not only that, it is one of the few Indian blankets whose history is known.

There are three prominent colors in the blanket, all of which are made by old mineral dyes. The green is made from copper, the yellow from moss and the black from iron. This blanket is known to be one of the rarest and most valuable blankets in ex-

istence. It was woven by the daughter of a famous Crow chief of the olden times, when she was almost seventy years of age. Her family is supposed to have its origin, in accordance with the genealogical ideas of the Kivakiults, in the crow. When a mere child, this daughter of the great chief was initiated into the secret of the Chilkat Indian weavers, and from them learned the methods of dyeing and weaving the wool. When she made this blanket, which is said to have been her masterpiece, and, in fact, her last blanket, her eyesight was almost gone.

The material of the historic blanket is the wool of the mountain goat, an animal now almost extinct. She dressed, carded and spun the wool herself on a primitive wheel. The dyes are known as mineral or "old dyes" which means, that all colors were manufactured by the Indians from the elements of the earth.

The blanket is divided into three great panels, as shown in the figure. The middle panel tells, in the peculiar hieroglyphics of the Indians of that tribe, the history of the origin of blanket weaving. The outer panels give in the upper part a figure of her Crow ancestors, as well as part of the romance or story proper.

The panels are supposed to be from a solid figure split in twain and laid apart, corresponding to what is known as a perspective. The main blanket is snowy white, trimmed on the upper border with otter skin.

The value of a blanket of this kind, even among the Indians themselves, depends upon the accuracy with which the story is worked into the blanket, and for that reason this blanket in particular is most valuable.

The story of the romance, pathos and happiness has been translated with this version.

"A beautiful Indian maiden, the daughter of a great chief, went to the woods berry picking. There she met a grizzly bear. The grizzly bear, who is the evil spirit of the Indians, captured her and married her. In spite of the many fights the young men of the tribe had with the bear they were never able to kill him. Repeatedly they shot arrows through his heart, just in front of his forelegs and behind it, but never a drop of blood came forth.

“One day the old grizzly bear wandered far from his forest toward the sea shore. There he found a big patch of red huckleberries and in eating them, for the moment forgot his wife.

“She wandered down to the sea and bewailed her terrible fate to the waves. Suddenly from the water the great sea bear appeared, and asked her in a gentle voice why she wept. Struck by his beauty and aroused by his sympathy, she told him the story of her capture and imprisonment. Her story so greatly worked on his feelings that he immediately fell in love with her and determined to fight her husband. Having no weapons he decided to use stones.

“The beautiful Indian maiden also lost her heart to this brave warrior and confided to him that if he would strike the grizzly bear between the eyes he would fall dead, for there was his vital spot.

“A fearful struggle ensued. The wife sat on the banks and watched it with much concern. Finally, however, the sea bear, by a well directed blow, stretched the grizzly lifeless upon the sands. The victor took the grizzly’s wife to the bottom of the sea, where they lived in great happiness. Soon a child was born to them, but as the child grew older the father noticed that the mother was growing pale and sorrowful. He asked her the cause and she admitted that although she loved him dearly, she wished her son to be brought up by her people. One of the most sacred customs among these Indians is that the children shall return to the mother’s family. He consented that she should return temporarily to earth with her son, but made the provision that she should weave for him a ceremonial blanket which would tell the story of their courtship.

“Welcomed back to the circle of her family, she educated her son and spent her spare time weaving the promised blanket. In spite of the greatest secrecy, the other maidens of the village spied on her, and thus was the secret discovered and perpetuated by similar blankets to future generations. She finally returned to her husband, but left her child with its grandfather.”

Only an Indian mind, filled as it is with superstitions, could dream such a wonderful story as told by this old Indian. This blanket is exceptionally beautiful, both on account of the fineness

of the weave, the accuracy of the portrayed story and the color scheme. The three panels representing three separate blankets, woven all together, at the same time, and by one person, is as rare a feat as the blanket is a rare production.

The photograph shows plainly the eyes of the grizzly bear, his heart situated between his eyes; heart and fins of the sea bear, the face of the son, the heart of the mother, the face of the grandfather, and other peculiarly shaped hieroglyphics, all of which assist in telling this wonderful Indian legend.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

BY LEIGH RAYMOND PRATT

“**T**ELL em we're risin' ” was the brave, yet pathetic reply of a little urchin when, shortly after the war, General Howard asked a colored school what message they would like to send by him to their friends in the North. The sentiment was characteristic of the optimistic race and epitomizes the negro view of his own evolution and destiny; while it succinctly states one of the most indubitable facts of the last half century.

The most salient and superficial feature of negro development is the more than doubling of population. Far more remarkable is the creation of wealth. In 1860 the race possessed nothing, not even themselves, let alone homes, churches and schools; no tools or equipment of any kind; every avenue of emolument barred; their only assets brawn, and the courage and ambitions born, a few years later, of joy over broken shackles. Today negroes own in the United States over twenty million acres of land, an area larger than that of Belgium and Holland combined; thirty-five thousand churches valued at sixty million dollars; they own or operate nearly half a million farms; and their total wealth mounts up to well nigh a billion dollars. If creation means “making something out of nothing,” the negro has indeed solved one of the problems of the ages.

But far more important than mere numerical increase or gain in wealth has been the slow but steady advance of the negro in efficiency, intelligence, self reliance, initiative and morality. He is beginning to assume his own place in the scheme of things. He has worked his way—is still working it—through the multitudinous questions arising from the association of dissimilar races, with its “social equality” tangles and “Jim Crow” demarcations, and through discriminations and misunderstandings that

gave rise to embroilments political, social, economic. But out of it all is being evolved a new and finer order of things.

The number of negroes committed for crimes in a recent year was only 2.7 per thousand. Commitments for what has been called "the negro's crime" have decreased in recent years and is as low as 1.8 per 100,000 as against from 1.9 to 5.3 among those of several other nationalities. Indeed, according to the Chicago Tribune, this crime is twelve times as common in Chicago as in the "Black Belt." There are over fifty negro banks in the United States. Many schools and colleges are supported in whole or part by negro contributions. There are publishing companies that are doing large things. In literature, in art, in music there have been many creditable achievements. A recent tendency has shown itself among negroes not only to build up a business life of their own in white communities but to develop distinctly negro settlements. One of the best known of these is Mound Bayou, Mississippi, where there are fifty stores, several churches, a Normal and Industrial Institute and a Baptist college. Of this village a prominent Southern paper recently remarked: "They have worked out for themselves a better local government than any superior people has ever done for them in freedom. Boley, Oklahoma, is another town in which no white man owns land. The spirit which animates the new negro of the South today is well typified by the remark of one of the prosperous citizens of Boley, who, on being remonstrated with for going there to take up his residence, replied: "I want to be where I can do a little leading, myself." These facts, taken almost at random from the hopeful array of evidence, are only sporadic illustrations of the turn of the tide in the development of a race, and give promise—high promise—that a sane and rightful outcome of a difficult and dangerous situation is at hand. The problems are still many and complicated; the burdens are onerous and the handicaps serious; there is yet much groping and feeling the way on both sides. But the dawn is breaking—indeed has broken—and the path toward full redemption is illuminated by the rays of a rising, not declining, sun.

What has changed the faltering footsteps of a hapless race into a firm and confident tread? Emancipation only removed



CLASS IN CANING CHAIRS—HOUSEHOLD HANDICRAFTS



BLACKSMITH DEPARTMENT, HAMPTON INSTITUTE

[By courtesy of Hampton Institute.]

the shackles; it did not teach the art of walking. It made progress possible, to be sure, but its immediate effect was to maroon the negro in the center of a limitless field, like a baby on a hard-wood floor. He could not even rise to his feet; but he could creep, and creep he did, until he got a footing. The premature bestowal of the ballot did not bring about the uplift; but, by reversing conditions, it disclosed a need and pointed the way to betterment.

Previous to the war, it was a misdemeanor, in Southern states, punishable by fine, imprisonment or whipping, to give instruction to any descendants of African parentage; and this prohibition was extended, in most states, to "free persons of color," thus precluding all self-help. There is no more heroic chapter in history than that written before the war, which depicts the patience and inspired pertinacity of slaves and "free persons of color" in giving clandestine instruction to their fellows. Pitifully meagre were the results, indeed, but the spark of love for learning was being kept alive, ready to burst into flame as soon as the war was over.

If it is impossible to describe the famished eagerness with which the colored people met, more than half way, the efforts of devoted men and women to provide for their education, it is also difficult to describe their utter and bitter need. The few New England teachers who attempted to open schools, even before the soldiers had begun to turn their faces northward, were swamped by eager youngsters who besieged the very windows of the cabin schools; but the youngsters were hungry, homeless, almost naked little animals. Their parents, turned away from ruined plantations, were eking out a wretched existence in the depths of ignorance, possessing not the slightest manual skill or intelligence, freedom only setting them loose under new conditions with which they were in no wise able to cope. To avert "the tragedy of a race that must live and yet could not earn its bread" was the tremendous task to which first the North and then the South, first the white man and then the negro himself, addressed themselves.

It is not the present purpose to give even an epitome of the history of negro education, but to show, by a single instance, along what lines the situation is being grappled with. In 1868,

only a year after George Peabody gave \$1,000,000, the first of the great benefactions for negro education, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong was sent to Virginia as an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau. He was the son of missionary parents, born in Hawaii, and his recognition of the needs of the negroes was instant and instinctive. That he had had command of a colored regiment during the war was part of his preparation for what was to prove his life work. With the help of the American Missionary Association he purchased "Little Scotland," an estate of one hundred and twenty-five acres, on Hampton River, looking out over the beautiful Hampton Roads. Here was founded Hampton Institute, of which noble institution President Taft said: "The negro is absolutely essential to the development of the South. His labor the South needs, and the more you instruct that labor the more valuable the negro becomes to the South. Hence it is that the work of Hampton Institute has its intrinsic importance. It is the solution of the race question." And General Armstrong's own pregnant words give eloquent expression to the ideals that, under the impulse of his humane purpose, have shaped the policy of this great enterprise: "To train selected negro youth who should go out and teach their people, first by example, by getting land and homes; to give them not a dollar that they could earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor; to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands; and, to these ends, to build up an industrial system, for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character." What wonder that Hampton Institute is one of the great formative influences in the history of the nation! Why should not its more than twenty-five thousand graduates be a leaven that is transforming a race?

The work of the Hampton Institute is of an intensely practical character. The bearing which this has on the uplift of the colored people may be realized from the fact that the graduates of this school have taught over two hundred and fifty thousand children, and have filled positions in nearly every one of the two hundred negro schools of secondary and higher education in the Southern states. The academic department dovetails with all the others, and imparting of merely theoretical knowledge is



THE BABY ORCHESTRA—HAMPTON INSTITUTE



BRICK CONSTRUCTION WORK—HAMPTON INSTITUTE

[By courtesy of Hampton Institute.]

avoided as far as possible. Problems in mechanics, for instance, are not abstruse but such as will arise in real life; the student learns not only the history and character of iron, but how to mold it to his will; with the laws of economics is taught the localities and conditions most favorable to the practice of different trades; with the study of architecture goes actual, tangible building—and seventy-six of the hundred and thirty-five buildings, fifteen of them of brick—are the work of the students themselves. It is a happy and useful combination that takes account of intellectual acumen and every-day, manual aptitude and proficiency.

In the trades' department, while education is the first desideratum, productivity is also aimed at, and the advantage of making objects of marketable value is fully recognized. That the articles the student makes must pass muster in the open market not only enhances the interest but leads to greater painstaking in the manufacture, and promotes responsibility.

Everything that relates to the care of the home is most scrupulously taught. For the girls this includes, of course, the whole round of domestic science; but even the boys are taught simple carpentry, glazing, chair caning, soldering tinware, repairing of furniture and everyday ordinary mending and "tinkering."

The institute comprises five general departments—academic, graduate, trades, domestic science and agricultural. For the purposes of the latter a "model farm" is maintained, besides the "working farm" of seven hundred acres, with adjuncts of poultry yards, dairy and orchards. Domestic science includes, besides cooking, sewing and housekeeping, dressmaking and laundering. The principal trades are carpentry, cabinet-making, bricklaying, plastering, painting, wheelwrighting, blacksmithing, machine work, steam fitting, plumbing, tailoring, shoemaking, tinsmithing, upholstering and printing. Wide range of work, this, for those who half a century ago were regarded as little, if any, better than mere animals and were considered absolutely incapable of advancement!

Hampton Institute, it must be remembered, is but one example, though a shining one, of many schools and colleges for negroes that now dot the South, to say nothing of the ubiquitous public and high schools. Tuskegee, Howard, Atlanta, Fisk, Wiley—but

why call the roll! What General Armstrong once said of Hampton Institute may also be hopefully predicted of every school, which, along these lines, is working out its miracle of progress and emancipation: "I am waiting for the day" said General Armstrong, "when the whole country shall come to the true idea of settling the political and race question. I believe we have it here and it will some day conquer." This "true idea"—practical, industrial as well as academic education of the colored people—is here; and it is conquering.

THE LITTLE WARS OF THE REPUBLIC

BY JOHN R. MEADER

PART XI.—THE DORR WAR

THE political disturbances in Rhode Island now known as "The Dorr War" originated as a protest against the flagrantly unjust conditions which existed in that State owing to the fact that the old colonial charter, granted by King Charles II in 1663, had remained unchanged for nearly two hundred years. According to the stipulations of this charter, which was the fundamental law of the State until 1842, no person was permitted to vote for town or State officials unless he was the owner of a specified amount of real estate, or was the eldest son of such a freeholder. In 1723, the amount of real property required was placed at one hundred pounds by the vote of the General Assembly, and it remained practically the same until the new Constitution was adopted. In fact, the only changes that occurred were occasioned by the fluctuations of paper money. As one local historian has said: "Sometimes it was in 'old tenor' and sometimes in 'lawful money,' both of which were in paper reckoned usually in pounds, shillings and pence. In 1760, the amount was forty pounds lawful money. In 1763, 'lawful money' was defined to be gold or silver. After the decimal system came into use, the mode of reckoning was changed into dollars. Thus, in forty pounds are 800 shillings, which at six shillings to the dollar, which was then New England currency, is equal to \$133.33; by the law of 1798 the sum was made \$134."

Whatever the ideas of the framers of the colonial charter may have been, the last reasons for such an electoral restriction was removed by the adoption of the State form of government, yet so great was the aversion to any change in the law that every

effort to remove this unjust discrimination against those who should have been lawful electors was speedily frustrated. Several attempts were made to secure such a change in the Constitution, but these propositions received but few votes in the General Assembly—a body that for many years was maintained as what might now be called a “close corporation.”

According to the provisions of the law then existing, two classes of American citizens were debarred from exercising the electoral privilege: (1) the second, and all other younger, sons of freemen, and (2) all citizens of other States who had acquired a residence in Rhode Island. Although both of these classes were American citizens under the qualifications required by the Federal Constitution; were compelled to pay State taxes, and were held liable for military service, none of them could cast a ballot within the State, no matter how much personal property he might possess. Only the freeman himself and his eldest son had the right to vote at any town or State election.

A more bare-faced instance of taxation without representation—the principle upon which the War of Independence had been fought—could scarcely be imagined, and its effect is thus described by Mr. Rider in his “Book Notes” (v. 5, pp. 53-57): “In 1828, more than one-half the taxes paid in Providence were paid by men who could not vote upon any question. In 1830, in North Providence, there were 200 freemen and 579 native men, over twenty-one years of age, who were disfranchised. . . . There were in 1832 five men in Pawtucket who had fought the battles for Rhode Island through the Revolution, but who, possessing no land, had never been able to vote. . . . In another respect a great wrong was done. It was in the representation of towns in the General Assembly. Jamestown had a representative for every eighteen freemen. Providence one to every 275. Smithfield, one in every 206. Fifty dollars in taxes in Barrington, had the same power in the representation that \$750 had in Providence. The minority of legal voters actually controlled the majority, as there were about 8,000 Freemen and about 13,000 unenfranchised Americans with comparatively no naturalized foreigners among them.”

It seems scarcely possible that such conditions could have ex-

isted for so many years without finding some avenue of relief, and, in the light of these facts, the student of history must feel a certain sentiment of sympathy for the men who fought so assiduously for their rights as citizens, even though in their desperation at seeing themselves apparently robbed of the fruits of their victory, they resorted to methods that were somewhat more radical than the occasion demanded. That the armed rebellion was ill-advised there can be no doubt, yet it is, and will always be, an open question if, had the resistance to authority been conducted more boldly, the "war" would not have resulted differently and victory instead of ignominious failure have been the lot of the insurgents."

Thomas Wilson Dorr, the recognized leader of the people in the battle for their rights, was a native of Rhode Island, and a member of one of the "good" families of the State. After studying in Providence, he went to Harvard University, and, at his graduation, pursued legal studies in the office of Chancellor Kent of New York City. Soon after his admission to the bar, however, he returned to Providence where he began to practice professionally. Naturally a politician, Dorr soon interested himself in local politics and was elected to the General Assembly for several terms, and it was in his capacity as law-maker that he became persuaded of the injustice of the State's electoral system. As he was a man to whom quick action was second-nature, he at once began to introduce measures in the Legislature looking to the extension of the privilege of suffrage to those who were now excluded, and, while none of these bills succeeded in passing, his enthusiastic support of the principles of the unenfranchised won the confidence of the masses and made him the recognized leader of the reform party.

At the January (1841) session of the General Assembly, a petition was presented praying for the extension of the rights of suffrage, and, as it was signed by nearly 600 male inhabitants, the Legislature felt compelled to give it some serious attention. Accordingly, a resolution was passed requesting the freemen, as the qualified voters were called, to select delegates to a Constitutional Convention to be held the following November, and, as the result of the labors of this body, the instrument called the "Landholders' Constitution" was framed.

In the meantime, without waiting for the "Landholders" to act, those who were favorable to the widest possible extension of the suffrage met at Newport and appointed a "State committee" to arrange for a constitutional convention at Providence in October. At the time appointed this body assembled, and it was through their efforts that the instruments known as the "People's Constitution" was prepared. Moreover, at the conclusion of their deliberations, the members of the "Peoples'" party called an election, to be held on December 27, 28 and 29, at which all males over twenty-one years of age were to be permitted to vote for the adoption or rejection of the proposed Constitution. It was also provided that "every person entitled to vote as aforesaid, who, from sickness or other causes, may be unable to attend and vote in the town or ward meeting assembled for voting upon said Constitution, on the days aforesaid, is requested to write his name on a ticket, and to obtain the signature upon the back of the same of a person who has given in his vote, as a witness thereto. And the moderator or clerk of any town or ward meeting, convened for the purpose aforesaid, shall receive such vote on either of the three days next succeeding the three days before named for voting for said Constitution."

Naturally such an action aroused the strongest kind of opposition on the part of the party in power, for its leaders not only were opposed to the manner of holding the "Peoples'" convention but to the liberal tone of the Constitution that this convention proposed. By the "Landholders'" Constitution, the rights of suffrage were to be extended only to "white male *native* citizens. "Those possessing the property qualification were permitted to vote upon a residence of one year; those without such qualification, upon a residence of two years, whereas the "Peoples' Constitution" extended the privileges to "every white male citizen of the United States" of the age of twenty-one, thus giving the right of the ballot to persons who had moved into Rhode Island from other States as well as to native sons. By both Constitutions, a property qualification was required to vote for taxes, etc. ,

At the December election, the "Peoples'" instrument was carried by an overwhelming majority, about fourteen thousand

votes being cast, and, in accordance with its provisions, an election for State officers was held in April, 1842, at which Dorr was chosen Governor.

In March, 1842, the Landholders' Constitution'' was submitted to the people, and was rejected by a majority of 666 votes, more than sixteen thousand persons having voted, and as this left the question to be determined between the "Peoples' Constitution'' and the old King Charles Charter, the victory of the reform party was proclaimed with the greatest enthusiasm, despite the fact that Governor King had issued a proclamation denouncing the acts of the suffragists as treasonable and warning the people that the most serious consequences would attend further movements in that direction.

If Governor King imagined that such an utterance upon his part would put a quietus upon the activities of men like Dorr and his supporters he was destined to be much disappointed, for, following the special election of April 18, 1842, the officers elected under the "Peoples' Constitution'' showed most conclusively that they proposed to take their seats, regardless of whether the present Government was willing to retire or not. A copy of the State seal was made, and orders were issued requesting the militia to assemble in Providence on May 4, that they might perform escort duty at the inauguration of the newly-elected Governor. These plans were carried out as agreed upon; the new Legislature was organized in accord with the customary form, except that, being refused the use of the State House, the "Peoples' " Assembly met in an unfinished building, said by some to have been a foundry. Here a message was delivered by Dorr—a document which is generally described as "bold, firm, and decided in tone, as well as dignified in its character."

A resolution was then passed informing the President, Congress, and the Governor of the several States that the new government had taken its seat; the laws passed by the previous Legislature, designed to prevent citizens from participating in the suffrage movement, were repealed, and a formal demand was made for the possession of the public records, State funds, and all other properties. An effort was also made, at Dorr's

suggestion, to persuade the new Legislature to vote to take possession of the State House and other public buildings, but the members declined to go so far. Here, it is believed, the party made its fatal mistake, for, as Payne said in "The Great Dorr War," (New England Mag., June, 1890): "If Mr. Dorr and his officers, supported by the armed men then at their command, had taken possession of the State House, Arsenal, and other State property, and acted as if they had confidence in themselves and their cause, the result might have been different. This was the course desired and advocated by Mr. Dorr, but he was overruled by more timid men, who dared go just far enough to commit themselves, disturb the peace of the State, and provoke the Law and Order Government, but not far enough to give themselves a chance of success."

While "Governor" Dorr was being inaugurated with due solemnity in Providence, the regularly elected General Assembly was in session at Newport, where, on the same day, another inauguration took place, and a resolution was passed declaring that Rhode Island was in a state of insurrection and calling upon the President for aid, a request that was not granted. The following day several members of the insurgents' Legislature were arrested, and as this act of the authorities had a most disheartening effect upon the followers of Dorr, the latter hurried to Washington, where he endeavored to secure the countenance of President Tyler. He, too, was unsuccessful, the President refusing to do more than give good advice as to the wisdom of mutual concessions.

During Dorr's absence, both parties continued the military preparations, and, on the 18th, the attempt to take the arsenal that ended so ignominiously, was made. Boldly enough the insurgents, with their chief at their head, marched to the attack, but when they found that their cannon would not fire, and that they had only small arms with which to defend themselves against the "Algerines," as the Law and Order party was called they broke ranks and fled. In speaking of this incident, Mr. Rider said, in a note to "The Dorriad": "The attempt to fire the gun which Dorr brought against the arsenal failed, for some reason that was never explained. The match was applied to

the priming, which responded only by a flash. It was said that Dorr, suspecting some treachery, repeated the attempt with his own hand, but with no better success. It was evident that the communication had been cut off between the priming and the powder, in the chamber of the gun; and it was believed that the touch-hole had been plugged by some of his own friends whose counsels had been overborne, but who took this practical mode of testifying against violence. The 'Algerines' said that the gun was loaded, ball first."

The "Peoples' " Legislature, which had adjourned after a three-days' session, was to have reassembled in Providence on July 4, but, in the meantime, Governor King and the landowners' assumed the initiative and attacked Dorr's headquarters, which had been established at the home of Burrington Anthony. While there was an apparent show of resistance, no real attempt was made to obstruct the passage of King's men, but, in the excitement Dorr escaped to Connecticut, where he was regarded as so much a hero that he was not only given every facility to rally his supporters in sufficient number to assure his safe and successful return to Rhode Island, but Governor Cleveland even refused to honor the requisitions that Governor King made upon him for the body of the insurgent chief. Indeed, so sincere was the sympathy for Dorr that mass meetings in his behalf were held in several New England cities while the Legislature of Maine, at the suggestion of Governor Fairfield, passed resolutions upholding him.

Finding it inadvisable to attempt to go to Providence, Dorr issued a proclamation summoning the General Assembly to meet at Alcot's Hill, Chepachet, on the fourth of July, and it was generally understood that matters would come to a final test at this time. Anticipating this, Governor King declared the State to be under martial law, and every available soldier was ordered under arms.

Dorr arrived at the encampment, where many of his friends had already gathered, at 2 o'clock on the morning of June 25, and, early the next morning, the State troops appeared—five hundred men under the command of Colonel W. W. Brown preceded by a scout-party of infantry led by Lieutenant Pitman.

No resistance was offered by the suffragists, but all fled in confusion before a gun had been fired by either party. Dorr once more made his escape, and remained without the State until October 31, when he voluntarily returned and submitted to arrest. He was immediately committed to jail, without bail, to await trial for treason.

“The spirit in which this trial was conducted,” said Mr. Payne, “does no credit to the fairness or magnanimity of the court or of the Law and Order party. Under an unusual provision of the act, although all Dorr’s acts had been done in Providence County, he was tried in Newport, the most unfriendly county in the State. Every point was ruled against him, and the charge to the jury, while sound in law, plainly showed the opinion and wishes of the court. It was promptly followed by a verdict of guilty, and on this verdict Dorr was sentenced to imprisonment for life.”

Declining to purchase his freedom at the cost of his oath to support the Constitution in the future, Dorr went to prison, where he remained until June, 1845, when he was pardoned by Governor Dinman, and, eight years later, during the administration of Governor Allen, the Legislature passed an act restoring him to full citizenship.

HISTORY OF THE MORMON CHURCH

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER XLVII

POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE SAINTS IN ILLINOIS: JOSEPH SMITH NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

TO hold the balance of political power in a free state may be, under extraordinary circumstances, advantageous to those who possess it; but the position is always dangerous, and the hold upon the advantages precarious. Such a condition can never be permanently established; for as soon as likelihood of permanency appears there is quickly formed a combination of forces to break down the balance of power party, so obnoxious is it in free communities where political questions naturally divide the people into two parties.

Such were the conditions that confronted the Latter-day Saints at Nauvoo, in the congressional and county election in the fall of 1843. The Whig and Democratic parties were so divided in Illinois that the citizens of Nauvoo held the balance of power in the congressional district, as also in Hancock county, of which Nauvoo was the most populous town; and it was feared that they would soon hold the balance of power in the State if they did not even then possess it. This condition brought to the Saints the usual temporary advantages that go with it. Many concessions were made to them, candidates of both political parties sought their support after the manner of political candidates, anxious to win. It was a case where "Bel boweth down, and Nebo stoopeth." In this instance, however, the position was not sought by the Saints, but was one forced upon them by the nature of the circumstances that environed them. President Smith himself perhaps has given the best explanation

of the enforced necessity of the Saints voting unitedly in Illinois, and I here quote that explanation:

“With regard to elections, some say all the Latter-day Saints vote together and vote as I say. But I never tell any man how to vote, or whom to vote for. But I will show you how we have been situated by bringing a comparison. Should there be a Methodist society here and two candidates running for office, one says: ‘If you will vote for me and put me in governor I will exterminate the Methodists, take away their charters, etc.’ The other candidate says ‘If I am governor I will give all an equal privilege.’ Which would the Methodists vote for? Of course they would vote *en masse* for the candidate that would give them their rights. Thus it has been with us. Joseph Duncan said, if the people would elect him, he would exterminate the Mormons and take away their charters. As to Mr. Ford he made no such threats, but manifested a spirit in his speeches to give every man his rights; hence the Church universally voted for Mr. Ford, and he was elected governor.”¹

In the congressional and county election of 1843, the “balance of power” situation became a prominent factor. It will be remembered that Cyrus Walker refused to become counsel for President Smith when under arrest at Dixon, unless the latter would pledge him his vote in the then pending election. This President Smith did and Walker was satisfied that he would go to congress, as he expected that the Prophet’s pledge to vote for him would bring to him, practically, the entire vote of Nauvoo, which would insure his election, and he so expressed himself to Stephen Markham. He was justified, of course, in entertaining this expectation, since the pledge on the part of President Smith, of course, meant more than his individual vote.

Meantime, however, it began to be rumored that the arrest of President Smith at Dixon was a political plot on the part of what was called the “Whig Junta” at Quincy, to force Governor Ford, a Democrat, to issue extradition papers for President Smith, and thus put the Democratic State administration out of favor with the Saints, provide for the deliverance of President

1. Documentary History of the Church, Vol. V, p. 490. The remarks were made at a public meeting soon after the Prophet’s release by the municipal court of Nauvoo from the custody of Reynolds and Wilson in the Dixon affair.

Smith out of the hands of the officers from Missouri by Whig agencies, and thus win the gratitude of the Saints and obtain their votes for the Whig party candidates.

The "Whig conspiracy" was set forth in great detail in the *Illinois State Register* about the middle of July, and was reprinted in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of the 19th of that Month.² Credence must have been given to this charge, and was likely the factor which determined the vote at Nauvoo in favor of the Democratic candidates. At any rate on the day preceding the election, Sunday, August 6th, President Smith said in a public meeting:

"I am not come to tell you to vote this way, that way or the other. In relation to national matters, I want it to go abroad unto the whole world that every man should stand on his own merits. The Lord has not given me a revelation concerning politics. I have not asked Him for one.³ I am a third party, and stand independent and alone. I desire to see all parties protected in their rights."

2. The several things relied upon to prove the charges were: The desire on the part of the Whigs to put the Democrats in bad repute with the Saints by making it appear that Governor Ford was willing to deliver Joseph Smith to Missouri through forcing him to issue extradition papers against the Prophet on the eve of the election; procuring an indictment against the Prophet by calling a special session of the circuit court of Daviess county, Missouri; employing in this business John C. Bennett, a special favorite and tool of the Whig Junta at Springfield, and whose movements the Whig press, especially the *Sangamo Journal*, carefully chronicled; the "treason" charged against President Smith was five or six years old, he permanently settled at Nauvoo and could be found at any time, the circuit court which indicted him held three regular sessions every year—why, then, the special session of the court unless there existed the conspiracy? Mr. Walker, shortly after his nomination, went to Nauvoo to solicit the support of the Mormons, but he was disappointed by their answers and dejected. When President Smith was arrested at Dixon, Walker "miraculously happened" to be within six miles of the place ready to be employed to deliver the Prophet from custody, but only on condition that he would pledge his vote to Walker. The *Register* article concludes:

"We say, let all these facts be borne in mind, and they produce a strong suspicion, if not conviction, that the whole affair is a Whig conspiracy to compel a Democratic governor to issue a writ against Smith, pending the Congressional election, so as to incense the Mormons, create a necessity for Walker's and perhaps Browning's professional services in favor of Smith, to get him delivered out of the net of their own weaving, and thereby get the everlasting gratitude of the Mormons and their support for the Whig cause."

3. On another occasion and in harmony with this principle President Smith said: "It is right, politically, for a man who has great influence to use it, as well as a man who has no [i. e. small] influence to use his. From henceforth I will maintain all the influence I can get. *In relation to politics I will speak as a man; but in relation to religion, I will speak in authority.*" (Documentary History of the Church, Vol. V, p. 286). The speech from which the above is quoted was delivered on the 21st of February, 1843.

He then detailed his relations with Cyrus Walker, and referred to the fact that Walker in a public speech, before the people of Nauvoo, had withdrawn all claim to their vote and influence if it would be detrimental to their interests as a people. Then President Smith added:

“Brother Hyrum tells me this morning that he has a testimony to the effect that it would be better for the people to vote for Hoge; and I never knew Hyrum to say he had a revelation and it failed. Let God speak, and all men hold their peace. I never authorized Brother Law [William Law, his 2nd Counselor in the Presidency] to tell my private feelings;³ and I utterly forbid these political demagogues from using my name hence forth and forever.”⁴

President Smith voted personally for Cyrus Walker, but the Democratic ticket both for congressman and for Hancock county officers was triumphantly elected.⁵

The sudden and unexpected change in the vote of the citizens of Nauvoo, stirred to the very depths the enmity of the defeated political party; and when, shortly after the election, the newly elected county officers appeared at the court-house in Carthage to take the oath of office, and file their bonds, an attempt was made to keep them from doing so; and the court was threatened with violence if the Mormons were permitted to qualify.

They qualified, nevertheless; whereupon a call was issued for an anti-Mormon meeting to convene in Carthage on the following Saturday, August the 19th, to protest against the Mormons holding office. The people of Carthage and vicinity assembled

4. The day previous to this, Saturday, Wm. Law had stated when in controversy with Hyrum Smith, “that to his certain knowledge, the Prophet Joseph was in favor of Mr. Walker.” (Ford’s History of Ill., p. 318).

5. Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. V, p. 526. Linn says that Hoge was elected by a majority of 455. (Story of the Mormons, p. 249). Ford says that Hoge received about three thousand votes in Nauvoo; “and was elected to congress by six or eight hundred majority.” Gregg, the Historian of Hancock County, says that the vote for Hoge in the county was just 2,088, and he was elected by a majority of 455 in the district. (Hist. Hancock County, p. 375).

Another thing that may have influenced this election was that a Mr. Backenstos, a managing Democrat in Hancock county, is represented by Governor Ford as having gone to Springfield to ascertain what the governor would do if the “Mormons” voted the Democratic ticket. Ford was absent in St. Louis at the time; but this did not prevent Backenstos returning to Nauvoo saying that he had “the most ample assurances of favor to the Mormons, so long as they voted the Democratic ticket.” Ford admits that two years later a prominent Democrat of Springfield confessed to him the fact that during his absence in St. Louis in 1843, he had given such positive pledge to Mr. Backenstos. (Ford’s Hist. Ill., pp. 317-8).

at the appointed time, organized with a chairman, Major Reuben Graves; and a secretary, W. D. Abernethy; and a committee of nine to draft resolutions. After listening to speeches by Valentine Wilson, Walter Bagby and others, the meeting adjourned to the sixth of September.

To enumerate the crimes alleged against the Saints in the preamble to the resolutions adopted at their second meeting, would be drawing up a list of all the crimes that ever threatened the peace, happiness, prosperity and liberty of a nation. They resolved that from recent movements among the Mormons, there were indications that they were unwilling to conform to the ordinary restrictions of law; and therefore concluded that the people of Illinois must assert their rights in some way. That while they deprecated anything like lawless violence, they pledged themselves to resist all wrongs the Mormons should inflict upon them in the future—"peaceably if they could, but forcibly if they must." They called upon all good and honest men to assist in humbling the pride of that "audacious despot," Joseph Smith; pledged themselves to raise a *posse* and take him if the authorities of Missouri made another demand for him; that it might not be said of them, that they allowed the most outrageous culprits "to go unwhipped of justice." They agreed to support no man of either political party who should truckle to the Mormons for their influence, and finally

"Resolved, that when the government ceases to afford protection, the citizens of course fall back upon their original, inherent right of self-defense."⁶

The old formula of justification this, for mob-violence, and mob rule. How many crimes have been committed in its name! And how ridiculous withal to assume such an attitude in this instance when the people of Hancock county and of Illinois had all the machinery of the State government through which to correct alleged abuses in the city government of Nauvoo, and alleged crime among her people!

Later in the fall, acts of violence began to be perpetrated upon the Saints who lived at a distance from Nauvoo; and threats of

6. The minutes of the meeting at Carthage are given in full in Documentary History of the Church, Vol. VI, pp. 4-8.

violence were frequent. In December a member of the Church living near Warsaw, by the name of Daniel Avery, and his son, Philander, were kidnapped by Levi Williams, of Warsaw, John Elliot and others, and run across the Mississippi to Missouri, where for several weeks Daniel Avery was kept a prisoner in Clark county, while one Joseph McCoy was hunting up witnesses to prove that he had stolen a mare from him. Philander Avery escaped and returned to Illinois; but his father remained a prisoner, and suffered great cruelty at the hands of his captors. Finally, however, he was released by writ of *habeas corpus*, and went to Nauvoo where he made affidavit as to his treatment.

Wild rumors abounded also as to what the Missourians intended to do; and some of the letters from Missouri that fell into the hands of President Smith, through friends of his, threatened Illinois with invasion, and for a season it would seem that a border war was inevitable. Governor Ford was kept informed as to all acts of violence perpetrated upon the Saints, and especially as to the threats of the Missourians of an attack upon Nauvoo, and the services of the Legion tendered to repel any attempt at invasion of the State should it occur. Governor Ford, however, refused to believe there was any danger in the threats, and therefore would detail no portion of the Legion, or any other companies of the state militia, to be ready for such an event.

A petition, signed by nearly all the citizens of Nauvoo, asking the governor to issue no more warrants at the demand of Missouri for the arrest of Joseph Smith on the old charges was presented to Governor Ford, but he refused to give the people any encouragement that he would favorably entertain their suit.

In view of the apathy of Governor Ford in relation to the security of Nauvoo, the city council and mayor increased the police force by the addition of forty men to act as night guards; and the legion was brought to a higher state of efficiency by frequent drills and musters. In the latter part of December—on information reaching Nauvoo of a threatened attack upon the city by mob forces collecting at Warsaw—a portion of the Legion was detailed and held in readiness to repel such threatened attack.⁷

7. Documentary Hist. of the Ch., Vol. VI, ch. V.

Other steps of a rather unusual character were taken to ensure the peace of the city. A special ordinance was passed making it unlawful for any "person to come with process, demand, or requisition," founded upon the former Missouri difficulties to arrest Joseph Smith. This ordinance recited and justified its passage on the fact that a *nolle prosequi* had "once been entered in the courts of Missouri upon all the cases of Missouri against Joseph Smith and others;" and as there appeared "to be a determined resolution by the state of Missouri to continue these unjust, illegal, murderous demands for the body of General Joseph Smith," it had become "intolerable to be thus continually harrassed and robbed of * * * money to defray the expense of these prosecutions—hence" the ordinance.⁸

Another ordinance was passed "to prevent unlawful search or seizure of person or property by foreign⁹ process in the city of Nauvoo." Protest to this ordinance arose from citizens of Carthage who considered said ordinance to be designed to hinder the execution of the statutes of Illinois within the limits of Nauvoo, and threatened to retaliate by stopping execution processes issuing from the city. The mayor (President Smith) explained to representatives from the people of Carthage that the purpose of the ordinance was to prevent kidnapping under the pretence of law or process, and to facilitate the apprehension of thieves in the city by throwing all "foreign processes" into the

8. I suppose the statement that a *nolle prosequi* had been entered in all these cases is based upon the fact stated in the certificates of the disposition of the several indictments in which President Smith figured before the courts in Missouri, filed with Hon. James L. Minor, Secretary of State for Missouri, on 18th of March, 1841. On the 23d of February of that year the Secretary of State, acting under a resolution of the General Assembly of Missouri, made inquiry of the clerk of the circuit court of Boone and other counties "what was the final disposition of the indictments against the Mormons." In answer the clerk of the circuit court of Boone county said, respecting the indictment for "treason" against Joseph Smith, *et al*: "From the records sent to this court, it appears that Jos. Smith, Jr., Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Caleb Baldwin and Alex. McRay, were ordered to be taken by the sheriff of Daviess county to the jail in the county of Boone, there to await their trial, on a change of venue from Daviess to Boone county, which was not done, and there being no recognizance sent on file, in my office, against the other defendants, and this cause, having been continued some time on the docket, and no defendant appearing, was dismissed." ("Document Containing Correspondence, Orders, &c. In Relation to the disturbance with the Mormons," Published by Order of the General Assembly of Mo., pp. 152-59). The same statement is made as to the indictments in which Pres. Smith's name appears for "arson," "riot," "receiving stolen goods," "larceny." (See Document cited above).

9. This doubtless meant process other than that issuing from the municipal court.

hands of the city Marshall, who would be most likely to know the hiding-places of fugitives from justice who might secret themselves in the city. The dissatisfaction continuing the ordinance was amended to the effect that nothing in the ordinance should be so construed "as to prevent, hinder or thwart the designs of justice, or retard the civil officers of the state or county in the discharge of their official duties, but to aid and assist them within the city limits."¹⁰ About a month later, this ordinance, also the special ordinance to prevent the arrest of Joseph Smith on old Missouri charges and one that had been passed making gold and silver alone legal tender in Nauvoo, were repealed on the recommendation of Joseph Smith, who recognized that in these matters the city council had doubtless exceeded its authority.

About this time also the mayor of Nauvoo and the city council petitioned congress to take the city of Nauvoo directly under the protection of the United States government and accept the Nauvoo Legion as United States troops! This petition was made part of a memorial drafted by the city council covering the whole of the grievances of the Latter-day Saints endured in Missouri and Illinois, and reciting the threatening protents of the present and future.¹¹

10. Minutes special session of Nauvoo City council Jan. 10, 1844.

11. Journal History of Joseph Smith, 11th Feb., 1844, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXII, p. 775. The idea seems to have been to create of Nauvoo a territory: "Section 1. Be it ordained by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, that all rights, powers, privileges, and immunities belonging to Territories, and not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, are hereby granted and secured to the inhabitants of the city of Nauvoo, in addition to the spirit, letter, meaning, and provisions of the afore-mentioned [Nauvoo] charter, or act of incorporation from the State of Illinois, until the State of Missouri restores to those exiled citizens the lands, rights, privileges, property, and damage for all losses." In addition to this it was to be provided that (Section 2) "the Mayor of Nauvoo be and hereby is empowered by the consent of the President of the United States, whenever the actual necessity of the case and the public safety shall require it, to call to his aid a sufficient number of United States forces, in connection with the Nauvoo Legion, to repel the invasion of mobs, keep the public peace, and protect the innocent from the unhallowed ravages of lawless banditti that escape justice on the western frontier; and also to preserve the power and dignity of the Union.

Section 3. And be it further ordained that the officers of the United States army are hereby required to obey the requisitions of this ordinance.

Section 4. And be it further ordained that, for all services rendered in quelling mobs and preserving the public peace, the said Nauvoo Legion shall be under the same regulations, rules, and laws of pay as the troops of the United States."

Needless to say the proposed plan was utterly impractical and impossible under the constitution of the United States; but the action of the city council does emphasize the fact that her people had the idea, already advanced in these pages (see note 4, chapter XLIV), that Nauvoo had the privileges and powers of a sovereign state.

Another ordinance and one of importance as affecting the material welfare of the city was suggested by President Smith, and finally passed, for the erection of a dam in the Mississippi to create water powers within the city limits; also he suggested petitioning congress to make a canal over the "Des Moines Rapids" in the Mississippi at the head of which Nauvoo was situated.¹²

It was in the closing months of 1843 that, a number of prominent elders of the Church at President Smith's suggestion, made appeals to their native states, reciting the story of the wrongs inflicted upon them; deploring and denouncing the general government for assuming that it had no power to redress those grievances, and calling upon their respective states to unite in representing the injustice of Missouri against the Saints; in chastizing her for her crimes against Republican institutions; and procuring in some way redress of grievances for those who had been wronged.¹³

As the time of the Presidential election for 1844 approached the probable candidates for the office of President began to be discussed.

It was well known that the vote of the citizens of Nauvoo would be important, as it would most likely determine whether Illinois would go Whig or Democratic. The political friends of John C. Calhoun at Quincy, early perceived the importance of securing their favor, and began to work for it. A Colonel Frierson, United States surveyor at Quincy, the political friend of John C. Calhoun, expressed great sympathy for the Saints because of the injustice and persecution they had received at the hands of Missouri, and intimated to Joseph L. Heywood that the Hon. B. Rhett, a representative from South Carolina to Congress, and also a political friend to Mr. Calhoun, had expressed a willingness to present to Congress a memorial for a redress of wrongs suffered by the Saints in Missouri; but was careful to intimate

12. The general government finally constructed a canal around the "Rapids" at a cost of \$4,582,009, completing it in 1877. The canal is $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length, has 3 locks, overcoming the obstruction in river navigation, which the Des Moines Rapids presented.

13. Such were the points covered in the appeal of President Smith to the "Green Mountain Boys"—Vermont (Documentary Hist. of the Ch., Vol. VI, ch. IV); and the other "appeals," of which there were quite a number, generally included these same items.

that he supposed that Mr. Calhoun would be a more acceptable candidate to them than Mr. Van Buren.¹⁴

Colonel Frierson afterwards went to Nauvoo, met in council with the leading citizens, and drafted a memorial to Congress; a copy of which he took with him to Quincy to obtain signers; but it never reached the House of Representatives.

It was this incident most likely that suggested to President Smith the propriety of addressing letters to each of the candidates for the Presidency—five in number, *viz.*,—John C. Calhoun, Lewis Cass, Richard M. Johnson, Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren. These letters called attention to the wrongs endured by the Saints in Missouri; of their being robbed and abused; deprived of the rights of citizenship in both state and nation; then banished from the state, contrary to all constitutional guarantees of the rights of citizens; also their ineffectual attempts to obtain redress of their grievances; and finally asking these candidates what would be their “rule of action” relative to the be their “rule of action” relative to the Saints as a people.¹⁵ Saints as a people, “should fortune favor your ascension to the chief magistracy?” Only two of the number gave any reply.¹⁵ They were Calhoun and Clay. The former was of the opinion that the general government possessed such limited and specific powers, that the Missouri troubles of the Saints did not come within its jurisdiction. As to his treatment of the Latter-day Saints, as the Constitution and the laws of the Union made no distinction between citizens of different religious creeds, he would make none; but so far as the executive was concerned all should have the full benefit of both, and none should be exempted from their operation.

Clay partially disclaimed being a candidate for the Presidency, but said if he ever entered into that high office, he must do so free and unfettered, with no guarantees but such as might be drawn from his whole life, character and conduct. But he was careful to say, that he had watched the progress of the Saints, and sympathized with them in their sufferings under the injus-

14. Heywood's letter setting forth these things is published in full in Documentary History of the Church, Vol. VI, pp. 62-3.

15. The letter is published in the Journal Hist. of Joseph Smith, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXII, p. 310.

tice which had been inflicted upon them; and thought that they, in common with other religious communities, should enjoy the security and protection of the Constitution and laws.

To these letters President Smith wrote scathing replies. The particular portion of Calhoun's answer with which he dealt, was that which claimed that the general government had no jurisdiction in the case of the Saints and Missouri, and handled rather severely the senator's doctrine of the limited powers of the general government.

In reply to Henry Clay he dealt chiefly with that gentleman's "no pledge nor guarantee" proposition, "only such as could be drawn from his whole life, character and conduct"; and drew such a picture of that statesman's past life and conduct, that the Kentucky senator could not feel flattered withal; and in round terms he denounced the subterfuges of politicians in general, and demanded of the nation justice in behalf of his afflicted people.¹⁶

The replies to these statesmen, in the absence of the intensity of feeling which produced them, seem unnecessarily harsh. The faults of the replies, however, are rather the fault of the times than of the writer. Those were days when moderation in language was certainly not characteristic of current political literature. In it personal abuse seems often to have been mistaken for argument; and severity of expression rather than force of reason seemed to be the purpose both of political speaking and writing.

When it was ascertained that from none of the candidates in the field for President could the citizens of Nauvoo hope for assistance in obtaining justice for the wrongs they had suffered in Missouri, President Smith allowed his friends at Nauvoo to put his name in nomination for the office of President; and promptly published his "Views on the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States," a document which excited considerable comment from the press of the country, very much of which was favorable.

In this document the candidate reviewed the growth and de-

16. The correspondence in Extenso is published in the "Journal History of Joseph Smith:" Calhoun correspondence in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXII, p. 581, *et seq*; with Clay, *Ibid*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 519-533, *et seq*.

velopment of the American government. He advocated prison reform. Advised the people of the South to "petition their respective legislatures to abolish slavery by the year 1850, or now." He recommended the payment of a reasonable price to the slaveholders of the south for their slaves, to be paid by the surplus revenue arising from the sale of public lands, and reduction in the salary paid to congressmen. "The Southern people," said he, "are hospitable and noble. They will help to rid so free a country of every vestige of slavery, whenever they are assured of an equivalent for their property."¹⁷ He recommended more economy in the national and state governments, and more equality among the people.

He proposed the establishment of a national bank, with branches in each State, the directors thereof to be elected yearly by the people; and the profits arising from the business to be used as revenue in defraying the expenses of government, the profits from the branch banks being used by the respective States, and those arising from the central institution by the general government; and the reduction of taxation to the extent of the net profits of these institutions.

In consequence of the experience the Latter-day Saints had passed through in Missouri, President Smith advocated in his "Views" the adoption of a constitutional amendment giving the President full power to send an army to suppress mobs; "and called for the repeal of that "relic of folly," which makes it necessary for the governor of a State to make the demand of the President for troops in case of a rebellion. "The governor himself," he goes on to say, "may be a mobber; and instead of being punished, as he should be, for murder or treason, he may destroy the very lives, rights and property he should protect."

17. This recommendation was a statesman-like word, and deserves to be presented in the Prophet's own phrases.

"Petition, also, ye goodly inhabitants of the slave States, your legislators to abolish slavery by the year 1850, or now, and save the abolitionist from reproach and ruin, infamy and shame.

"Pray Congress to pay every man a reasonable price for his slaves out of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of public lands, and from deduction of pay from the members of congress.

"Break off the shackles from the poor black man, and hire him to labor like other human beings; for an hour of virtuous liberty on earth is worth a whole eternity of bondage. * * * The southern people are hospitable and noble. They will help to rid so free a country of every vestige of slavery, whenever they are assured of an equivalent for their property."

He favored the annexation of Texas, and the extension of the authority of the United States over contiguous territory on the West, and said:

“When a neighboring realm petitioned to join the Union of the Sons of Liberty, my voice would be, come—yea, come Texas, come Mexico, come Canada, and come all the world, let us be brethren, let us be one great family, and let there be a universal peace.”¹⁸

On the seventeenth of June, 1844, a State convention was held at Nauvoo, which ratified the views of President Smith on the “Powers and Policy of the Government,” passed a series of resolutions inviting all men of all parties to assist in the work of reforming the government, and in a formal manner placed in nomination “General Joseph Smith for President of the United States, and Sidney Rigdon for vice-president.”

James Arlington Bennett, of New York, was first asked to take the second place on the ticket; but being of foreign birth, was not eligible. Then the position was offered to Colonel Solomon Copeland of Paris, Tennessee,¹⁹ but for some reason he did not accept; so the next choice was Sidney Rigdon, who by that time had removed from Nauvoo to Pennsylvania.

Arrangements were made to hold a national convention in New York on the thirteenth of July following, and preparations were made for an active campaign in favor of the Prophet-nominee; but before the time for the national convention had arrived, the standard bearer of the new party of “Reform, Jeffersonian Democracy, free trade and sailors rights,”²⁰ fell pierced by assassins’ bullets—the victim of a cruel mob.

Of course President Smith could have no hope that he would be elected to the presidency, but by becoming a candidate he gave the citizens of Nauvoo an opportunity to act consistently with their views of what ought to be done for the general good

18. The paper—which at Nauvoo was published in pamphlet form and widely circulated—is found at length in the *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXII, p. 712, *et seq.*

19. Journal History of Joseph Smith, *Mill. Star*, p. 71, Vol. XXIII.

20. The fifth resolution adopted at the Nauvoo convention read as follows: “Resolved, that the better to carry out the principles of liberty and equal rights, Jeffersonian Democracy, free trade, and sailors’ rights, and the protection of person and property, we will support General Joseph Smith for the President of the United States at the ensuing election.”

of the nation, and at the same time avoid the wrath of the political parties in the State of Illinois by affiliating with neither of them in the then pending election. Explaining his reasons on one occasion for allowing his name to go before the people as a candidate President Smith said:

“I would not have suffered my name to have been used by my friends on anywise as President of the United States, or candidate for that office, if I and my friends could have had the privilege of enjoying our religious and civil rights as American citizens, even those rights which the Constitution guarantees unto all her citizens alike. But as a people we have been denied from the beginning. Persecution has rolled upon our heads from time to time, from portions of the United States, like peals of thunder, because of our religion; and no portion of the government as yet has stepped forward for our relief. And under view of these things, I feel it to be my right and privilege to obtain what influence and power I can, lawfully, in the United States, for the protection of injured innocence.

The *Time and Seasons* editionally announcing the candidacy of President Smith said:

“One great reason that we have for pursuing our present course is, that at every election we have been made a political target for the * * * demagogues in the country to shoot their loathsome arrows at. And every story has been put into requisition to blast our fame from the old fabrication of ‘walk on the water’ down to ‘the murder of ex-Governor Boggs.’ The journals have teemed with this * * * trash, and even men who ought to have more respect for themselves—men contending for the gubernatorial chair have made use of terms so degrading, so mean, so humiliating that a billingsgate fisher-woman would have considered herself disgraced with. We refuse any longer to be thus bedaubed for either party. * * * We withdraw. Under existing circumstances, we have no other alternative; and if we can accomplish our object, well: if not, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that we have acted conscientiously, and have used our best judgment. And if we have to throw away our votes, we had better do so upon a worthy rather than an unworthy individual, who might make use of the weapon we put in his hand to destroy us.”²¹



Engraved by W. E. Lockhart

in life by F. A. Piercy

President Smith usually referred to his candidacy in a jocular vein. Speaking at a meeting at Nauvoo when his candidacy had been discussed rather earnestly he said:

“As to politics, I care but little about the Presidential chair. I would not give half as much for the office of President of the United States as I would for the one I now hold as Lieutenant General of the Nauvoo Legion. * * * When I get hold of Eastern papers, and see how popular I am, I am afraid myself that I shall be elected; but if I should be, I would not say, ‘Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you.’”²²

As another evidence that the Prophet entertained no serious thought of success in his election, mention should be made of the fact that during the time preparations were being made for a vigorous canvass in favor of his election, extensive plans were being laid by President Smith and his associates for the removal of the Church bodily from Illinois to that then little known great “West,” rather vaguely spoken of as “Oregon” and “California.”

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE WESTERN MOVEMENT OF THE CHURCH PROJECTED BY JOSEPH SMITH: EFFORTS FOR PEACE

On the 20th of February, 1844, President Smith instructed the twelve Apostles of the Church to send out a delegation to explore California and Oregon with the view of finding a location to which the Church could remove after the Temple at Nauvoo was completed.¹ The day following seven of the Apostles with other brethren convened in council in President Smith's office. The minutes of that meeting follow:

“At a meeting of the Twelve at the Mayor's Office, Nauvoo, February 21, 1844, seven o'clock, p. m., Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, Geo. A. Smith, Willard Richards, and four others, being present, called by a previous notice, by instruction of President Joseph Smith on the 20th instant, for the purpose of selecting a company to ex-

22. “Journal History of Joseph Smith,” *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIII, p. 39.

1. Journal History Joseph Smith, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXII, page 819.

plore Oregon and California, and select a site for a new city for the Saints.

Jonathan Dunham, Phineas H. Young, David Fullmer volunteered to go; and Alphonzo Young, James Emmet, George D. Watt, and Daniel Spencer were requested to go.

Voted the above persons to be notified to meet with the Council on Friday evening next, at the Assembly Room.

Willard Richard, Clerk.⁷²

On the 23d of the same month President Smith met with the Apostles and others to further discuss the movement. He suggested the appointment of a "leader to drum up volunteers." "Let that man go that can raise \$500; a good horse and mule, a double-barrel gun, one barrel rifle, and the other smoothbore, a saddle and bridle, a pair of revolving pistols, bowie-knife and a good sabre." If enough did not volunteer immediately to make up the party, the brethren were informed that they could wait until after the election. Nine of those present volunteered to go.³

After this, the "Western Exploration Company," and the progress it made in its preparations was a subject frequently mentioned in the Prophet's Journal History.⁴ On the 25th of

2. *Ibid*, p. 820.

3. *Ibid*, p. 820.

4. The question is raised as to President Smith projecting this western movement of the Church. That is why it is particularized in the text of this writing. Some there are who seek to make it appear that the whole western movement in conception as in execution, originated with Brigham Young after the death of President Smith. The following entries in his Journal History, together with such evidence as is supplied in the text above are relied upon to establish the fact that the movement was conceived and plans for its consummation laid by Joseph Smith:—

"Monday, Feb. 26th, 1844: 'Ira S. Miles volunteered to join the mountain expedition.'

"Tuesday, Feb. 27th: 'Almon L. Fullmer and Hosea Stout volunteered to go on the Western exploring expedition.'

"Wednesday, Feb. 28th: 'Thomas S. Edwards volunteered to join the exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains.'

"Thursday, Feb. 29th: 'Moses Smith and Rufus Beach volunteered to join the Oregon exploring expedition.'

"Monday, March 4th: 'I instructed a letter to be written to James Arlington Bennett to consult him on the subject of nominating him for Vice President. I here insert the letter.' The letter which appears in full in the Journal of Joseph Smith, contains this paragraph:

"All is right in Nauvoo. We are fitting out a noble company to explore Oregon and California, and progressing rapidly with the great temple which we expect to roof this season."

"March 11, 1844: Spent the day in council in the Lodge room, * * * to take into consideration * * * the best policy for this people to adopt to obtain their rights from the nation and insure protection for themselves and children, and to secure a resting place in the mountains or some uninhabited region, where we could



Portrait of George C. Davis

Portrait of George C. Davis

Portrait of George C. Davis

February, and doubtless associating his thought with the preparations then going on for this Western movement, President Smith predicted a speedy deliverance of the Saints from their enemies. He records the incident as follows:

“I gave some important instructions, and prophesied that within five years we should be out of the power of our old enemies, whether they were apostates or of the world; and told the brethren to record it, that when it comes to pass they need not say they had forgotten the saying.”

Late in March President Smith drew up “*An Ordinance for the Protection of the Citizens of the United States Emigrating to the Adjoining Territories, and for the Extension of the Principles of Universal Liberty.*” In the “Preamble” the Ordinance called attention first to the conditions prevailing in the intermountain and Pacific-slope west, where no organized and effective government existed, leaving those who emigrated there exposed both to domestic feuds and foreign invasion, conditions that hindered the development of civilization in a vast region of country—an empire in its extent; and, second, to the aims of the memorialist, which unquestionably were beneficent as a statement of the essential points of them will disclose:

“To open the vast regions of the unpeopled West and South to our enlightened and enterprising yeomanry; to protect them in their researches; to secure them in their locations, and thus strengthen the government and enlarge her borders; to extend her influence; to inspire the nations with the spirit of freedom and win them to her standard; to promote intelligence; to cultivate and establish peace among all with whom we may have intercourse as neighbors; to settle all existing difficulties among those not organized into an acknowledged government bordering upon the United States, and Territories; to save the national revenue in the nation’s coffers; to supersede the necessity of a standing army on our Western and Southern frontiers; to create and maintain the principles of peace and suppress mob insurrections, and oppression in Oregon and all lands bordering upon the United States, and not incorporated into any acknowl-

enjoy the liberty of conscience guaranteed to us by the Constitution of our country, rendered doubly sacred by the precious blood of our Fathers, and denied to us by the present authorities who have smuggled themselves into power in the state and nation.” *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXII, p. 820, *et seq.*; and Vol. XXIII, p. 4, *et seq.*

edged national government; to explore the unexplored regions of our continent; to open new fields for enterprise to our citizens and protect them therein; to search out the antiquities of the land, and thereby promote the arts and sciences, and general information; to amalgamate the feelings of all with whom we may have intercourse on the principles of equity, liberty, justice, humanity, and benevolence; to break down tyranny and oppression, and exalt the standard of universal peace.”⁵

To accomplish these purposes President Smith offered his services to the United States, and asked the congress of the United States to empower him to raise “a company of one hundred thousand armed volunteers in the United States and Territories, at such times and places, and in such numbers as he shall find necessary and convenient for the purpose specified in the foregoing preamble, and to execute the same.”

Orson Pratt and John E. Page, two of the Twelve Apostles, went to Washington in the interest of this scheme, and urged its consideration among the Congressmen. Subsequently, in April, 1844, Orson Hyde was sent to Washington in the interest of the same great project; and through the influence of Mr. Hoge, Representative to Congress from the district in which Nauvoo was included, Mr. John J. Hardin, and Stephen A. Douglas, succeeded in approaching a number of members of Congress on the subject, but received small encouragement, as congressmen were extremely cautious in engaging in anything affecting their reputation and prospects for political preferment for the future. But however much these men objected to advocating anything which looked like favoring openly the scheme of President Smith, they all concurred in affirming that he had the right to lead his people to Oregon to settle, and the government could protect them under existing law. Stephen A. Douglas remarked, that if he could command the following that Mr. Smith could, he would resign his seat in Congress, to go to the West.

Also Mr. Douglas said that he would equally as soon go to Oregon without an act of Congress as with one; “and that in five years,” Orson Hyde represents him as saying, “a noble state might be formed; and then, if they would not receive us into the

5. Journal History of Joseph Smith, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIII, p. 166.

Union, we would have a government of our own.”⁶ “He is decidedly of the opinion,” continues Elder Hyde, “that Congress will pass no act in favor of any particular man going there; but he says if any man will go, and desires that privilege, and has confidence in his own ability to perform it, he already has the right and the sooner he is off the better for his scheme.”⁷

No action was ever taken by Congress upon the memorial and ordinance of President Smith. It is doubtful if any such action would have been taken in any event, but just at the time when the ordinance he had drawn up was presented to the Illinois delegation and other congressional friends, Oregon affairs were much involved. No regularly organized government existed there and the country was held by the United States and Great Britain under a treaty of joint occupancy; and it was feared that the entrance into that region of any such force of “armed volunteers” as was proposed by the Ordinance for policing that great region of the West, extending from Texas to Oregon, however beneficent its intentions, would be regarded by England as an infraction of the existing treaty. Also there was an effort being made to organize a territorial government for Oregon; and as a preliminary to its introduction Mr. Semple moved a resolution requesting the President to give notice to the British Government for the discontinuance of the treaty of “joint occupancy.” This, Orson Hyde reports, “was voted down with a rush;” and so long as the treaty of joint occupancy existed the noble plan by President Smith for policing and encouraging the settlement of the intermountain and Pacific-slope West, could not be considered practical.

Incidentally it appears from the Hyde letters that one reason for seeking the protection of the government for this great Western movement was the fear that if it was undertaken without such protection, the old enemies of the Church in Missouri would make that movement an occasion for renewing war upon the Saints. In conversation with Mr. Semple, who had just affirmed the right of the “Mormons” to emigrate to Oregon

6. Orson Hyde's Letter to Joseph Smith, April 6th, 1844, Journal Hist. of Joseph Smith, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 518-519.

7. *Ibid.*

without an enactment of Congress authorizing them to go, Mr. Hyde said to him:

"Other people might make a move to Oregon, and no prejudices bar their way, and their motives would not be misinterpreted. But, * * * Missouri knows her guilt; and should we attempt to march to Oregon without the government throwing a protective shield over us, Missouri's crimes would lead her first to misinterpret our intentions, to fan the flame of popular excitement against us, and scatter the firebrands of a misguided zeal among the combustible materials of other places, creating a flame too hot for us to encounter—too desolating for us to indulge the hope of successfully prosecuting the grand and benevolent enterprise we have conceived."⁸

After this there was such a bitter agitation of "Mormon" affairs in Hancock county, and things were so rapidly hastening to a climax that nothing further was done during the life time of President Smith to receive government authorization for removal to the west; but the removal was a project never abandoned by him; for as hostility to the Church increased in rancor and volume in Illinois, until the whole horizon appeared black and threatening, the Prophet repeatedly told them that "*it was light in the West.*"

While these preparations for removal of the Church to the West were under way, efforts were made by leading Church officials to establish more peaceful relations with the people of Hancock and neighboring counties; also with Missouri. On the 14th of February the *Warsaw Signal* published a letter from Governor Ford, dealing with the situation in Hancock county. The letter was one acknowledging receipt of the resolutions adopted at the Anti-Mormon Meeting held at Carthage, to which

8. Let no one suppose these fears concerning Missouri to be groundless—a mere air-drawn dagger—a phantom fear, mind-created. In an editorial of the *Times and Seasons* of February 15th, 1844—the editorial discussing the candidacy of Joseph Smith for president of the United States—the following occurs: "We have been informed from a respectable source, that there is an understanding between Mr. Benton [Senator Thomas H.], of Missouri, and Mr. Van Buren, and a conditional compact entered into, that if Mr. Benton will use his influence to get Mr. Van Buren elected, that Van Buren when elected shall use his executive influence to wipe away the stain from Missouri, by a further persecution of the Mormons, and wreaking out vengeance on their heads, either by extermination, or by some other summary process. We could scarcely credit the statement, and we hope yet for the sake of humanity, that the suggestion is false; but *we have too good reason to believe that we are correctly informed.*"

reference has already been made.⁹ The letter was expostulatory in character. The Governor had been called upon to abolish the Nauvoo charters, a thing, he points out, which both parties, by large majorities in each, refused to do after he called their attention to the necessity of some modification of them in a message to the last legislature. He had also been called upon to take away the arms of the Mormons; to raise the militia to arrest a supposed fugitive; and to repeal some of the ordinances of the City of Nauvoo! "Handcock county is justly famed for its intelligence," said the Governor to his correspondent, "and I cannot believe that any of its citizens are so ignorant as not to know that I have no power to do these things." Some of the requests were so preposterous that they gave color to the supposition that they were made for political effect only. He hoped this charge was not true; for it would be more creditable to those concerned "to have their errors attributed to ignorance than to a disposition to embroil the country in the horrors of war for the advancement of party ends." In conclusion, and referring to the possibility of the demands made upon him being made for political effect only, he said:

"But if there should be any truth in the charge, (which God forbid) I affectionately entreat all the good citizens engaged in it to lay aside their designs and yield up their ears to the voice of justice, reason and humanity. All that I can do at present is to admonish both parties to beware of carrying matters to extremity.

Let it come to this—let a state of war ensue, and I will be compelled to interfere with executive power. In that case also, I wish, in a friendly, affectionate, and candid manner, to tell the citizens of Handcock county, Mormons and all, that my interference will be against those who shall be the first transgressors.

I am bound by the laws and Constitution to regard you all as citizens of the State, possessed of equal rights and privileges, and to cherish the rights of one as dearly as the rights of another. I can know no distinction among you except that of assailant and assailed."

The Governor's letter was published in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* with strong editorial endorsement of its pacific advise and warn-

ing to the people of Hancock county. It reviewed at length and justified the three releases granted to Joseph Smith in Illinois from processes issued by Missouri; it also called attention to the fact that such members of the Church of the Latter-day Saints as had been accused of crime, captured and taken into Missouri and examined before the courts of that state—Rockwell and Avery among the number—had been acquitted. Moreover, the ordinances of the city of Nauvoo which had been the occasion of most complaint had been repealed,¹⁰ so that there was “nothing left for a bone of contention.” To the Latter-day Saints it said:

“‘A soft answer turns away wrath,’ says the wise man: and it will be greatly to the credit of the Latter-day Saints to show the love of God, by now kindly treating those who may have, in an unconscious moment, done them wrong; for truly said Jesus ‘Pray for thine enemies.’”

The editorial declared it to be the intention of the citizens of Nauvoo to carry out the suggestions of the Governor for peace; and called upon all honest men to help them cherish all the love, friendship, courtesy, kindly feelings and generosity “that ought to characterize clever people.” “Our motto then is peace with all,” said the *Neighbor* editorial, and also expressed a willingness to aid the Governor “in his laudable endeavors to cultivate peace and honor the laws, believing that very few of the Citizens of Hancock county will be found on the negative of such a goodly cause.” Following is the concluding paragraph:

“Considering his [The Governor’s] views a kind of manifesto, or olive leaf, which shows that there is rest for the soles of the Saints’ feet, we give it a place in the *Neighbor*, wishing it God speed, and saying, God bless good men and good measures! And as Nauvoo has been, so it will continue to be, a good city, affording a good market to a good country; and let those who do not mean to try the way of transgressors, say ‘Amen.’”

In the same issue of the *Neighbor* President Smith in a signed communication advised that paper to take no further editorial

10. These were the ordinances forbidding the arrest of Joseph Smith under process issued by Missouri; to prevent unlawful search and seizure of persons or property in the city of Nauvoo by foreign [outside] process; and the ordinance making gold and silver alone legal tender in Nauvoo. See chapter XLVII, this History.

notice of the fulminations of the Editor of the *Warsaw Signal*¹¹ against the people of Nauvoo, and recommended that the advice of Governor Ford be honored, and that friendship and peace be cultivated with all men. President Smith also both in the *Times and Seasons* and in the *Neighbor* made overtures of peace to Missouri. He did not abate the just demands of the Latter-day Saints against Missouri for injuries inflicted upon them, both in person and in property, while they were living in that State, but he did appeal to them for an honorable settlement of the existing difficulties, to be followed by forgiveness.¹²

Armed conflict with surrounding peoples, or with any people, was no part of the policy of the Church. True it may be said of the work Joseph Smith introduced, as Jesus said of the work which He began by His personal ministry, that it brought "not peace, but a sword;"¹³ in each case, however, "the sword" has been found in the hands, not of those who accepted the work, but in the hands of those who rejected it, and made war upon it. Early in the New Dispensation of the Gospel, the Lord commanded his servants to "renounce war and proclaim peace;"¹⁴

11. This was Thomas C. Sharp, who waged relentless editorial war upon the Church and urged the expulsion of the Saints from Hancock county. The *Warsaw Signal* was the successor to the *Western World* founded by a Mr. Daniel N. White in 1840. The *Signal* had an intermittent existence for about thirteen years. The late President John Taylor refers to Sharp as "a violent unprincipled man;" subsequently he was one of nine men who were indicted for the murder of Joseph Smith.

12. Following is the paragraph containing the main proposition of the article: "So much to preface this 'Friendly Hint' to the State of Missouri; for, notwithstanding some of her private citizens and public officers have committed violence, robbery, and even murder upon the rights and persons of the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, yet compassion, dignity, and a sense of the principles of religion among all classes, and honor and benevolence, mingled with charity by high-minded patriots, lead me to suppose that there are many worthy people in that State who will use their influence and energies to bring about a settlement of all those old difficulties, and use all consistent means to urge the State, for her honor, prosperity, and good name, to restore every person she or her citizens have expelled from her limits, to their rights, and pay them all damage, that the great body of high-minded and well-disposed Southern and Western gentlemen and ladies—the real peacemakers of the Western world, will go forth, good—Samaritan like, and pour in the oil and wine, till all that can be healed are made whole; and, after repentance, they shall be forgiven; for verily the Scriptures say, 'Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repents, more than over ninety-and-nine just persons that need no repentance.' * * * Now is the time to brush off the monster that, incubus-like, seems hanging upon the reputation of the whole State. A little exertion, and the infamy of the evil will blacken the guilty only." (*Nauvoo Neighbor*, Impression of March 13, 1844.)

13. Matt. X:34-40.

14. August, 1833, Doc. and Cov., Sec. XCVIII.

and true to this spirit of the work the Prophet especially sought for peace.

On their part the anti-Mormons of Hancock county exhibited no disposition to act favorably upon the pacific advice and warning of Governor Ford. His letter was published in the *Warsaw Signal* on the 4th of February; on the 17th of the same month the Anti-Mormons at Carthage met in convention and among other unfriendly resolutions passed one appointing "Saturday the 9th of March as a day of fasting and prayer;" wherein "the pious of all orders" are requested to pray to Almighty God, that he would speedily bring the false prophet, Joseph Smith, to deep repentance for his presumption and blasphemy; or that he will make a public example of him and his leading accomplices."¹⁵ Three days later a public meeting in Carthage appointed a "grand Wolf Hunt"¹⁶ for the same day, 9th of March, which all the citizens of Hancock and surrounding counties were urged to join, notwithstanding the previous appointment of that day as a day of fasting and prayer" against Joseph Smith and his associates; and which, if not sinister in its purposes, demonstrates how recklessly an invoked solemn occasion for a supposedly high purpose was set aside for a day of half riotous, prairie sport.

CHAPTER XLIX

SECEDERS FROM THE CHURCH: DESTRUCTION OF THE NAUVOO EX- POSITOR

More serious than all this external opposition to the Church was the internal dissension which culminated about this time in

15. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, impression of Feb. 28th, 1844.

16. This was a sport common in early times in the prairie states of the West, where wolves were numerous. The men and boys met at a given place, on county or township lines, and moved toward some centre agreed upon, closing in from all sides upon the game. Firearms were prohibited; so also were dogs in the hunt referred to in the text; and it was requested by the committee in charge that no deer should be killed. The lines enclosing Hancock county on the above occasion were designated as the place of rendezvous, and the central place of meeting, where a flag was raised, was about two miles southwest of Carthage, the time two o'clock p. m. (See *Nauvoo Neighbor*, impression of February 28th, 1844). It was under the pretext of carrying on this sport that mobs sometimes convened to do violence to the Saints scattered throughout Hancock county; and on one occasion such a hunt was doubtless planned against Nauvoo itself. (See Ford's History of Illinois, p. 364; and the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, impression of October 2nd, 1844). Gregg, in his "Prophet of Palmyra," seeks to discredit Ford's account of the event, but fails to to disprove the governor's narrative.

the open revolt of men who had occupied leading positions in the Church, and in the civil affairs of Nauvoo. It has already been stated that the introduction of the new marriage system of the Church, permitting under special conditions a plurality of wives, gave opportunity to evil disposed persons to justify sexual immoralities because of the action of President Smith and the faithful brethren to whom he had confided the knowledge of this principle; and that denunciation of these immoralities brought upon him the displeasure and hatred of those who were exposed.¹ These finally united in secret covenant to encompass the Prophet's overthrow. On Orrin P. Rockwell's return to Nauvoo from prison he reported that some of the Missourians said they had secured the services of some of Joseph Smith's confidential friends, whom he did not suspect, but living in Nauvoo, to deliver him into their hands. These Missourians did not design to try the Prophet, but to hang him; and they had a man among the "Mormons" who would betray him, if they could not get him into their power without.²

The special night guards, whose appointment has already been noted, several times came in contact with men moving about the city in a manner which, to say the least, was suspicious; and soon complaints were made by a number of men that the city government was arbitrary and oppressive; they claimed that these night watchmen threatened their peace and even started rumors that President Smith had appointed them for the purposes of intimidation.

Among others who complained of the appointment of night-watchmen were William Law, Second Counselor in the first Presidency of the Church, and William Marks, president of the Nauvoo stake of Zion. In the course of a speech made at the meeting of the city council at the time of the appointment of the special watchmen, President Smith referred to the danger of invasion from Missouri and incidentally remarked: "We have a Judas in our midst." This gave great offense to both William Law and William Marks; also to Wilson Law, brother of William. "What can be the matter with these men?" commented

1. See Chapter XL, this History.

2. Minutes of Special Session of city council, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXII, p. 615.

the Prophet, on their manifestation of fear. "Is it that the wicked flee when no man pursueth, that hit pigeon always flutter, that drowning men clutch at straws, or that President Law and Marks are absolutely traitors to the Church, that my remarks should produce such excitement in their midst? Can it be possible that the 'traitor' whom Porter Rockwell reports to me as being in correspondence with my Missouri enemies is one of my quorum [the first Presidency]? The people in the town were astonished, almost every man saying to his neighbor, 'is it possible that Brother Law or Marks is a traitor, and would deliver Brother Joseph into the hands of his enemies in Missouri? If not what can be the meaning of all this? The righteous are bold as a lion.'"³

Two special sessions of the city council were devoted to an inquiry into the cause of alarm on the part of these men. It appears from the minutes of the proceedings that the trouble arose from some of the night guards discussing who the "Judas" was on whom the Missourians relied to betray the Prophet, with the result that suspicions had fallen upon William Law. This "talk of the street" had alarmed Mr. Law and his friends, and hence came the charges that the night guards of the city were under secret orders from the Mayor and oath-bound "to put out of the way" those suspected of treachery to the Prophet; that

3. "Journal History of Joseph Smith," *Millennial Star*, Volume XXII, p. 631. This Wm. Marks afterwards was prominent among those who induced the Prophet to come back and delived himself up to his enemies after he had started West. After the Prophet's death Marks joined the apostate James J. Strang in his attempt to lead the Church, and still later was a principal factor in bringing into existence the "Josephite" or "Reorganized Church." See the author's work on "Succession in the Presidency of the Church." *Treachery of William Law*: On the 18th of June, Truman Gillett, Jun., made affidavit to the effect that about the first day of June, 1842, he overheard a conversation on the steamboat *Massachusetts* between two men talking of incidents on the Upper Mississippi when one said to the other: "If Law could have succeeded in getting an introduction for us to Joe Smith, d—n him, we would have gagged him and nabbed him; and, d—n him, all h— could not have rescued him from our hands." The next morning Gillett got into conversation with the man who made these remarks, and leading him back to the above subject he explained that he had been "on the Upper Mississippi on business; that he had stopped at Nauvoo on his way down with some twelve or fourteen other men, who laid a plan to kidnap Joe Smith; that some of the company queried about getting access to him, but one of them said he knew they could if he could find Wm. Law. They called on Wm. Law in the evening to get an introduction to their great Prophet, and Law went with them to the gate, where they were stopped by the police, 'and it was well for him that we did not succeed in getting an introduction to him.' Deponent said: 'Did Wm. Law know your business?' and he said 'yes.'" (Journal Hist. Joseph Smith, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIV, p. 205. See also p. 279-80.)

the organization of "Danites" had been revived and a reign of terror was to be inaugurated. The existence of such conditions was stoutly denied by the mayor and many others. The night guards in a body and at each of the special sessions of the City council denied the charges of being oath-bound, or of having received other instructions than those given in open council by the Mayor at the time they received their appointment. The complainants against the guards and the city administration appeared at a very great disadvantage at the investigation.⁴

Early in the spring of 1844, the Prophet was apprised by two young men, Denison L. Harris and Robert Scott, the latter living in the family of William Law, of a secret movement then on foot to take his life, and the lives of several other leading men of the Church; among them the Prophet's brother, Hyrum. These young men were invited to the secret meetings by the conspirators, but before going conferred with the Prophet, who told them to go, but to take no part in the proceedings of these wicked men against himself. They carried out his instructions, and at the risk of their lives attended the secret meetings three times, and brought to President Smith a report of what they had witnessed.⁵

In addition to the testimony of these young men was that of M. G. Eaton, and A. B. Williams who said the same thing. These men went before Daniel H. Wells, a justice of peace, and made affidavit that such a plot existed. In their statements they named as leaders of the movement, Chauncey L. Higbee, R. D. Foster, Joseph H. Jackson, and William and Wilson Law. These names corresponded with those given by the young men before alluded to, except that they also name Austin Cowles, a member of the high council at Nauvoo, as one of the active and leading conspirators.⁶

These statements were shortly confirmed by the action of the conspirators themselves, as they soon came out in open as well as secret opposition to the leading Church authorities; and on the 18th of April a number of them were excommunicated for un-

4. Minutes of the special sessions of the council published in the *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXII, pp. 614-616; also pp. 629-631.

5. A full account of this conspiracy, written by Horace Cummings, was published in the *Contributor*, Utah, Vol. V, No. 7, April, 1884.

6. Affidavits given at length in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 167, also 182-3.

christian-like conduct. Among the number was William Law, a member in the First Presidency, his brother Wilson Law, and Dr. Robert D. Foster.⁷

An effort was made by these men to organize a church by the appointment of apostles, prophets, presidents, etc.; but it failed miserably, the following was insignificant. William Law was "President" of the inchoate, ecclesiastical institution.⁸

The mask having at last fallen from the faces of this coterie, they joined with the avowed enemies of the Saints outside of Nauvoo, and openly advocated the repeal of the city charter, which but a few years before they had assisted to obtain. They violated on several occasions the city ordinances, resisted the city officers, and threatened the life of the Mayor. These disturbances led to arrests and trials before the municipal court, from which the accused generally appealed to the circuit courts; and retaliated by counter arrests of the city authorities for false imprisonment, defamation of character, etc. In many of these cases the power of the municipal court to grant writs of *habeas corpus* was freely exercised, and the city authorities released as

7. The excommunication of these parties is recorded in the Prophet's Journal History under date of the 18th of April, and a long list of names of the prominent Church officials who participated in the action is given. The announcement of the excommunication in the *Times and Seasons* bears the date of 18th of April, but it is published in the issue of that weekly periodical dated 15th of April. This may be accounted for on the ground that the *Times and Seasons* was issued irregularly, often delayed; and the April 15th number may have been so delayed and the excommunication notice of the 18th find place in it without any real anachronism. The matter is mentioned because the parties dealt with complained in the Nauvoo *Expositor* of the irregularity in the procedure of the Council which excommunicated them. Dr. Foster declared that he had been notified to appear before the High Council of the Church on the 20th of April, but on the morning of the 20th, when preparing to go to trial, he was informed that he had been already excommunicated! It is also claimed on the part of the Laws that they were not given an opportunity to be present at the council taking action against them; and that as to Wm. Law the council acting had no jurisdiction in his case, since being in the Presidency of the High Priesthood he could only properly be tried before the general Presiding Bishop of the Church, assisted by Twelve High Priests specially chosen. (See Doc. and Cov., sec. 107: 81-84). It may be that there were some irregularities in the proceedings, justified, no doubt, in the minds of those who conducted them, on the ground that the apostasy of those effected by their action was so notorious that formalities were of little consequence. And yet such irregularities are to be deplored.

8. It was a matter of amusement to President Smith rather than an anxiety, this "New Church" movement. Referring to it in a public address on Sunday, the 26th of May, he said: "Inasmuch as there is a 'new Church' this [the Church he had founded] must be the old, and of course we ought to be set down as orthodox. From henceforth let all the churches now no longer persecute orthodoxy. I never built upon any other man's ground. I never told the old Catholic that he was a 'fallen' true Prophet!"

the actions were malicious, and adjudged insufficient grounds on which to hold the alleged offenders. In some cases, however, complaints were made before the Hancock Circuit Court by the seceders, and a number of such cases against President Smith were pending at the time of his death.⁹

At the May sitting of the grand jury at Carthage two indictments were found against President Smith, one for "adultery," on the testimony of Wm. Law; and one for "perjury" on the testimony of Joseph H. Jackson.¹⁰ Instead of avoiding the issue thus presented President Smith promptly met it. The information of the finding of the indictments reached Nauvoo on Saturday, 25th of May, and on Monday the Prophet presented himself before the court at Carthage and demanded a hearing.¹¹ Anti-Mormon writers usually limit the Prophet's demand for a trial to the case of "perjury"¹² but he placed himself in the hands of the court and was as likely to meet the one charge as the other. It was beyond his power to pick and choose as to which case he would answer. All that can be said in the matter is that on the perjury case the prosecution not being ready, a continuance was taken to the next term. "I was left to give bail to the sheriff at his option," remarks the Prophet in his narrative; "he told me I might go home, where he would call and take bail at his own convenience."¹³ The disposition of the charge of adultery is not given, and whether that too was continued until the next term of court or not is unknown. But certainly those making the charge could not have been very confident of their case as we hear no more of it. Anti-Mormon writers, however, seldom neglect to say that at the time of the Prophet's death "he was under an indictment for adultery and perjury," without mentioning

9. The activities in this kind may be judged by citing the following:

"The May term of Hancock circuit court commenced its session at Carthage on the 20th, Hon. Jesse B. Thomas presiding. At this term, four cases were on docket against the Prophet, and were disposed of as follows:

"Alexander Sympson—For false imprisonment: change of venue to Adams county.

"Francis M. Higbee—For slander: change to the county of McDonough.

"Charles A. Foster—False imprisonment: to the county of McDonough.

"Amos Davis—For trespass: to McDonough county."

These were all civil actions (Gregg's History of Hancock county, p. 301).

10. Journal History of Joseph Smith, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIII, p. 642 and 673.

11. Journal History of Joseph Smith, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIII, p. 689, *et seq.*

12. History of Hancock County, Gregg, pp. 301, 2.

13. Journal History, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIII, p. 689.

the prompt boldness with which President Smith placed himself in the hands of the court to face these charges.¹⁴

At last the disaffected parties imported a press into the city and proposed publishing a paper to be called the *Nauvoo Expositor*. It avowed its intention in its *Prospectus* to agitate for the repeal of the Nauvoo charter, and also announced that since its position in the city of the Saints afforded it opportunities of being familiar with the abuses that prevailed, its publishers intended to give a full, candid and succinct statement of facts as they really existed in the city of Nauvoo, regardless of whose standing in the community might be imperiled. One Sylvester Emmons was employed as editor.

The first number and the only one, of the *Nauvoo Expositor* was published on the 7th of June. It must have been a great disappointment to its publishers¹⁵ if they possessed any newspaper taste or pride, since it was a sad jumble in arrangement of selected and original matter. Of the former there is a surprisingly large quantity of colorless stuff for a paper that so thundered in its *Prospectus* as to the "gross abuses" and the "unsupportable oppressions of the ministerial powers" it had to expose; and the original matter was both vapid and pointless; it was strong only in its bitterness and evil intent. It charged the Prophet with exercising illegal authority, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs; with the introduction of the plural wife system, and other supposed doctrinal heresies; with gross immoralities; and malfeasance in the administration of the affairs of the Church. Both by republishing its *Prospectus*, which pledged it to the "unconditional repeal of the Nauvoo Charter," and by editorial utterance the *Expositor* avowed its intention to work for the repeal of the city's charter. Naturally the publication of such a paper aroused great indignation within Nauvoo; and such was the bitterness engendered in the public mind outside of Nauvoo, both in Hancock county and in the surrounding counties, that to allow its continued publication meant, undoubtedly, the rising of mob forces and open war upon the Saints with the destruction of Nauvoo as the inevitable result.

14. So the late Secretary of State John Hay, *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1869; Ford's History Ill., p. 328; Linn, Story of the Mormons, p. 290.

15. William Law, Wilson Law, Charles Ivins, Francis M. Higbee, Chauncy L. Higbee, Robert D. Foster, and Charles A. Foster are announced as the publishers.

This bitterness had been created in the public mind in large part through the misrepresentations that had been made of the purposes and designs of the Church leaders; in part by the unwisdom of Church members, for whom no claim is made of impeccability, either in word or action; nor is absolute inerrancy in judgment and policy claimed for even the leaders of the Church; but most of the ill-repute in which Nauvoo was held by the people of Hancock and surrounding counties—after the fact of misrepresentation—arose from the wickedness of the very men—adding to the coterie the villain John C. Bennett—who now engaged through the press they had founded to expose alleged corruption in high places in Nauvoo.¹⁶

The appearance of the *Expositor* constituted a problem most difficult of solution. Such was the general indignation among the citizens of Nauvoo that there was danger of an uprising and a destruction of the press and printing office by them—this meant mob violence in Nauvoo,¹⁷ and any manifestation of mob violence in Nauvoo meant the awaited pretext for its destruction by out

16. Thomas Gregg, author of the History of Hancock County, also author of the "Prophet of Palmyra," an anti-Mormon history of Mormonism with the Prophet as the central figure, says of the *Expositor* and its publishers:

"As we have seen, the professed aim and purpose of this sheet, Nauvoo *Expositor*, were to expose the enormities practiced by the prophet and his followers at Nauvoo. And from the statements and proofs adduced, and from corroborative facts—making all due allowance for exaggeration and vindictive feeling—we are compelled to accept many of them as true. Yet, it is painful to remember that while they were showing Joseph Smith to have been a desperately bad man, they were—to put it in as mild a way as possible—adding little to their own characters; inasmuch as for years they had been his supporters and defenders, and (having been in his confidence) must have known long before what his true character was, and that all his pretensions to religion and sanctity were false. And it will be remembered, too, that when Dr. Bennett revolted, but a short period before, and made the same or similar charges, all, or most of these men made public contradiction of them." (Gregg's "Prophet of Palmyra," pp. 240-1).

Of course the reader should remember in connection with Mr. Gregg's conclusion from "corroborative facts" that many of the statements of these seceders from the Church are true, that this is the conclusion of a man strongly prejudiced against the Church of the Latter-day Saints; and one who would especially count the charge of introducing the new marriage system as among the "enormities" of the Prophet. The fact of Joseph Smith establishing that system is, of course, not denied in this history; and neither is it conceded—within the limitations and explanations already set forth—(Chapter XL) to be an "enormity."

17. John Taylor, who became the third President of the Church and at the time a member of the City Council, in his account of "the Martyrdom of Joseph Smith"—as an Introduction to "A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion," by Sergeant Daniel Tyler—1881—on this point says: "It (*The Expositor*) was, however, no sooner put in circulation than the indignation of the whole community was aroused; so much so, that they threatened its annihilation; and I do not believe that in any other city in the United States, if the same charges had been made against the citizens, it would have been permitted to remain one day."

Elias Smith, afterwards known in Utah as "Judge Elias Smith," a man of

side forces. Indeed there were those who believed that one reason for the publication of the *Expositor* was to provoke the citizens to some overt act against the law, that a pretext might be found for the raising of mob forces against the city. John Taylor (mentioned in note 25) says: "Various attempts had heretofore been made by the party [i. e. the seceders from the Church] to annoy and irritate the citizens of Nauvoo; false accusations had been made, vexatious lawsuits instituted, threats made, and various devices resorted to, to influence the public mind, and, if possible, to provoke us to the commission of some overt act that might make us amenable to the law. * * * So far from displeasing our enemies it [the destruction of the *Expositor*] would be looked upon by them as one of the best circumstances that could transpire to assist them in their nefarious and bloody designs."¹⁸ In an editorial of the *Nauvoo Neighbor* the same writer says that the press was destroyed in response to the "cries and pleadings of men, women and children with the City authorities," asking: "Will you suffer that servile, murderous-intended paper to go on and villify and slander the innocent inhabitants of this City, and raise another mob to drive and plunder us again as they did in Missouri?"¹⁹

It is quite evident that the publishers of the *Expositor* provokingly relied upon this fear of outside interference as an asset in their audacious undertaking. It was part of the testimony before the city council that Francis M. Higbee and William Law had declared before the press was destroyed that "they had commenced their operations and would carry them out *law or no law*."²⁰ Francis M. Higbee said the interest of the city is done the moment a hand is laid on the press."²¹ Again Francis M.

most excellent character, coolness of temperament, and soundness of judgment, is represented by the minutes of the Nauvoo city council as saying in the *Expositor* case that he "Believed, by what he had heard, that if the city council did not do it [i. e. destroy the *Expositor* press] others would." Journal History of Joseph Smith, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIII, p. 818.

18. Tyler's Mormon Battalion, Introduction, pp. 15, 16.

19. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, the impression of the 12th of June, 1844—two days after the destruction of the *Expositor*. The same view is expressed by Joseph Smith in his interview with Governor Ford in Carthage prison the day before he was murdered "Our whole people were indignant, and loudly called upon our city authorities for a redress of our grievances." See Taylor's report of the interview "Tyler's History of Mormon Battalion," Introduction, p. 39.

20. Sworn statement of John Birney. Journal History of Joseph Smith, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 6 and 7.

21. Sworn statement of Stephen Markham. *Ibid*.

Higbee, speaking of the *Expositor* press said: "If they [citizens of Nauvoo] lay their hands upon it, or break it, they may date their down fall from that very hour, and in ten days there will not be a Mormon left in Nauvoo."²²

In view of this trying situation the city council was convened and after long deliberation determined upon the destruction of the press by order of the city council as the wisest course. The justification for the procedure was as follows: "Blackstone on 'Wrongs' asserts the doctrine that scurrilous prints may be abated as nuisances."²³

The Nauvoo charter, following the Springfield charter, gave the city authority to "remove nuisances." The city council after long deliberation and the hearing of testimony, much of which, though not all, taken under oath,

Resolved; by the City Council of the city of Nauvoo, that the printing-office from whence issues the Nauvoo Expositor is a public nuisance, and also all of said Nauvoo Expositors which may be or exist in said establishment; and the Mayor is instructed to cause said printing establishment and papers to be removed without delay, in such manner as he shall direct.

Passed June 10th, 1844.

George W. Harris,
President, pro tem.

W. Richards, Recorder.²⁴

Whereupon the Mayor issued an order to the city Marshall to "destroy the printing press from whence issues the Nauvoo *Expositor*, and pie the type of said printing establishment in the street, and burn all the *Expositors* and libellous hand bills found in said establishment."²⁵ Also at the same time the Mayor issued an order to the acting Major General of the Nauvoo Legion to be in readiness to assist the city Marshall in the event of his meeting with resistance in the execution of the Mayor's orders. There was but slight resistance—the merely formal denial of admit-

22. Sworn statement of David H. Redfield. *Ibid.*

23. Joseph Smith in his letter to Governor Ford, 22d of June, 1844. *Journal History of Joseph Smith, Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIV, p. 309. He seemed not to have observed that the cited legal authority went no further than to "scurrilous prints," not to printing presses.

24. *Journal History, Star*, Vol. XXIII, p. 829.

25. *Journal History, Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIV, p. 6.

tance—the locking of a door, which the marshall then broken down. The order was otherwise quite executed.

It may be that the procedure of the city council in destroying the *Expositor* press was irregular; and the attempt at legal justification may not be convincing; but it was doubtless a better method of meeting the issue than by the action of a mob; for it stopped the offensive publication, gave less ground for complaint against the people of Nauvoo; and if in their corporate capacity the city administration had exceeded their jurisdiction, they were amendable to the law.²⁶ Such was the view expressed of the matter by President Smith in his interview with Governor Ford the day before the tragedy at Carthage. He said:

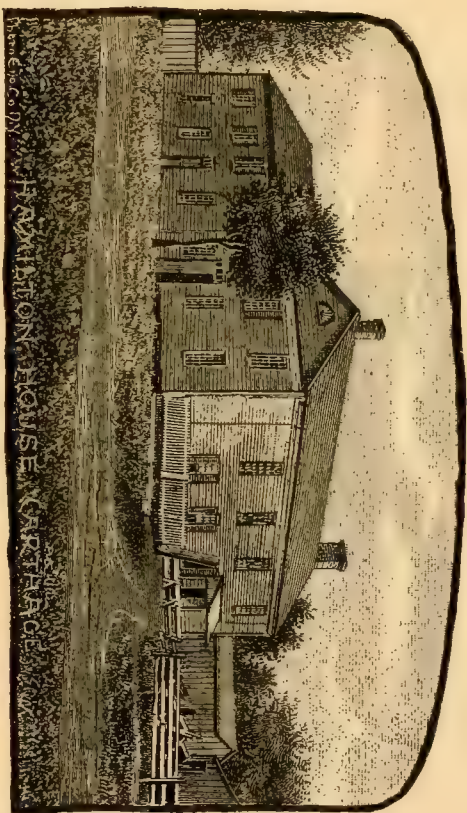
“We made that order [i. e. for the destruction of the *Expositor* press] in our corporate capacity, and the city marshall carried it out. It is possible there may have been some better way, but I must confess that I could not see it. * * * In relation to the press, you say that you differ from me in opinion. Be it so; the thing, after all, is only a legal difficulty, and the courts, I should judge, are competent to decide on that matter. If our act was illegal we are willing to meet it. * * * If it is deemed that we did a wrong in destroying that press, we refuse not to pay for it; we are desirous to fulfill the law in every particular, and are responsible for our acts.”²⁷

In a letter to Governor Ford President Smith also said: “If we have erred in judgment [in respect of the *Expositor*] it is an official act, and belongs to the supreme court to correct it, and assess damages versus the city to restore property abated as a nuisance.”²⁸

26. See testimony at the hearing of Joseph Smith before the city council; full minutes of which are published in *Journal Hist. Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 21-23. Also hearing of city council before Esquire D. H. Wells, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIV, p. 180, *et seq.*

27. Taylor's Mormon Battalion, Introduction, pp. 40-43. John Taylor makes the same representation in his discussion of the “Mormon Question” with Schuyler Colfax, Vice President of the U. S., 1869 (page 20): “In a conversation with Governor Ford on this subject afterwards, when informed of the circumstances, he said to me: ‘I cannot blame you for destroying it, [i. e. the press] but I wish it had been done by a mob.’ I told him that we preferred a legal course, and that Blackstone described a libelous press as a nuisance and liable to be removed; that our city charter gave us the power to remove nuisances; and that if it was supposed we had contravened the law, we were amenable for our acts and refused not an investigation.”

28. *Journal History, Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIV, 309.



HAMILTON HOUSE, CARTHAGE, ILL.

The headquarters of Governor Ford during the Mormon troubles which ended in the death of Joseph Smith

A RE-ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF THE WAR OF 1812

BY HOWARD T. LEWIS

(University of Wisconsin, formerly of Lawrence College)

PART II

TO turn to the attempted conquest of Canada. It will be remembered that this was not the first time that envious eyes had been turned upon the country lying to the north of the states. If we turn to the Journals of Congress for 1774-1775 (Vol. I, pp. 54-100) we will find there letters addressed to the inhabitants of Canada and the Province of Quebec that in words of "affectionate respect and in the warmth of patriotism" invite them to unite against England and to make the war a common one, and later to enter the Union on terms of equality. Only the want of physical power and means prevented them from doing so at that time. Again, after the Articles of Confederation had been drawn up, the way was still open to them to join but they did not do so. Now that the question of expansion was forcing itself upon the States once more, the time seemed quite opportune for another invitation to Canada. Many thought that an invitation was all that would be necessary. They argued that a large number of fugitives had fled there from the oppression of European circumstances and from the rigors of the American Revolution, all of whom would be only too glad to unite with their southern neighbors at this time. A corollary of this argument appeared in this form,—“It will have beneficial political results; it will preserve the equilibrium of the government. When Louisiana shall be fully peopled, the northern states will lose their power and will be at the discretion of the others, they could then be depressed at pleasure, and the Union might be endangered. Hence

I feel anxious not only to add the Floridas to the south, but the Canadas to the north of this empire." (Grundy, representative from Tennessee, in the Annals of the 12th Congress, Part I, p. 427). Others with a better knowledge of the situation and with keener judgment warned the people against such a conquest. Nelson of Virginia, in reply to the argument just quoted, "deprecated the invasion of Canada as an act of foreign conquest. We could not suppose that Great Britain would slumber over our occupation of it, and where should we find a force able to keep possession of it as a conquered province? Admit it as a sister to the Union, we could not abandon it at the peace, and therefore we could not give it back for the restoration of our maritime rights." Harper of New Hampshire advanced another argument in opposition to the attempted invasion of Canada. He said, "We are on the frontier, neighbors to the Canadians, and kindred to many of them. * * * But, Sir, though I do not doubt the desire of these Canadians to be with us associated, and although I am persuaded that such a union would advance the interests of all, yet desire is often opposed by duty, which must and will be obeyed by those who *are* and those who are *fit to be* citizens of this republic. I was therefore pained at hearing the suggestion that our conquest was founded, not on our own strength, but on the infidelity of the subjects of a foreign power, on mental if not practical treason." (Annals of the 12th Congress, Part I, page 653.) A third argument was that in consideration of the extreme weakness of the American forces and of the strength of England it was highly inexpedient even to think of a conquest of Canada. The truth of these claims was made very clear when once war was actually begun. Be that as it may, the very fact that such a conquest was thought of at all is sufficient evidence of the growing need of room for expansion.

Lastly, let us turn to Florida. Of it little need be said. Nor need we follow the diplomatic negotiations and difficulties attending the sale of it by England to Spain and its transfer by it to France. All we need to notice in the present connection is that the south and west felt convinced in their own minds that English gold and English duplicity were influential in preventing

the United States from getting easy possession of it. Whether the belief was well founded or not it would be somewhat difficult to say, but that it was given popular credence at the time is unquestionable, and it but added another factor to the already numerous causes for complaint by those sections most effected against England.

Simultaneously with the commencement of Indian hostilities in the west, the twelfth Congress assembled, called together by proclamation on Nov. 4th, 1811, a month before the regular date of meeting. If the above analysis is correct we should expect to find in this twelfth Congress immediate and insistent demands for war coming from the south and west, expressive of the recent causes for complaint in those sections, and from the New England a continuance of that conservatism which they had shown for the past six years. It is also to be expected that the effects of the newspaper agitation spoken of above shall have begun to produce results. Particularly is this true since the universal war spirit which twenty years of widespread hostilities had diffused through the civilized world, could hardly have been expected not to produce its effects in America. "In the south and west, thousands of young men, ambitious for distinction and eager for action, but left in idleness by the institution of slavery, as they read day by day of battle after battle had begun to sigh for swords, epaulettes, and military glory." (Hildreth, VI, 318) And so indeed it was.

As in the last Congress, the Federalists were in a hopeless minority in both Houses. In the Senate, though they had but six members, their ideas were still ably sustained, while the large Republican majority was greatly enfeebled by its division into two hostile sections. One of these seemed to make it an object to thwart everything in the policy of the administration at the same time professing, as a cover for this hostility, a special zeal for national interests and honor. In the House the Federalists had but thirty-six members, and the proportion which had existed in the preceding House between the more moderate and the more violent section of the majority was now completely changed. Not only had the more violent members of the last Congress,—Porter, of New York; Wright, of Maryland; Williams, of South

Carolina; Troup, of Georgia; Johnson, Desha, and McKee, of Kentucky; and Langdon Cheves, of South Carolina; been re-elected, but they were ably assisted by Felix Grundy, of Tennessee; Wm. Lowndes, and John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; and Henry Clay, of Kentucky; all eager champions of war, young and full of enthusiasm, representing the West, by whom the old leaders were at once totally eclipsed. With Grundy came also that old pioneer and Indian fighter, the first governor of Tennessee, John Sevier. The choice of speaker at once revealed the character of the House. Henry Clay was elected by seventy-five votes to thirty-five for Wm. W. Bibb, a member from Georgia since 1806, and the peace candidate.

On the fifth of November the President's message was read, in which he recommended "that adequate provision for filling the ranks and prolonging the enlistment of the regular troops, for an auxiliary force to be engaged for a more limited term, for the acceptance of volunteer troops." Although the "manufacture of cannon and small arms had proceeded with due success and the stocks and resources of all necessary munitions were adequate to emergencies," he nevertheless added that, "It will not be inexpedient for Congress to authorize an enlargement of them." He called attention to disturbances on the Wabash and proceeded to discuss the relations with France and England. He spoke of the friendly relations with France and of their evident desire to settle all difficulties with the States and of the refusal of England to revoke the Orders in Council as they had promised.

The question of war came up almost immediately. It was precipitated by a report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in which they offered six resolutions, providing among other things for an additional military force to serve for three years. In the debate which followed all possible excuses for war were brought forward. Two notable speeches were made against the measure, one by John Randolph of Virginia, and the other by Sheffey, also of Virginia. Randolph called attention to the lack of proof existing regarding the British intrigues among the Indians, and lamented the war as one of conquest. Sheffey attacked the stand taken by Congress that they were in duty bound to oppose the

right of search as upheld by England and showed quite conclusively the fallacy of the alleged causes of war. He said, "Our native citizens or those who were residents of this community at the close of the Revolutionary War are unquestionably entitled to exemption from impressment. But we claim it for every person who shall sail under our flag. * * * I think we do enough when we place them on perfect equality as it respects every right within our territorial jurisdiction. But further than this we cannot go without interfering with the claims of other sovereign powers sanctioned by long practice and acquiescence. Allegiance is due from every person in a social state to some government. * * * Since the dawn of civil liberty it has been considered a duty, growing out of an implied contract between governors and governed, and indissoluble like other contracts without the mutual consent of the contracting parties. On this principle is founded the doctrine of perpetual allegiance recognized throughout Europe. * * * We must be conscious that we cannot impose our principle on other nations with whom it is our interest to cultivate a good understanding."

Regarding commerce, "Why do we wish war? The nominal repeal of the Orders in Council is not your object. * * * The unmolested commerce of France and her dependencies is the boon for which you are going to war. * * * Your export commerce to France now consists of our own products only, as appears by the letter of the French minister on your table. * * * The municipal regulations which have been substituted for the Berlin Decree * * * have destroyed by far the most profitable branch of our trade to the French Empire, which consisted of the products and manufactures of other countries. * * * Of so much more importance was this export trade to us than that of our own commerce that in 1807 before the British Orders in Council existed, the domestic exports to France (including Belgium) amounted to about \$2,700,000 only, while the amount to the same country of foreign manufacture and products (chiefly colonial) was nearly \$10,000,000. In the same year the total amount of our exports to every part of the world amounted to \$48,500,000, of which the amount I have stated was exported to France, and about \$28,000,000 to Great Britain and

her possessions and dependencies. * * * Since that time she has acquired the French West Indies and Bourbon in the Indian Ocean, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Dutch possessions in Asia and America. To these countries in 1807 * * * the export of domestic products from the United States amounted to upward of \$4,000,000 so that estimating our exports to Great Britain and her present possessions and dependencies as they stood in 1807 the amount would be about \$32,000,000—about two-thirds of the whole amount of domestic exports to every part of the world. Thus, while we are engaging in a war for commerce we abandon the greater, absolutely, and contend for the smaller. But this is not all. We may expect to see * * * when the dominion of France shall not afford us a market for a single article, but all commerce with her shall be either interdicted by her own government or abandoned by our merchants as unworthy of their support.” He went on to explain that it was evident intention of Napoleon to make the French Empire wholly self-dependent and concluded, “I believe that were the Orders in Council repealed to-morrow our commerce to France could not be worth \$2,000,000 and * * * we may expect it may daily diminish.” He concludes his speech by attributing the evils to the “present state of the European world. * * * We may make arrangements with France for the revocation of her decrees and with England for the revocation of her Orders in Council. But there will be no permanent security. * * * In the most important concerns of life a prudent man calls to his aid his best reason and deliberate judgment. But it seems that in the great concerns of the nation where its peace is at stake and its future destiny hazarded we must close our eyes, set all prudence at defiance and move boldly on to our object, not disgracing ourselves by consulting the lessons of wisdom and experience which lie in our way.” Particularly was this true since, as he said, the principles of international justice were now determined by the two great belligerents, who were mutually interested in the prostration of neutral rights, instead of, as was the case prior to the French Revolution, by many distinct sovereignties whose mutual jealousies insured security even to the weakest.

One can hardly help but be impressed as he reads the fervent words of Sheffey by the sincerity and soundness of his argument. It was as he said, the states considered themselves of too much importance in the affairs of the world, and were moreover rushing blindly into a war for which they were not prepared. Nowhere is there better proof of the fact that the War of 1812 was not waged primarily over the questions of neutral rights and impressment but was rather forced on by men who were prompted by other motives using this as an excuse.

Despite the opposition, however, the resolutions were passed. By November, 1811, resolutions began to come into Congress from state legislatures in favor of warlike measures,—Georgia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, the House of Representative of Massachusetts. Gradually matters came to a crisis. The cabinet and the President, as well as the older members of the House hesitated, remembering well the downfall of the Federalist party through political complications arising from out the Revolution. But whatever hesitation they had, whatever irresolution there was on the part of many in Congress, the new leaders and the new Western party were determined on war. In March an \$11,000,000 loan was authorized by Congress to carry on the preparations for the war. This however proved at least a partial failure, for by May, instead of being rapidly filled up as was expected, only \$6,000,000 had been subscribed, two-thirds by the banks and the other third by private individuals. One other difficulty remained to face the war leaders. Though willing to sign a bill declaring war Madison was very unwilling to take any further measures toward bringing it about. But Clay and his followers were inexorable. A story has often been repeated, and even put into text books, that a committee waited upon Madison in a formal manner presenting to him the alternative of a pledge to recommend war or the loss of the re-nomination for presidency. Clay and his followers denied the story and there is lack of good historical evidence in proof of it. Be that as it may, the result was the same in any case, and the resulting political situation came to be just what the war party wished. Madison knew that war was inevitable; he believed that the war party in Congress had the people behind them, and that if he

were to continue in the presidency he must be re-elected through the aid of the war makers. So all through the winter and spring of 1812 he made no effort to check "the new patriot." Each side thoroughly understood the other and tacitly accepted the situation. "Madison secured his re-election but with the direction of a distasteful war; the war hawks got their war but with it a most unwarlike commander-in-chief of the army and navy." (Nation Series XIII, 61.) So on April 1st Madison sent a confidential message to Congress in which he recommended "under existing circumstances and prospects" and embargo for sixty days.

In consequence of this move Madison committed himself unqualifiedly to war, but clearly not because he or the older members of his party wished it. His own sober judgment, and that of Galatin, his most confidential advisor, were altogether against war. Their mature experience and unenterprising dispositions had little in common with the enthusiasm of the young war leaders. They knew well how the quasi-war of 1798 with its army, navy, taxes, and 80 per cent. loans had contributed to break down the old Federal party, and they listened, not without serious alarm, to the prophecies of Randolph, Macon, and the other old-time Republicans of a similar result likely to follow now.

The war was clearly one of section against section. The South and West were pitted against the North, and the younger element against the older. One thing alone brightened the sky of the old Republicans, and a good deal of their laxity in opposition to the war is to be attributed to it. Immediately after the assemblage of Congress in 1811, a re-apportionment of the representatives was made to be more in accord with the census returns of the preceding year. It was finally fixed, after much debate and amendment by both Senate and House at 35,000. This meant one thing for the future party in Congress, whichever one it was,—like the President it must be chosen and supported by western votes more than at any time heretofore. That section, up to this time very largely neglected in political matters, had now come to be the most influential of all and the section to be pampered by those who were playing the political game. No one realized this more than the old-time politicians, much as

they might regret it, and this was doubtless the chief reason for their half-hearted opposition to the war when once they saw the determination with which the new leaders were for it. They knew well that the new Congress would be determined in character by this party and that with the inevitable encumbrances and embarrassments of a war all possible sources of help must be figured on.

It is interesting to note in following the proceedings of the Peace Conference which met at Ghent on July 11th, 1815, that the question of impressment of seamen was never mentioned. On the contrary, the question of the invasion of Canada rose to importance though the American committee denied with emphasis that its conquest was a *declared* object of war. The British commissioners in view of the weakness of British possessions in North America and of the necessity of some barrier against the ambitious spirit of the American pioneers urged the assignment by both parties to the Indian allies of a permanent neutral territory with the prohibition to the United States of the right to establish fortresses or to keep ships on the Great Lakes. This was finally dropped, however, when the American commissioners protested in reply against this attempted interference with the Indians as a thing which Great Britain had never permitted in her own case, and as contrary to the assurances originally given of a disposition to treat on terms of perfect reciprocity. They also objected to the British employment of Indian auxiliaries. Finally after some pretty sharp controversy the British commissioners agreed to be content with a mutual stipulation for peace with the Indians.

It is indeed significant that the declared objects of war as given by its advocates in the Congressional debates of the first session of the twelfth Congress, and as given by subsequent historians as its real causes are given places of minor importance in the treaty of peace, while the real but less obvious causes were considered by the commissioners of peace as questions of great moment.

GENERAL WILLIAM EATON, THE FIRST AMERICAN IMPERIALIST*

BY FORREST MORGAN

WILLIAM EATON has a threefold claim upon the interest of this audience: as a piquant personality, as an eminent product of Connecticut, and as an American who anticipated in essence the dominant American political ideas of a century later, be they for good or harm. He was a man of large conceptions, power, and daring, with a story that never loses fire and charm, and a character that never loses a strong grasp on some side of our sympathies. He was the first of Connecticut's brood to win European notice as a man of action; he was the only one to play a conspicuous part, if but for a moment, on the Old World stage; he remains one of Connecticut's most picturesque and striking figures, among many such. The Land of Steady Habits has impressed on its children, in no small volume, other traits than that of following the beaten track. He was the first American to imply by his actions a belief that the United States was not a power set apart for political home-keeping, more than others. He plainly held it a co-heritor with them of the old arenas of struggle, and advantaged by the same lines of policy; including the immemorial one of protecting trade by supplanting enemies with obliged or dependent friends. He thought that lands not too distant for war were not too distant for political interference, when it lessened liability to future wars or enhanced the leverage of present ones.

This demands neither originality nor mental courage at the opening of the twentieth century. It demanded both at the opening of the nineteenth, when the national army consisted of 3300

*Read before the Connecticut Historical Society.

men with two line regiments, and was thought by fully half the people a formidable danger to American liberties; when the not distant States of our own West were harried by the savage protégés of one foreign power, and those of our Southwest nearly forced into secession by the tolls of another; and when, despite a brief assertion of individuality, America's foreign policy consisted chiefly in choosing which of two powers it should serve as puppet or prey, or both at once. It was an Old World state long supported by the tribute, subsidies, or plunder of nearly all Europe that Eaton struck at, and would have struck down if given the aid that was due him. If it was a petty state, far stronger ones than ours and close at hand would not meddle with it, and his means were pettier still. If the stroke failed, the fault was in no way his. If it was for the benefit of the world at America's risk and cost, that only adds to his credit.

Once for a brief space a popular hero, and his expedition a fireside tale of romantic adventure, Eaton is not of the few whom adults cannot forget and children are not allowed to forget, and he has ceased to have a being except for the readers of certain histories. It is regrettable both for him and for us: to be kindled by the older heroisms is the best way to make new ones probable. Moreover, his image when existent is at best a partial one, and mainly an unreal one. His life has not been written for seventy years; and of his two biographies, one is too clumsy to find readers and the other too dull to hold them. The general histories including his period have use for him only in one minor episode, and leave him a meaningless apparition. The most influential, that of Henry Adams,—whose merits of intellect float many demerits of fact and judgment,—dismisses him with a curt sneer as an impracticable and visionary adventurer: this is a mere crude and careless libel, a daub without truth to nature, but with a majority it does duty for a portrait. I propose to supply a true one.

The landmarks of Eaton's life are wars. It spans with singular evenness the interval between the war which made our race one of the two chief heirs of the Western Hemisphere, and that which marked our country as one of the two chief heirs of the Western World. He was born a year and a fortnight after the

Treaty of Paris in 1763 gave Canada to England; he died a year and a fortnight before the declaration of a state of war in 1812 made known a naval power equaled only by England. His opportunity for notable deeds came through the Barbary wars which trained the navy for its glories soon after his death. There he had first performed valuable and hazardous services in diplomacy. Having himself transferred to the field of war, he accomplished almost unaided, and with resources provided largely by himself, a brilliant and dramatic feat of a sort unique in our history; a most bizarre and Oriental bit of tapestry embroidered on the sober garment of unromantic Western methods. It is a shining jewel in the cluster of heroic American deeds; but it was rendered of slight avail by short-sighted superiors and grudging collaborators. Once more at home, he died prematurely at forty-seven, just at the verge of a new war which might have given him the immortality he craved, and for which his powers were ample.

Eaton's boyhood and youth are curiously typical of his section and period, save in the military taste which discriminates his personal type. In other respects the recital might serve, with a few changes of date and minor details, for ten thousand New England lads of his generation. He was born in Woodstock, Feb. 23, 1764; the second of thirteen children of a somewhat educated farmer and mechanic who taught school winters, and ten years later removed to Mansfield. William preferred reading, writing, or hunting to farm work, at which he labored when watched, otherwise reading a book carried in his pocket or providently hidden in a fence corner. This was not from physical sluggishness; he was notably active and adventurous, sometimes to the danger of life or limb. He became early a handy mechanic; was a clever natural teacher; through life his force of intellect and character impressed all who came in contact with him; while his nervous high-strung temperament, quick mind, and equal interest in life and books, made him excellent company and correspondent. Plutarch inspired him with zeal for a soldier's career, the Revolutionary War gave him opportunity to begin it; and at sixteen, in 1780, he ran away and enlisted in

the Connecticut line, remaining three years and rising to the rank of sergeant.

For four years he now remained at or near home, in Mansfield, working on the farm, becoming converted and joining the church, teaching school, and studying the classics under neighboring clergymen. The fall before he was twenty-two he matriculated at Dartmouth College, with a winter's leave to pursue the required course while teaching school, and rejoin the class in the spring; but family needs prevented him from utilizing the permit. Eighteen months later, in May 1787, he once more set out for Dartmouth (Hanover, N. H.), about 200 miles, on foot. He had one pistareen (nineteen cents) in cash; a few notions, in a pack with his extra shirt, to peddle on the way for food and lodging; and a letter of recommendation to President Wheelock, apparently for board on credit. With the last of his money fifty miles from the goal his firmness of spirit departed for the moment, and the future desert-stormer spent a part of the day in tears. There have been worse excuses, and perhaps fewer of the world's heroes could cast stones at him than might be supposed. Recovering himself, his pack and the kindly hospitality and lifts he received on the way brought him to the college, where he joined the Freshman class in its last quarter. For the next three years, till his graduation at twenty-six, he supported himself by teaching for more than half the time a school in Windsor, Vt., twenty miles down the Connecticut; studying the college lessons in his spare hours, often most of the night, and injuring his health. It is interesting to know that his graduating exercise was a poetic dialogue. He was always fond of poetry, and wrote verse which at worst was not spineless; but his true poetry was that of action.

Regarding his future vocation, his first thought was of studying divinity; not so radical a divergence from his military dreams, when we recall the theology of the time and the masterful social position of an aggressive clergyman. John Adams so began. After leaving college, while conducting the school for another year, he provisionally turned to the law, and entered his name in a Windsor attorney's office. But he hoped for a commission in the army; and applied through an influential and ap-

preciative friend presumably made here, to whom he owed probably the entire public career by which we know him. This was Stephen R. Bradley, a Connecticut Revolutionary officer settled in Vermont since 1779, and one of its leading politicians and organizers as a State. On its admission in 1791, he became one of its two first Senators, and Eaton was elected clerk of the House of Delegates. The next March he was given a captaincy in the new national army of about 2000 men, designed for frontier service and placed under Anthony Wayne; and was first employed in recruiting. His brother lived in Brimfield, Mass.; there he had met Timothy Danielson, the elderly and well-to-do chief justice of Hampshire County and an old political magnate, with a young wife and a little son. Danielson was lately dead, and in August Eaton married the eleven-months widow and heiress, by whom he had three daughters and two sons, in that order. Her property was of the highest service to his public career, enabling him more than once to pledge it for sums indispensable to his plans.

Shortly afterward he received marching orders, and with the troops descended the Ohio from Pittsburg to the scene of threatening savage warfare. He saw no service but drill manoeuvres for the great victory at Fallen Timbers in 1794; but during them he bore a share in a hot and undignified quarrel with the acting adjutant-general, Edward Butler, in presence of the troops, over an order of evolution. Butler's sword and Eaton's spon-toon menaced more bloodshed than would have occurred in any event, but Wayne stopped the exhibition peremptorily. Eaton then sent Butler a challenge; but it was referred to the officers of column, who pronounced Eaton possibly and Butler certainly in the wrong, and a renewal of friendship incumbent.

After eighteen months he went East to resume acquaintance with his bride, whom he had not seen since a few days after marriage; and was allowed to remain on recruiting service. Still a year and a half later he was ordered to St. Mary's, the border post next to Florida, then under Spanish rule. His primary duty was to curb the Spaniards and Creek Indians on one side, and Georgian raids into Florida on the other. A minor but important one was to send honest reports of frontier conditions

to the department, which could not rely upon the ones it received, owing to the furor of land speculation based on the memorable "Yazoo" legislative iniquity of that year. Eaton was soon plunged into a personal imbroglio, which may have been aggravated by his irritable temper and outspoken tongue, but in its main features was inevitable for a man of integrity and courage. The groundwork was the world-old one of "graft," in the slang of to-day. His chief opponents were James Seagroves, superintendent of the Southern Indians, and Lieut.-Col. Henry Gaither, commandant of St. Mary's, rumored to be secret partners. Gaither was of old a captain in the famous Maryland Continentals who won such imperishable laurels at Long Island, Camden, Cowpens, and Guilford, and now headed one of the three infantry regiments of the army. One of his officers styles him "an ignorant, debauched, unprincipled old bachelor," full of spleen toward any one of higher character, and long intriguing to ruin one of his captains of great worth. Seagroves located a new fort on part of some fever-stricken overflow lands of his own, for which site the government was to pay; Eaton vainly recommended a more salubrious one, and reported to the government, doubtless with his usual command of pungent and unflattering language. Gaither tried to secure Eaton's silence and good-will by making him also a partner in the land speculations; Eaton declined, and according to his own testimony, with impolitic and improbable charges of bad faith in the offer. Gaither then ordered him to send off no more reports, meaning of course no more adverse ones; the literal meaning was contrary to Eaton's instructions, and the understood one contrary to his sense of duty. Other attempted reforms swelled the number of his ill-wishers. Finally a government commission of distinguished and upright experts in Indian affairs—Andrew Pickens, Benjamin Hawkins, and George Clymer—came down to make a new treaty with the Creeks, and incidentally to compose the now flagrant Eatonian quarrel. They showed their presumptive opinion by making Eaton their secretary; and on investigation, confirmed his judgment of the fort side. Seagrove was shortly removed. But meantime the obstructed interests had determined to be rid of Eaton; and Gaither court-martialed him on charges

probably not expected to do more than secure his transference from that post. They were, in substance, disobedience of orders and speculating in the soldiers' supplies. The latter was a counterstroke to discredit Eaton's accusations. All Eaton's career proves his pecuniary disinterestedness; he always refused even an indelicate advantage, and his faults were not sordid ones. According to one of the members of the court-martial, the officer who headed it was of the same stripe as Gaither; another wanted Eaton's place; and a third of the five was more honest than wise. Even this body sentenced Eaton only to two months' suspension from command. Gaither, instead of passing on the sentence, improved the opportunity by confining him to the fort for a month, and then ordering him to the seat of government at Philadelphia. This at worst would keep him some months absent; and perhaps permanently, as the Secretary of War, McHenry, was from Maryland like Gaither. McHenry, however, did not confirm the sentence, and gave Eaton leave to return; thus upholding him against a distinguished veteran of the Secretary's own State higher in rank. This fact, the commission's evident persuasion of Eaton's truthfulness before they investigated, and their conviction of it afterward, form a cumulative body of presumptions that he was in the right; and Washington is said to have characterized the court-martial as mere persecution. Gaither a few years later was himself court-martialed, removed from command, and placed under both civil and military arrest; but the disbanding of his regiment was made a pretext for revoking his commission without nominal disgrace.

Eaton never returned to Georgia. He was first detained for service connected with William Blount's filibustering expedition against Spanish Louisiana. Before this was disposed of, he had received from Pickering the fateful gift of the consulship to Tunis, which was to occupy or deflect the remainder of his life, and in its results was to constitute his title to remembrance by posterity.

The appointment was given because it was asked and fit. Eaton wished it because his military position in a peace establishment offered little activity or chance of promotion; and doubtless also for its opportunities of profitable traffic. Consuls

then were expected to trade and considered more valuable from their knowledge of trade, like the East India Company's early factors. On his part, Pickering was doubtless glad to find an able and resolute man who would accept so unattractive a post, whose fellow Algiers was said by a British consul to be the next step to Hell—a description which leans to understatement. From his bristling combativeness and tenacity, without regard to odds or discretion, Eaton was in fact fitted by nature for a place pre-eminently demanding those qualities. But as a treaty with Tunis was then on foot, his dispatch thither was withheld until the outcome was known; and he remained in America nearly eighteen months more—a period so often recurring in his affairs as almost to seem his personal equation. Not till about New Year's of 1799 did the 12-gun brig *Sophia* sail for the Barbary coast, convoying four vessels laden with cannon and naval stores. But these were not to aid in dealing swift and deterrent vengeance upon wanton plunderers of our commerce. Two of them were openly and the other virtually, as were the munitions, *tribute* from a power of sixteen States under one head, half a million square miles of organized territory, and five and a quarter millions of people, to a filthy nest of fifty or sixty thousand African pirates and their slaves and families called Algiers, whose accessory province was held down by sheer terrorism.

This paper is a sketch of Eaton, not of Mohammedan piracy or even our relations with Barbary; but we cannot pass judgment upon Eaton's part in the events of the next six years without recalling the antecedents of his mission, and its setting in general history.

Early in the sixteenth century, a number of strong points on the Mediterranean coast of North Africa were seized by Mohammedan pirates, who formed a terrible advance line of the Turks in their warfare against Europe. The lands dominated by these fastnesses took political shape in three provinces, covering everything between Morocco and Egypt, and compendiously known with Morocco as the Barbary States: Algiers on the west and by far the strongest, facing mid-Spain and the entire French southern coast; Tunis next, its northern point close to Sicily and its capital close to old Carthage; lastly Tripoli, a

thousand miles of mingled desert and oasis to Egypt. These were not, as their predecessors had been and Morocco continued to be, legitimate states with piracy against the Christian foe as incidental: they were primarily pirate lairs with the states as bases of supply. The earlier leaders were men of superb skill and audacity: the Christian commerce was heavily crippled, and many of the seaboard districts were nearly depopulated by their raids, what with captures and terror. Christian captives by the thousand were chained to the benches of the corsair galleys, or slaved under brutal masters in their foul tropic towns; and the greatest single opening for charitable work in Europe was soliciting ransom for them, or going to live among them to mitigate their lot.

Gradually the Turkish power ceased to have any real control over the corsair states, whose rulers—the Dey of Algiers, the Bey of Tunis, the Pasha of Tripoli—became mere ruffianly common pirates, elected and deposed by their comrades. The once rich provinces grew poor under misgovernment. The naval armaments grew smaller and worse handled. And still Europe allowed itself to be ravaged by these brigands, whose entire fleets a single joint expedition could have sunk or burnt, and who could not have rebuilt or re-equipped them without the aid of the very states they plundered. For the countries of Europe not only paid heavy occasional ransoms for captives, but gave the corsairs outright tribute of immense sums, often in the shape of war vessels and loads of ammunition and stores to effect fresh devastations; and bought incessant treaties with them, which they broke at will and demanded fresh payments for new ones as worthless. Now and then a punitive expedition was dispatched. Blake annihilated the Tunisian fleet for Cromwell, Spragge the Algerine for Charles II; enough to show how easily the whole brood could have been extirpated had the great powers really wished it. Yet all through the eighteenth century, when mighty states with twenty times the force of the Barbary lairs were contending for the mastery of the world future, they furnished convoys at heavy expense for their merchant fleets, or let them be overhauled and plundered in the very seas over which themselves held dominion, and their crews carried into

slavery; and the islands and sea-coasts were raided as before. From one end of the century when Rooke was capturing Gibraltar and annihilating the Franco-Spanish fleet at Vigo, to the other when Sidney Smith and Nelson were putting an end to Napoleon's dream of Oriental empire at Acre and Aboukir, these robbers' nests were treated by the queen of the seas as sovereign states, graced with ambassadors and consuls kissing the pirate chieftains' hands; deferentially addressed by kings of England as "your loving friend;" sometimes vainly besought for treaties by smaller powers, because the pirates could not afford to leave themselves without objects of plunder—one Dey was nearly murdered by his indignant subjects for selling a treaty to a state they still wished to rob; sometimes bought off at heavy cost by powers who had just beaten them in battle.

The envoys of the powers fared on shore as might be inferred from the faring of their vessels on sea. The consular conditions were more hateful and dangerous than in Afghanistan. Great sums, many thousands of pounds in money and presents, were demanded with each new consul; the consuls therefore had to be often changed. If the presents were insufficient, as they were nearly sure to be, the consul must make good the deficit from his own pocket. During his whole term he was incessantly besieged for costly presents by a horde of officials, and obliged to supply their households, or see his mission a failure and be ordered out, to the prejudice of his career; yet the government would not repay such expenditures, and more than one consul was ruined by these extortions. If he remonstrated against them or refused a degrading ceremonial, his life or liberty was in peril; or the ruler ejected him and ordered his government to send another, which it meekly did with heavier gifts and orders to be more compliant. "I gave him my orders and he was insolent," wrote one of these sceptred blackguards to George III, concerning his Majesty's official representative. Sometimes a war-ship was sent for bluster; but the pirates knew it would not be allowed to fight, and usually paid no attention to it. If it really threatened, the consul and his countrymen in the town might be murdered, his servants bastinadoed, and his family turned into the street; or he might be thrown into a foul dun-

geon in chains and held for ransom. At the very climax of Louis XIV's power, two successive French vicars-apostolic within five years were blown from the mouths of Algerine cannon, one of them shot over at the French warship outside; at the climax of Napoleon's power, a French consul died of ill-treatment; under the Directory, the consul and all his countrymen were made slaves in defiance of a treaty; a Danish consul in 1808 was put in irons and set to work with the slaves on pretext that the tribute was late, and his wife died of fright. Even an English consul, while the Algerines were actually subsidized allies of England, was ejected without a change of linen, and with an English warship ordered out of the harbor.

The explanation of this shameful anomaly is simple: it was trade rivalry. The larger commercial powers used the pirates as tools to cripple the commerce of the smaller. The Dutch openly said that the Algerines were necessary to them; Louis XIV declared that if Algiers did not exist, he would create one; and this epigram was a standing maxim of English policy a century later among the London merchants. Lord Sheffield in 1783 published this theory in its nakedest form: but for the Barbary powers, he said, the small Italian and other states would have much more of the carrying trade. The corsairs in fact were subsidiary tools of the right of search and confiscation, by which the great belligerent powers held their channels of trade while they fought with each other. They would not allow the small ones, by virtue of remaining neutral, to divert the trade to themselves during the long wars for supremacy. Hence though they grumbled at the insults and outrages and losses, and now and then showed their teeth, they did not really wish to impair the fighting strength of the corsair provinces; and the small states could not do so because the large ones supplied the sinews of war to the robbers. In the Napoleonic wars, England subsidized them outright as part of her fighting force; and as late as 1816, a uniquely impudent article in the leading British review (the *Quarterly*) declared that an attack on Algiers would be gross ingratitude, and that the slaves were treated well enough.

As colonies, our States had the same semi-protection as the

mother country, but were jealously debarred from having much Mediterranean trade. With independence came speedily a Levant trade and the need of self-protection; the more that the great maritime powers, headed by England, were now actively interested in inciting the pirates to assail it. Their agents secretly urged the beys to refuse treaties when sought, and sometimes gave them private notice when American merchantmen were on the way. In 1784 Congress appointed a commission—Adams, Jefferson, and Franklin, with David Humphreys secretary—to frame treaties with the Barbary states. Of these, Morocco was a genuine state, not a brigands' farm; and for some reason its Sultan always showed good feeling for our republic, being the first sovereign to recognize its independence. Hence a treaty was made without great trouble or expense, and on the whole fairly kept.

With Algiers, which lived by piracy, the case was very different. The natural warden of the Strait of Gibraltar was Spain, and her fleet kept the Algerines from passing into the Atlantic. In 1785 she made a treaty with Algiers; whose English consul, Charles Logie, a lifelong foe to America and to anything which infringed English maritime monopoly, gave it instant notice and the information that American vessels were coming. Its cruisers promptly issued forth and captured two, whose 21 inmates were to make enormous trouble and expense to the republic for over a decade. Two of them were of notable interest in our Barbary affairs: James L. Cathcart, a Scotch-Irish seaman resident in America from early boyhood, and Captain Richard O'Brien of Maine. Both were superior men, and rose to be palace assistants to the Dey, Cathcart becoming his secretary.

The first effort to redeem the captives was in 1786, when John Lamb was sent to offer \$4,200, or \$200 each; but the Dey, who said he admired Washington and wanted his portrait, asked \$60,000, or \$2,857 each, and Lamb withdrew to Spain and threw up his position. Meantime Adams and Jefferson had attempted to arrive at an estimate of the cost of a general treaty; and the Tripolitan minister at London fixed it at about a million dollars. For the first and only time in their lives, the two statesmen ex-

changed rôles. The belligerent Adams thought it cheaper to buy at once the peace which we must in any event, after vast havoc and mercantile discredit; the pacific Jefferson thought it cheaper to fight at once as we must in any event, since the pirates could not afford to sell us a permanent peace. Unfortunately and obviously, the difference was due not to Jefferson's superior spirit, but to his inferior sense of the practicable. We were under the Confederation; we had no navy, and the Anti-Federalists would never allow the States to furnish Congress the money to build one. Jefferson persisted, and justified Adams. He prepared a scheme for a general blockade of the corsair ports, in conjunction with several minor European powers; they were well disposed, but Congress refused to make an engagement which it could not consummate, and the plan was dropped. Then the French order of Mathurins, formed to redeem corsair captives, was approached to make better terms of ransom with Algiers; but before anything came of it, the French Revolution extinguished the order.

The Constitution had now made the United States a unity which could enforce the votes it passed, and Jefferson tried to have Paul Jones draw Holland into a league; but the French Revolution had given Europe other work more pressing even than dealing with piracy. The Federalist majority in Congress forced through a bill to provide a navy as soon as the national finances admitted; but that was not yet, time would be needed even afterward, and the question of the captives was an open national sore. Only thirteen were left; and in 1792 Congress voted to pay \$40,000 for them, nearly \$3,100 apiece,—a transaction which reminds one of the Sibylline Leaves,—another \$40,000 for presents to secure a peace, and \$25,000 annually as perpetual tribute to Algiers, where Paul Jones was made peace envoy and consul. The humiliation felt at these monstrous terms is acutely evident in Jefferson's instructions to the hero of the *Bonhomme Richard*, who is nothing less than grotesque as their executor; but doubtless they appeared not excessive to the heart-sick prisoners, anxiously watching the progress of the negotiation. It must have seemed to them that the curse of God

was upon it and them. After all these years and fiascos, when the papers were at last sent over to Jones he died before they could reach him; then they were forwarded to Thomas Barclay, but he too died before he could reach Algiers. Humphreys was then commissioned; but while he was waiting passage, an event occurred which after more than a century arouses evil emotions in any American who reads it. Portugal had taken up Spain's dropped mantle as guardian of the strait; but she was now dominated by England. Logie, a fixture at Algiers, had been commissioned to effect a peace between it and Portugal, as part of the grand combination against Napoleon which England was arranging; but a formal peace involved open negotiations and full warning to other countries, which was exactly what was not desired all at once. Logie therefore declared a truce at a moment's notice just when a large American merchant fleet was approaching the strait, and the Algerine corsairs instantly poured through and captured eleven vessels in supposed security. The denial of complicity by the British Foreign Office doubtless came just inside literal truth; but it was the year before Jay's treaty, the ravaging of our Western settlements by one set of savages and of our Eastern commerce by another had the same relation to the same British policy, and Logie was safe in discounting his government's regrets at the untoward happening. The Dey refused to receive Humphreys, and peace and redemption seemed farther off than ever.

But in fact this occurrence was precisely what was needed. American patriotism was roused, and its pride shamed enough so that at the beginning of 1794, a Federalist majority of two in Congress passed a bill to provide six new cruisers at \$600,000 against the corsairs. The Republicans, headed by Madison, opposed it furiously, on the ground that the country was too poor and should pay off the public debt first, that a navy is a menace to liberty, and that it would lead to trouble with other nations; and that we should buy peace as others did, or hire a European navy to protect us. They did so far cripple the bill as to carry an amendment that if peace were made with Algiers, work on the navy should be stopped; but this was rescinded a year later. The effect of the bare preparations for the navy should have

taught a lesson which for many years was not learned. The Dey did not wish peace. He remarked: "If I were to make peace with everybody, what should I do with my corsairs and soldiers? They would take off my head for lack of other prizes. They can't live on their miserable allowance." But apparently the prospect of seeing war-ships instead of merchantmen changed his views,—Cathcart says it was his intercessions that produced the change, but in face of the Dey's weighty reasons we may doubt it,—and as he now had 119 captives, there was vast profit in the speculation. In 1796, as the navy approached readiness to act, he consented to receive Joseph Donaldson, Jr., consul to Tunis and Tripoli, who negotiated a peace on terms that excite other feelings besides wonder: near a million dollars in cash for ransoms, presents, etc., including a 36-gun frigate, besides an annuity in naval stores worth perhaps \$30,000. This single payment was more than double what half the country had grudged for a navy to prevent such degrading tribute for the future, and included a well-pickled rod for its own back in the shape of an armed ship and munitions.

Meantime negotiations had been carried on with Tunis and Tripoli; and the Dey was so pleased with his bargain, as he well might be, that he offered to use his influence with them to secure low terms, and advance money for it. Joel Barlow was the principal agent in this; and treaties were made with Tripoli for \$56,000, and with Tunis for \$107,000. In the latter, Barlow's chief agent was a Frenchman named Joseph Famin, with whom we shall have further concern. He was a worthless scamp who acted as a spy on the consuls, gave the Dey secret notice of the sailing of merchantmen, and had a commission on the captures, besides practicing individual extortions. Eaton's mildest characterizations of him are an "abject chameleon" and a "French pirate;" elsewhere he says, "There lives not unhung a character more false, a knave more abandoned, nor a villain more abject." The treaty was drawn up in August, 1797, soon after Eaton had been appointed to Tunis and Cathcart to Tripoli, in Donaldson's place; but it was unsatisfactory to Congress in three articles. One provided that American cargoes should pay ten per cent.

in Tunis and Tunisian three per cent. in America; a second, that Tunis should receive a barrel of powder for every gun fired in salute to an American war-ship; a third, that the bey could impress any American merchant vessel into his service at any price he chose. This was sent back to the bey for amendment, and Eaton went with it; he and Cathcart on the armed brig *Sophia*, afterward the subject of Eaton's sarcasm.

As the settlement was to be made through the Dey's good graces, the new consuls were held back till his gifts were ready. Arriving early in February, 1799, Eaton and Cathcart at once met the consul-general for the Barbary States,—who was Cathcart's quondam fellow-captive O'Brien,—and were introduced to the Dey. Eaton's description of him and his audience-room is a classic. It was a closet some eight by twelve, five flights up off a dark narrow entry, and with small iron-grated windows; a sort of cave, where was “a huge shaggy beast sitting on his rump, upon a low bench covered with a cushion of embroidered velvet, with his hind legs gathered up like a tailor or a bear. On our approach to him, he reached out his fore paw as if to receive something to eat.” They kissed his hand. “The animal seemed at that moment to be in a harmless mood; he grinned several times, but made very little noise. Having performed this ceremony, and standing a few moments in silent agony, we had leave to take our shoes and other property and leave the den, without any other injury than the humility of being obliged in this involuntary manner, to violate the second commandment of God and offend common decency. Can any man believe that this elevated brute has seven kings of Europe, two republics, and a continent tributary to him, when his whole naval force is not equal to two line-of-battle ships? It is so!” This contempt for the fighting force of the corsairs—“chiefs of dog-kennels,” Eaton called the rulers—only deepened as time went on, and had important consequences.

Eaton and Cathcart went on to Tunis, where Cathcart remained a fortnight to assist Eaton as interpreter. The government here was a minor copy of the Frankish mayors of the palace, or the Japanese Shogunate, or the Mahratta Peshwas. The bey's father, a man of great ability, and of honor and mildness

for a corsair, had reduced the reigning sovereign to puppethood, and handed on the regency to his son Hamuda, who had much of his father's talent and character. He was vain, greedy, and a pirate, but had manners and rationality.

A few notes of the opening interview, verbally condensed, will vivify the immediate task of Eaton, and illustrate his power of graphic reporting. The bey: "Why was I not told you came with a war vessel, so that it could have been saluted?" The consuls: "We were ignorant of the usage." (Eaton, aside: It would have cost the United States \$800.) The bey: "I have been waiting a year for the regalia" (military and naval stores) "promised in the treaty: what hinders their coming?" Consuls: "A great plague in the capital" (this was the yellow fever of 1798 in Philadelphia, skillfully used for an Oriental audience) "forced the entire government and population to fly into the country; by the time they returned, the winter froze the harbors; then, too, we need all our means just now to fight France; and besides, our government objects to some things in the treaty." With this admirable parallel to certain well-known stories, the desired amendments were pointed out, and an equivalent in cash offered for the naval stores, which the government wished if possible not to furnish the pirates. The bey: "I am not a pauper; I have cash to spare. I need the stores specially just now for my war with France. You found no difficulty in fulfilling your engagements with Algiers and Tripoli, and you give Algiers war vessels." Consuls: "You were misinformed. The Dey paid cash for his vessels" (part of this was true: the United States let its dockyards be used to build a frigate for the Dey, to be used in raiding its own commerce), "and they have been years in building; and they could be sent because they were their own defense" (doubtless if the harbors *were* frozen). The bey: "I can believe as I choose about the Dey's paying cash. (To Famin:) Why did you hoist their colors if they would not ratify the treaty as I sent it?" Famin: "Their government ordered me to." Consuls: "A mistake: only when the treaty was ratified. The exceptions are very few anyway, and easy to agree upon." The bey: "It cost you but little to have your flag hoisted;

it will cost more to have it hauled down. I must have the regalia if there is to be a peace." Consuls: "The stores are contraband; and if they are captured, that ends them, which means loss to us and delay to you. They almost surely would be, for the straits are swarming with French and Spanish war boats. It would be safer to have cash." The bey: "Well, after it is settled I shall expect a war vessel such as you gave Algiers." Consuls: "You need expect nothing of the sort: it is utterly impossible. We have business enough for our war vessels defending our commerce from the common enemy."

Now began the weary task which Eaton carried on with such varied ingenuity, resource, boldness, and determination; for a long period with unflagging spirits and hope, as he believed that the government would equal his determined attitude; then with increasing impatience, disgust, and disheartenment, as he felt himself deserted and the government sunk in cowardly and short-sighted counsels. That he was exaggerative and unjust in this is part of the man, as well of his strength as of his weakness; without Eaton's restiveness we could not have had Eaton's fire and zeal. To appreciate fully the talents and force of character he displayed in this service, one must follow the detail of his daily struggles as given in his letters and diaries. We note the dogged tenacity with which he contested every point, and wore down the bey into taking the least possible of what it had been determined to concede; the wonderful excuses he improvised to placate the bey for inevitable delays or to make excuses palatable; his ready command of the whole field of political and business facts; his acuteness in argument; his skill in impressing upon the bey's advisers the limits beyond which harsh terms defeated themselves, by alluring no prey on which to exercise them; the masterly union of persuasion and "bluff." He evaded humiliations of ceremonial to the utmost,—one public formality he escaped, according to himself, by falling from his horse and "laming himself in the will." He maintained a tone of firm and proud dignity for himself and his country which impressed the bey and greatly moderated his demands, even while he knew from the French and English agents how little American resolution

it was based on; and ostentatiously dined and had private conferences with the English consul, to make a secret agreement feared. Often the defiances uttered by Eaton's caustic and fearless tongue angered the bey greatly, and might have imperiled Eaton's safety but for two facts,—which indeed formed Eaton's only reliance, and whose service he strained to the breaking point. One was the war which Tunis was waging against France at England's dictation, and which rendered it unwilling to engage in a fresh one with America's now existent navy. The other was, that while a possible tribute was on the way or hoped for, the bey would not imperil it by violence. Once, early in the negotiations, in a rage, he gave Eaton ten days to leave; over and over he threatened war and declared an inexorable ultimatum; but Eaton had his ultimatum also, so judiciously calculated and so firmly adhered to that an agreement was finally made. In a word, with little government backing, Eaton secured much of its results; and under extreme difficulties, and on a small field, displayed many of the talents of an eminent diplomatist in the Oriental line.

The matter of the salute, which Eaton absolutely refused to consider, as a degradation imposed on no other country, was compromised, after a long and bitter contest, by agreeing that each country should pay for the powder used in salutes for the other, provided the other asked for the salute. The bey complained to his minister, "These people are perfect skinflints: they are so hard there is no dealing with them." The duties were fixed on the "most favored nation" basis, a clear victory for Eaton. The impressment article was modified to practical harmlessness. But in some things there was no possibility of winning. The ammunition and stores, for which the government wished to substitute money, had to be given; and a heavy present in jewels for the bey, who would not accept cash, his vizier declaring that his master was above taking a bribe! Upon which Eaton comments: "They are under no restraints of honor or honesty. There is not a scoundrel among them, from the prince to the muleteer, who will not beg and steal." The bey took the same commercial view of consular honor as of his own, and offered Eaton a permit

to pass a thousand "caffices" of wheat duty free if he would advise the government to send the stores: Eaton refused, though it would have meant ten thousand dollars' profit to him.

Even when the treaty negotiations were over, Eaton's difficulties and torments were not. A swarm of the official harpies under the bey insisted on making their profit of the consul, a race designed for them to pluck. Not only did they demand jewelry, fine cloth, arms, and so on; but all expected to live off the American consulate. Toward the end of his service, Eaton writes: "The superintendent of the Sapitapa's [keeper of the seal] public buildings sent to demand a winter's provisions of sugar and coffee." This was refused, but Eaton goes on: "I am weary and exhausted by this kind of beggary. The Bey, the Sapitapa, both their physicians, their chamberlains, the Cadi of Porto Farina, the Schaik Medina (mayor of the city), the Aga of the Goulette (harbor commandant), have been supplied with sugar, coffee, tea, pepper, spices, and indeed clothing, from the American house, more than three years; and in a manner which excludes the possibility, in most cases, of my making it a public charge. Even the Bey's commercial agent refuses payment for coffee and loaf sugar (he is above using brown); which he at different times has received on credit to the amount of 900 piasters" (some \$225). "Whatever these pickpockets fix their eyes upon in my house is good prize. Let me get away from this den of thieves!"

Famin especially was a thorn in his side. This ex-agent of Barlow had assured the Bey that he was the official American consul; that sending another there was taking the bread out of his mouth, and that anyhow Eaton was only his subordinate; and he prompted various persecutions and exactions on the part of others. At last Eaton secured documentary proof that he was selling out the Bey's interests as well (which with such a creature would be a matter of course), including a letter in which Famin with heedless truthfulness styled his chief and the other Tunisians "thieves and robbers"; and in the midst of a crowd at the city gate horsewhipped him soundly. The bey was enraged, but after hearing the proofs was restored

to amity with Eaton, though he did not disuse his slippery servant.

After a year of delays and much skating on thin ice, the matter of the treaty was done with—until the bey should see fit to find a pretext for breaking it. Thus left without American plunder, the bey at once revived without notice a grievance against Denmark for not paying its tribute promptly, and his cruisers fell on its merchant fleet and captured eight vessels. The captains asked Eaton to buy them in while they raised the money to redeem them. He did so on credit; but they could not raise the funds, and left the vessels on his hands. He writes to his wife in high glee that there is more than ten thousand dollars in the speculation, and all on the broadest principles of equity and honor. But shortly afterward they did obtain the money, and Eaton voluntarily turned over the ships to them at cost. "There is more pleasure in being generous than rich," he writes to his wife later concerning it; and he had the further pleasure of seeing eighty-six captives embark in the vessels for their native country, and of warm official thanks by their government and a testimonial of regard from the other consuls there.

During all this time, Eaton was keeping and sending home his journal, and writing official and personal letters, than which there is no better reading among the correspondence of that age. It is full of energy, raciness, excellent description, and pithy incisive phrases. I cannot allow myself time for purely descriptive extracts, entertaining as many would be; and only a brief sampling of the other, as a necessary part of his portrait. The staple of it is that for all reasons, the United States should use force instead of money in dealing with the corsairs; and use it at once and in crushing volume, otherwise it is worse than useless. "We shall have to buy a peace at last, and redeem our captives, unless we could effect the entire destruction of the Regency, or convince them of our ability to do it. There is no access to the permanent friendship of these states, without paving the way with gold or cannon-balls; and the proper question is, which method is preferable. There is but one language to be held to these people, and that is terror.

The United States have no messenger whom I would greet with so much cordiality as Commodore Barry." He advanced two main arguments for the policy: that nothing else can secure a peace worth any long purchase, and that the states are not really formidable. As to the first, the secret inciting of European powers and their own urgent needs unite irresistibly. "Peace and war with them are articles of commerce, and they may be set on or bought off by the highest bidder." Indeed, it needs no money to set them on. "The United States is the only nation which has a rich and defenseless commerce upon the Mediterranean," and it only needs to point it out to them, "and if occasion should require, to add by way of stimulus regalia of ammunition. Who among our friends would scruple to use these means?" But there is a more direct and potent reason why the pirates will not keep any peace they make: they cannot afford it. All their old sources of plunder are being cut off by the changes through the French Revolution wars,—the absorption or protection of some small states and the withdrawal of others from these waters; and Portugal has played the man, and with one 74 and a Scotch captain has forced Tripoli to buy peace instead of selling it. "Tunis is robbed of her prey, and is as restless as a bear robbed of her whelps. Plunder must be had. Where is it to be found? America presents it. But Tunis is at peace with America. *Tunis must have plunder.* Necessity has no law." Under another date he says: "While we were at dinner a body of Turks came armed to the garden, and even into the court-yard, and demanded money, alleging that their government having made peace with everybody had reduced them to famine; but they were resolved not to starve!" Again: "The game of the Mediterranean Christians having been wrested from them by the more mighty hunters of the North and East, what have they for one hundred and twenty bloodhounds, which now lie kenneled in their ports, to be employed about? They must be let loose upon somebody. They already scent our merchantmen. And finding the least plausible pretext, they will be loosed to the chase." * * * "Treaties are dead languages with these regencies. Was it not stipulated that one year should be allowed the French to remove their

effects? Is not their consul, and are not all his fellow-citizens, slaves? We cannot place any reliance upon their good faith.”

* * * “Have we the vanity to believe they are afraid of us? What should have produced this impulse? They have seen nothing here to excite terror but the little Miss Sophia [the gunboat] disguised in men men’s clothes. The poor thing excited pity rather than alarm.” Still again: “Our language to them should be the language of the gospel: ‘I have this day set before you life and death; choose you which you will.’ Without a language like this, and an attitude to support it, to think of reciprocity is idle, since here are no commercial interests to induce it. And to send an agent with presents in his hands to talk of friendship, honor, and national justice, is like decking a woman with jewels and sending her into a forest to hold parley with a highwayman.” * * * “These measures” (of force) “will be attended with expense. Let my fellow-citizens be persuaded, before conviction shall force the belief, that this is an expense which must one day be submitted to. Wisdom would provide for it before we shall be *fraternally squeezed* into the measure.” * * * “Little less than the expense of a war will long secure our property on these seas, unless they will at least go to the voluntary expense of sending out a hangman and erecting a gallows in sight of these robbers.” * * * “We began wrong; that is, we deviated from right in suspending the fitting out of the frigates to enter into a negotiation with Algiers. Had our ambassador held in his right hand a lighted match, and in his left the project of a treaty, Algiers might have blustered, but she would have been less exorbitant. And her accomplices Tunis and Tripoli would have been awed into terms.”

Further, in his view the powers were of no real strength. Tunis had nominally ninety-four war vessels; but there were only a few frigates and those of moderate size, the rest being little gunboats for shore defense. “They are a contemptible military,” he says, “and at sea, lubbers.” The Tunisian army were an unembodied, undrilled, undisciplined mob of a few thousands, who did no military service except to collect taxes from the peasantry twice a year; the cavalry were horsed on

unbroken saddle-galled jades, and equally worthless. This conviction had results.

We must now turn to the outside field of Barbary matters, which all along deeply engaged Eaton's attention, and soon engaged his action. In the fall of 1800 Captain William Bainbridge, a man of great courage and spirit, and afterwards a distinguished naval commander, was sent to Algiers with tribute, on the *George Washington* of all names. He hated the degrading service, but worse was to come. The Dey was in ill favor with the Sultan at Constantinople, and wished to send an ambassador thither with valuable presents; and ordered Consul O'Brien to lend him the *George Washington*. O'Brien and Bainbridge both protested and argued; but the Dey threatened instant war with America if they did not yield, and the ship was anchored under the Algerian batteries. Bainbridge was above personal fear, but he and the consul feared the ravage to unprotected American merchantmen. They yielded; and the *George Washington*, flying Algerine colors, sailed the whole length of the Mediterranean to carry tribute from a Turkish pirate to the Turkish ruler. Eaton's denunciations of the surrender are almost choking with fury and contempt. "I would have lost the peace and been myself impaled rather than yielded this concession," he writes. "If we will have peace at such a price, recall me and send a slave to represent the nation; and send ships of war and funds and slaves to his support, and our immortal shame. History shall tell that the United States first volunteered a ship of war, equipped, a carrier to a pirate. Nothing but blood can blot the impression out. Will nothing rouse my country?" There can be little doubt that he was right, and that resistance at whatever immediate cost would have been the better policy. There can be less still that the Eaton stamp of man prevents such abasements even from being attempted.

Meantime Cathcart was in deep waters at Tripoli. The Bashaw was simmering with anger at having allowed himself to be bought off so much more cheaply than his fellow brigands, and was seeking excuses for throwing the treaty to the winds. Cathcart could only appeal to the treaty itself, and the obliga-

tions of national good faith; but Tripoli was not a nation, and lived by breaking faith. Further, its attitude was expressed with great frankness and incontrovertible logic by the Bashaw when he wished to impress American merchantmen into his service: "As you pay me tribute, you are my slaves, and I have a right to order you to do what I please." Cathcart, a man more of Eaton's stamp than some others, had advised the government to send frigates there; but meanwhile wrote to the other consuls asking if it might be well to placate him with presents until they arrived, and also if he still ought to issue American passports to the corsairs if they began to bring in prizes. Eaton emphatically said no to both; the latter, making the American colors and papers a decoy to capture our merchantmen, was so infamous a requirement that it is hard to pardon even the spirited Cathcart for asking the question at all. At length, in May, 1801, the Bashaw declared war, and had the American flagstaff chopped down; and Cathcart left for Leghorn.

The dispatch of Commodore Dale's squadron to the scene of war, the later exploits of Preble and Decatur and others, in the naval war and the siege of Tripoli, I can only mention; but the war directly concerns us through its political side. The Bashaw, Yusuf (Joseph) Karamanli, was a typical Oriental politician, with a lack of scruple which did duty for abilities. He was the previous Bashaw's youngest son; had murdered his eldest brother in youth to make one less competitor for himself, and on his father's death while the second brother was absent, seized the throne by bribing the troops, holding the brother's family for hostages. The brother, Mahomet, usually called Hamet, took refuge in Tunis, and was now there. He was as poor a creature as ever circumstances and stronger wills forced into independent action; he had neither talent, courage, nor firmness, and would gladly have lived under his brother on a pension. Yusuf of course dared not risk such a focus of intrigue; but when the war grew hot, he was still more in fear of a Tunisian attack with Hamet for the pretext, and offered to make him governor of the important province of Derne if he would return. This was plainly enough a lure

into a trap; but Hamet was eager to accept. A more resolute nature, however, was just then in mastery over him. Yusuf was by no means the only one who had Hamet's possible restoration in mind. So far as known, the first outsider to conceive and suggest the idea was Cathcart, who as soon as war was imminent saw the advantage of setting up a civil war to cut the ground from under Yusuf's feet; but it was the old scheme by which the French and English fought for India, and the English won it. He laid the plan before the other consuls, and wrote to the government; the others accepted it, Eaton with imaginable impetuosity, and in turn pressed it upon the government, which for this purpose meant Jefferson and Madison. Hamet accepted the plan, but was a mere doll in others' hands; the government was willing to authorize it, either to force Yusuf's deposition or extort a favorable treaty from him; but none of them, even Cathcart, formulated any definite means of carrying out the idea, much less attempted to execute it. Henceforth the entire scheme rests on the energetic initiative of Eaton, who devises all plans and charges himself with putting them into effect, out of his own pocket if necessary. He kept watch over the pitiful Hamet, and tried to make him go to Leghorn, where he would be under Cathcart's eye; but Hamet insisted on going to Malta, conveniently easy of access to Derne, and Eaton made provision for arresting him if he attempted to cross over. Eaton also enlisted the favor and possible help of Tunis by promising that child of the horse-leech, the Sapitapa, now chief minister, ten thousand dollars in case of success. But he grew more and more impatient and wrathful over the slender achievements of the navy compared with its force. "Our operations of the last and present year," he writes to Madison, "produce nothing but additional enemies and national contempt"; and he declares that the officers spend most of their time on shore, at the theatres of Leghorn, Barcelona, and so on. His outspoken and scathing charges of neglect of duty, with his former harsh words for Bainbridge on the latter's submitting to O'Brien's judgment and shaming the country, were bitterly resented by the officers of the squadron, and had something to do with Eaton's final failure. Almost

without exception they scouted the proposed land attack as visionary and insane. Men of routine, even strong ones, could hardly be expected to countenance anything so wildly irregular; and they only shared the opinion of most other men. But any plan of Eaton's (as this was now considered to be from his appropriating and pushing it) was not likely to have a presumption in its favor with them. It would perhaps have found less had they known that his American imagination had already expanded it into a comprehensive and systematic scheme for permanently keeping all the Barbary states in check; namely, to find and hold in leash a set of claimants for all those thrones, which in Oriental states need rarely be lacking. The United States was to supplement its naval wars and forces by land expeditions when needed, and evidently to exercise a semi-protectorate if necessary by upholding its own puppets. But that was only an idea: the present plan was a fact. For a while it seemed the reverse, as the vacillating Hamet finally assumed the post offered him by his brother, and Eaton's warder was persuaded to help him across. Yusuf at once plotted to poison him; he attempted to regain his throne by an insurrection; his brother easily drove him out, and he took refuge in Egypt.

Eaton had borrowed of the Bey's commercial agent, at his own hazard, \$22,000 to advance the operations with Hamet, and asked the State Department to allow it and send him the money; but knew that he risked having to pay it, and was willing to incur the risk. Commodore Morris visited Tunis in February, 1803; and the agent insisted on his repaying the loan before he was allowed to depart, falsely declaring that Eaton had assured him Morris would so pay it. Morris paid the money, and Eaton assigned all his property to the government as security, which did not prevent Morris from unjustly accusing Eaton to the government of deceiving him. Eaton had not been lenient beforetime on Morris' derelictions. Eaton at once visited the bey and remonstrated in his least conciliatory terms, declaring among other things that the frauds of the vizier, the former Sapitapa, who had literally robbed him, had delayed the payment, for which he had stood responsible. The minister flamed up, and the bey ordered Eaton to quit the court. "The Consul," he said to Morris, "is a man

of a good heart, but a wrong head. He is too obstinate and too violent for me. I must have a consul with a disposition more congenial to Barbary interests!" Eaton sailed for America, and Cathcart was appointed to his place, instructed to offer the bey a tribute of \$10,000 a year, to be paid in cash and not in naval stores. The bey would not accept the offer nor receive Cathcart, whom he styled a firebrand and considered another Eaton. Cathcart wrote the bey a letter at which he felt affronted, and of which he complained to the United States government. He received a reply which is unapproached in our history for abject and purposeless groveling on the national belly. I quote a portion of this amazing composition, signed by Jefferson and undersigned by Madison:

"Great and Good Friend: It is with peculiar concern I learn, from your letter of Sept. 14, that Mr. Cathcart, whom I had chosen from a confidence in his integrity, experience, and good dispositions, has so conducted himself as to incur your displeasure. In doing this, be assured, he has gone against the letter and spirit of his instructions; which were, that his deportment should be such as to make my esteem and respect for your character both personal and public. So soon as he went out of this line, he was out of the line of his duty, and his acts are disclaimed. On his return to the United States, he will be made sensible how far, in this, he departed from the intention of his employers. In selecting another character to take the place of Mr. Cathcart, I shall take care to fix on one who, I hope, will better fulfill the duties of respect and esteem for you."

The government of a people has no right to commit it to an official degradation unless some statesmanlike object is to be attained. I have no brief to maintain that Eaton and Cathcart were better statesmen in the gross than Jefferson and Madison; but in this case they were so. This ecstasy of abasement, and public chastisement of a brave and loyal servant, not even from a weak state to a strong aggressor, but from a nation to a thieves' camp, was not statesmanship. It was the policy of children, while the consuls' was that of men. It was childish in unintelligence as well as in weakness. The

Democratic chiefs discredited their own ability to learn from a lifetime of experience, if they were not aware that this craven prostration to the pirate of Tunis, who was strictly a business and not a sentimental pirate, was as futile as burning incense to an alligator, and only invited fresh insolences and extortions. That it was intended as the sugar to a pill, which was the refusal to send the bey a tribute ship he asked for, is covered by the same argument, since that potentate was interested only in the pill. Eaton comments upon it with wrathful sarcasm. It displays, he says, less of the spirit of Bunker Hill than of Carter's Mountain (where Jefferson hastily took himself out of British reach). He goes on: "He must be a very coward who can receive an affront and beg pardon for the injury. Who can any longer doubt that our exalted philosopher is a humble Christian, after having seen his ready obedience to one of the most mortifying injunctions of that system" (turning the other cheek). "But if 'all liars shall have their part in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone,' as much as he hates the smell of gunpowder, he stands awfully exposed to that of sulphur!"

(To be Continued.)

HISTORIC VIEWS AND REVIEWS

SOME TELEPHONE HISTORY

THE first regular telephone exchange in New York city was opened at 82 Nassau street in March, 1879, and the second at 97 Spring street several months later. Before these buildings were ready there were two temporary exchanges at 140 Fulton street and 194 Broadway.

The first of these was the office of the Law Telegraph Company and the second the office of the Holmes Burglar Alarm system. The Law company had been founded by William A. Childs in 1874 to enable the lawyers of New York to telegraph to each other and to the courts. Childs was quick to appreciate telephony, and became for several years a sub-licensee of the Bell company, having permission to operate not more than 600 telephones.

Struggle and hardship marked every step of the way in that early period. For three years—1877 to 1880—the telephone business in New York fought for its life breath by breath, like a feeble infant that has no reserve vitality.

Even though the price of telephone service was at first set down at \$5 a month, with a month's trial free, many declared it to be too expensive. Several of the noted business men of that day refused to pay any price for it, regarding it wholly as a fantastic toy.

JUDGE HILTON'S OPINION.

When Judge Hilton was asked if a telephone might be put in the A. T. Stewart store he replied: "You can put it in as an advertisement, but we will not pay for it."

Once in the fall of 1878 Mr. Vail sent a small order to the store of L. G. Tillottson at 15 Dey street. The clerk sent back word that the goods were ready and also the bill, \$7. On the spot

where this store stood is to-day by a curious coincidence the towering office building of the New York Telephone Company.

In the following year an iron wire company (Washburn & Moen of Worcester) wrote to A. S. Dodd to know if the credit of the telephone company was good. "While we do not doubt but that it is all right," said the writer, "still we do not know the company."

At about this same time Mr. Hubbard in Boston received a letter from a New Yorker named William H. Barnard, who complained that he had searched everywhere in the city for the office of the telephone company and had not been able to find it. These incidents serve to show in what a humble way the telephone slipped into the life of the great metropolis.

THE FIRST TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

The first telephone directory was a card showing the names of 252 subscribers. The first exchanges were in attics because of low rent and easy access to the wire strung roofs. The first switchboards, apart from the crudely adapted boards of the telegraph and burglar alarm offices, were tiny contrivances made by their own local electrician, Chinnoek, and were actually not more than 8 by 10 inches in size, no larger than a telephone directory is at the present time. Each one of these toy boards was to hold twelve wires, and as the business grew they were to be set one upon another.

Everybody took a hand at inventing in that era of amateurs. Roosevelt had invented the automatic receiver hook, which is still in use, and for which he later received \$6,000. Vail invented a lightning arrester and fully a score of other improvements.

It was a time of makeshifts, but even then, while these pioneer telephone men were encompassed by electrical mysteries and struggling to pay their debts, they were determined to improve and standardize. The policy of the company in this respect was most positively expressed in a letter written by Vail to Henry W. Pope in June, 1879.

"What we want to do in every case," said Vail, "is to adopt the best system, and that we think we have; then if there is anything better we should of course want to adopt that."

TWENTY YEARS OF LITIGATION

A twenty-year law suit, famous in court circles as "the Donnelly-McArdle feud," was decided a few weeks ago. It will remain decided unless the Court again upsets the decision.

As a specimen of the law's delays and a noteworthy example of the way a litigated matter can see-saw back and forth in the courts of New York state, this suit is without a rival. It eclipses the celebrated "Jarndyce versus Jarndyce" of fiction.

More than twenty years ago Michael Donnelly and Patrick J. McArdle married sisters. In 1887 these two brothers-in-law became partners in the iron business. Donnelly had an establishment at No. 134 Leroy street, and McArdle transacted business for the firm in Albany.

In November, 1889, the partners disputed over financial matters and Donnelly—claiming that he wanted to show his confidence in McArdle—signed a bill of sale for him, transferring the Donnelly interest in the business to McArdle for \$1.

McArdle contended that this was an absolute bill of sale and that Donnelly had no further interest in the business or its assets. Donnelly claimed that this bill of sale was nothing more than collateral security to McArdle to protect him in case the firm was found to be insolvent. If the business was proven solvent, after investigation, Donnelly asserted that the bill of sale was to be void and one-half the net proceeds of the firm's assets turned over to him.

The "Donnelly-McArdle feud" finally came before Justice Seabury, in 1908, and he upheld Donnelly's contention that the bill of sale was practically a chattel mortgage. He sent the matter to Henry A. Gildersleeve, official referee, for an accounting. In his report he holds that the firm was solvent at the time of the dissolution, that Donnelly is entitled to \$41,000, and to disbursements of \$20,000.

TWO RARE LETTERS

The following letter of Nathaniel Hawthorne, dated Jan. 6, 1849, and addressed to Charles Sumner, was sold at Merwin-Clayton's recently:

My dear Sir: I hope you will come and lecture for us on the 17th inst.—Wednesday after next. I recollect you told me that you should like to come early in the season, but I could not arrange it sooner than the evening above named. Do come—or else I shall have to write another letter. Yours truly,

NATH. HAWTHORNE.

Another interesting Hawthorne item was a copy of the rare first edition of "Peter Parley's Universal History, on the Basis of Geography, For the Use of Families," two volumes, 12mo, Boston, 1837. This is the second published volume of Hawthorne's Writings. It was prepared while he was doing hack work for Samuel Griswold Goodrich, a popular writer for the young under the pseudonym of "Peter Parley," and who, in 1827, began the issuing of "Peter Parley's Tales," and continued them until 1857. He also published geographical and historical school books. This hack work book of Hawthorne's was for many years a standard history in American schools, and had long popularity without its authorship being known except to a few collectors and bibliophiles. The first edition is considered to be one of the most interesting and valuable school books published in the United States during the nineteenth century. The present copy is handsomely bound in three-quarter light brown crushed levant gilt tooled on backs, gilt tops on the rough, with two of the original cloth covers preserved. This first edition has brought as high as \$140 at auction.

In the same sale was a fine friendly letter of James Buchanan, Wheatland, Dec. 14, 1867, to Mrs. Catharine M. Ellis, of Alabama, in which the former President declares: "I have ever, since our first acquaintance, felt for you a warm affection and a high respect. * * * The Northern election must have pleased you very much. The reaction in public sentiment will, I think, go on until the Republican Party shall be defeated in nearly all the Middle and Western States, and in one or two of the New England States."

TITLES IN AMERICA

An inconsistency in American law lies in the fact that while native citizens may accept titles of nobility from foreign poten-

tates, foreigners must renounce their hereditary titles before becoming naturalized citizens of the United States. That provision of the Federal naturalization laws goes back 115 years, and the subject led to a curious parliamentary fight in Congress. It also resulted in the temporary retirement of a conspicuous Massachusetts Federalist from public life and stirred up a lively discussion on the slavery question.

Immigration was exciting a good deal of talk in 1794, when French nobles were still fleeing from the reign of terror which ceased in the summer of that very year and when other French refugees had recently fled from the black terror of Hayti. So late in the year Congress began to revise the naturalization laws.

The residence period necessary for naturalization was raised from two years, at which it had been fixed in 1790, to five, where it has since remained, except for a short time in John Adams's administration, when it was made fourteen years. While the matter was under debate Giles of Virginia proposed that foreigners seeking naturalization should be required to give up any title of nobility that they might hold.

It was at this point that Samuel Dexter of Massachusetts, a Federalist, brought the slavery question into the matter. He made a speech ridiculing Giles's amendment as childish. He proposed an amendment requiring foreigners wishing to be naturalized to give up any slaves of which they might be possessed.

HOW DEXTER WAS DEFEATED

Dexter's amendment stirred the Southern members, for they were a bit uneasy in view of recent massacres of whites by the insurgent slaves of Hayti, and they protested that the Massachusetts Federalist was inciting Southern slaves to insurrection and endangering the social system of the South. Dexter, nevertheless, stuck by his amendment, though some of his fellow Federalists were a trifle uneasy at the storm he had raised, especially as they well knew that Giles's amendment would be popular in New England.

Giles on January 1, 1795, did a thing that scared Dexter's friends even more, for he called for the yeas and nays on both

motions. Under this call Dexter's amendment was defeated, and that of Giles was carried. Dexter, although he knew he was doing what would be unpopular at home, voted against the amendment requiring naturalized foreigners to give up their titles of nobility, and he failed to return to the next Congress, though he lived to enter the Cabinet of John Adams.

The requirement was so popular that it was not repealed, when in 1798 the naturalization laws were materially amended, and it was left undisturbed when in Jefferson's first administration the residence period required of foreigners seeking naturalization was reduced from fourteen years to five years. The five year period had prevailed in Virginia in late colonial days. Oddly enough the first man known to have been naturalized in this country, Augustine Herrman, once of New York and later of Maryland, received from Lord Baltimore about 1666 the title of Lord of Bohemia Manor.

Some naturalized foreigners have been known socially in this country by the titles which they abjured on giving notice of their intention to seek naturalization, though in all public relations they have figured under simple surname and Christian name. Of the few native Americans who wear titles of nobility most perhaps owe them to the Pope.

WHEN PHILADELPHIA WAS SCANDALIZED

A good many years ago the Common Council of Philadelphia was scandalized to receive a request for permission to make use of the streets in the course of some building improvements from a native resident of the city who attached a title of nobility to his name. The Councilmen were for denying the privilege until the citizen would apply for it without appending his title, but when the explanation was made that the patent of nobility had been granted by the Pope, a sovereign without temporal power, the objection was withdrawn, though the noble Philadelphian came in for a good deal of ridicule.

American hankering after titles, which fell into general disrepute during the French Revolution, revived early in the nineteenth century, and it is said that one thing to attract some men to Burr's expedition was the hope held out that his Spanish-

American State would have orders of nobility. Young men making ready to join him bantered one another as to the titles that they should bear, and a clever woman in the confidence of Burr was said to have gone so far as to draw up rules for court ceremony and make sketches for ceremonial costumes.

Within a few years a young Virginian shocked some of his kinsfolk by expatriating himself in order to claim an English title long in abeyance in his family. It is said, on the other hand, that although the DeCourseys of Maryland have an entirely clear and legitimate claim to an English title, the rightful heir declines to give up his American citizenship for the title.

The son and heir of an Irish baronet long lived in Ohio, but never used his father's title, and his descendants, plain folk, some of them doing business in New York, have almost forgotten that their ancestor was entitled to write "Sir" before his name.

NEW JERSEY FRAUDS DENIED

Soon after helping to carry the Republican stronghold of Plainfield, N. J., for Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic Club of that city did another thing, equally without precedent, in inviting the women of the Equal Suffrage League to come to a club meeting and state their reasons for demanding the ballot.

The invitation was accepted and the speakers for the league were its president, Mrs. Champlain L. Riley, and Miss Zoe Russell-Bateman.

That the women of New Jersey were robbed of the franchise 103 years ago, after they had had it for thirty-one years was one of the interesting things that the club learned from Miss Bateman. She recalled the fact that the Continental Congress of 1776 dodged the woman suffrage question by leaving it to each State to decide for itself.

"And to the lasting glory of New Jersey," she continued, "this State gave the ballot to her women. They had it until 1807. In that year there was a great election-fraud scandal incidental to the vote in the location of State buildings. Many persons voted early and often. Minors and foreigners, who had no rights at the polls at all, voted without hindrance. There was nothing to show that the women were guilty of these frauds. At least

they alone were not guilty. But in November of that year the Legislature, without sanction of the people, as required by law, amended the Constitution so as to deprive the women of the suffrage.”

SAVED FROM CAPITOL FIRE

While many most valuable documents were destroyed by the fire at the capitol at Albany, fortunately two of the three volumes which contained the original minutes of the Navy Board of South Carolina, covering the period from 1771 to 1789, which have been sought for South Carolina by the historical commission of that State, have been found in the debris of the ruined State Library. A. S. Salley, Jr., secretary of the commission, was in Albany the day of the fire to appear before a legislative committee which had under consideration a proposed measure authorizing the State Library to return these records to his State, and it has been the general impression heretofore that the volumes had been completely destroyed by the fire.

AN IMPORTANT COLONIAL DIARY

An American Revolution item of unusual interest was sold at Merwin-Clayton's recently. It was the "Original Diary of Thomas Contee, Esq., of Prince George County, Md., in 1776, made while on a journey to General Washington's Camp near New York, in company of John Hansen, Esq., of Charles County, Md." The diary occupies fifteen pages of a leather bound memorandum book.

Thomas Contee was the bearer of messages from the Annapolis Convention to Washington. He recites his attendance at the convention, his receipt of orders from its president, and his journey to Washington's camp. While in Philadelphia, on November 5, 1776, the city and county election took place, and was "all carried on with great good order." Under the same date he writes: "The same evening we received a letter from the convention, desiring us to apply to Congress for their determination on the Resolves of Our Convention, and to take our measures accordingly * * * We received two letters from our con-

vention, and waited on Mr. Hancock, got a copy of the Resolutions of Congress which we transmitted to the Convention, and await their further instructions.”

Leaving Philadelphia on November 24, he went through Bristol, Prince Town, [sic,] and Brunswick to Piscataway, where he remained “till General Washington and great part of the Army came past. * * * After riding about a little we went to General Washington’s Head Quarters to inform him of our business. We were introduced to Lord Sterling, General Greene, and several other Gent. Was treated politely by the General (Washington.)”

Under date of Dec. 1, 1776, Contee says:

“We rode out to the Bridge to see Smallwood’s Battalion, met General Washington and some other Generals, and were informed the Enemy were advancing. We rode to Brunswick to see the officers of Smallwood’s Battalion. They were ordered to their part on an alarm. General Chamberlain and myself rode up the hills, above the town. We saw the Enemy’s Light horse approach towards the ferry at Brunswick—in a short time the field pieces appeared, and they fixed upon a hill and began to Cannonade the Town. We saw the first fire, and remained until several shots were exchanged from our side. The Enemy fired six to our one.”

Then follows an account of the retreat of the American Army and other interesting details.

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